

THE TWO PHASES OF WESTERN PHOENICIAN EXPANSION BEYOND THE HUELVA FINDS: AN INTERPRETATION*

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Abstract

The authors suggest that the Phoenicians' westward expansion came about in two phases differentiated by the objectives and nature of their settlements. During the first or 'pre-colonial-emporitan' phase, the Huelva *emporion* was founded and a series of landfalls was established in the Mediterranean, the main objective being the pursuit of high-value resources. The second phase or 'colonial-emporitan', irrespective of any pressure from an increased population on food resources in the Levant, might have been caused, at least in part, by Assyrian aggression. Colonies could accommodate new populations with a subsequent intensification of agricultural activity.

Introduction

One of the most significant events following the eclipse of the great Graeco-Near Eastern power centres in the Bronze Age was Phoenician commercial and colonial expansion towards the central-western Mediterranean and through the Straits of Gibraltar to the Atlantic coasts of Andalusia, Portugal and Morocco. The first stage would affect Cyprus, given its proximity and richness in copper. Some tombs dated to Cypro-Geometric I at Kouklia (Palaepaphos)-Skales, Episkopi-Kaloriziki and Salamis, and, in some cases, to Recent Cypriot III B, contain Phoenician pottery from the mid-11th century BC.¹ The Phoenician presence in Cyprus brought about the foundation of the colony of Kition towards the end of the 9th century BC. In the 10th century BC, several sites of Greek environment record the arrival of pottery and other Phoenician objects. Later on, towards the beginning of the second half of the 8th century BC, the first western Phoenician factories and colonies would spring forth, with Carthage the first, if its historic foundation date of 814/3 BC is accepted.

Although Phoenician expansion would have advanced progressively from the Near East, a series of finds suggests a phase of pre-colonial contacts, in which Phoenician vessels reach the western coastal areas in order to carry out commercial

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¹ Bikai 1987, 58–60.

exchange. Among these finds, may we remark the emergence in Italy and its islands of Subprotogeometric (SPG) Euboean-Cycladic skyphoi with pendent semicircles, assuming their transport can be attributed to the Phoenicians, as well as certain Egypt-style scarabs and bronze objects from the end of the 9th century BC to the beginning of the 8th century BC in the Tyrrhenian area of Torre Galli, Capua, Veio and Tarquinia.² The high dating, 9th–8th centuries BC, that some readings assign to the Phoenician Nora Stone and Nora Fragment ought to be considered, as well. Other material in the Iberian Peninsula that could also be related to the Phoenicians includes: representations, predating the first colonies, of objects (fibulae, combs, mirrors) of evident Near Eastern lineage in some of the so-called decorated stelae of the south-west; sporadic finds of some of these objects in local settings assigned to the Final Bronze Age; a remarkable Phoenician wall in a Final Bronze IB context at San Pedro Hill in Huelva, a site of indigenous occupation,³ with a clear parallel to stratum X at Tyre X;⁴ and, in the same city, a fragment of an Attic Middle Geometric (MG) II krater⁵ or pyxis⁶ ordinarily attributed to Phoenician; not to forget the elbow fibulae from the important deposit of the Huelva estuary,⁷ dated to 10th century BC by radiocarbon analysis and bronze typologies.⁸

Indirectly, the same thing was revealed by the Castillo de Doña Blanca, a Phoenician habitat off Cádiz, about 6 ha in extent and protected, since its foundation in the mid-8th century BC or a little later, by an impressive casemate wall⁹ that does not seem to have been the work of people newly arrived from afar. Further evidence can be added: the find at Kommos (southern Crete) of a three-pillar altar related to a pottery assemblage in which Phoenician amphorae of Type 9 from Tyre (*ca.* 800 BC), characterised by ridges on the shoulder, were present.¹⁰ Since the colonies were of later date than these amphorae, and in the absence of any other more precise destination, the site was interpreted as a landfall for westbound Phoenician ships. Finally, there is a verse in the Bible, 1 *Kings* 10:22, always at the back of the mind of those investigating these matters, mentions ships from Tarshish and, implicitly, a place called Tarshish which would give name to those ships during the reigns of Hiram I of Tyre and Solomon of Israel (though the latter is today questioned). The chronological context can be inferred from the succession of events described

² Martelli 1991, 1055–56.

³ Pellicer 1996, 122.

⁴ Ruiz Mata *et al.* 1981, 179–95, fig. 6 and pls. III–XII; Bikai 1978a, 11 and pl. LXXXIX.5–6.

⁵ Shefton 1982, 342–43, n. 11 and pl. 30a.

⁶ Coldstream 1982, 369.

⁷ Ruiz-Gálvez 1995a, 222–23, 227.

⁸ Ruiz-Gálvez 1995b, 79.

⁹ Ruiz Mata and Pérez 1995, 99–100.

¹⁰ Shaw 1989; 2000, fig. 8.2, 6, 8; Bikai 2000, 302, 309–10 and pls. 4.63.2, 6, 8; 4.64.2, 6, 8.

in the preceding chapter. When the voyage from Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea to Ophir is described (1 *Kings* 9:26–28 with a further allusion in 1 *Kings* 10:11),¹¹ there is no mention of any Tarshish ships, perhaps because the Phoenicians had not yet sailed to such a place, nor their ships adopted such a famous name. Later on, Jehosaphat (*ca.* 870–846 BC) tried unsuccessfully to repeat the Ophir voyages and built vessels that were called ‘Tarshish ships’ at the same place, Ezion-Geber (1 *Kings* 22:48). On the other hand, dating the Ophir journey before 20 years had elapsed since the time when Hiram I supplied Solomon with timber and gold for the Temple and the royal palace, and the satisfaction by Solomon of the ensuing debt (1 *Kings* 9:10–11, 14) does not make any sense, because if gold from Ophir could have reached Israel via the Red Sea (1 *Kings* 9:28), Solomon would have been unlikely to pay his debt by delivering 20 cities of Galilee (1 *Kings* 9:11). Consequently, the succession of events narrated in 1 *Kings* dates the first Tarshish voyages after the Ophir voyage and late in the reigns of both Hiram I (*ca.* 969–936 BC) and Solomon (*ca.* 967–928), i.e. towards the beginning of the second half of the 10th century BC: *ca.* 940 BC seems appropriate.¹²

From this approach, the Huelva finds on which our attention is focused actually verify that beyond some occasional voyages or contacts, the Phoenicians had established, perhaps already by the second half of the 10th century BC, a commercial and

¹¹ The Ophir toponym is recognised in an ostrakon of Tell Qasile (Maisler/Mazar 1950–51, 207, 209, fig. 13f and pl. 38A). Based on ceramic type and palaeographical examination, the inscription mentioning the gold of Ophir was ascribed to stratum VII of Tell-Qasile, dated between the end of the 9th century BC and the arrival of Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 BC. But this does not imply that the sea route to Ophir continued to be open, since gold of that provenance could continue to reach the area of Syria-Palestine via caravan. Furthermore, it is plausible that just a single trip to Ophir was made, since ‘...there came no such almuq trees, nor were seen unto this day’ (1 *Kings* 10:12). This verse is in accordance with the scarcity of Ophir gold, which can be deduced from some Biblical verses referring to later times (*Isaiah* 13:12), sometimes giving to it a symbolic character to signify something of great value (*Job* 22:24; 28:16; *Psalms* 45:10, although this verse seems to evoke Solomon’s court), and the fact that the gold of Ufaz/Uphaz is talked about (*Jeremiah* 10:9; with symbolic value in *Daniel* 10:5), coming from an unknown place or auriferous region, perhaps in the Iberian Peninsula or Africa and related to Tarshish, since it is mentioned together with silver of such origin (*Jeremiah* 10:9) and ‘Tarshish stone’ (*Daniel* 10:5–6). On the other hand, the maintenance of a Phoenician fleet in the Red Sea with Hebrew participation is unthinkable given power shifts in the harbour/port of Ezion-Geber and access to this sea, almost always in the hands of the Edomites, the collision between the Hebrews and the Philistines and between Judah and Israel, the breaking by Jehu (841–814 BC) of the Hebrew-Phoenician alliance, and the successive Assyrian, Syrian, Egyptian and Caldean campaigns. Only in the time of David, Solomon and Jehosaphat did appropriate conditions exist to permit the planning of any enterprise through the Red Sea. Thus, whereas Biblical allusions to further trips to Tarshish continue, no voyage to Ophir is ever mentioned again.

¹² This date suggested for the presence of Phoenicians at Tarshish can be revised if, instead of using Katzenstein’s (1973, 349) dating for Hiram I (969–936 BC), we were to accept the later dates, *ca.* 950–917 BC, recently proposed by Lipiński (2006, 174).

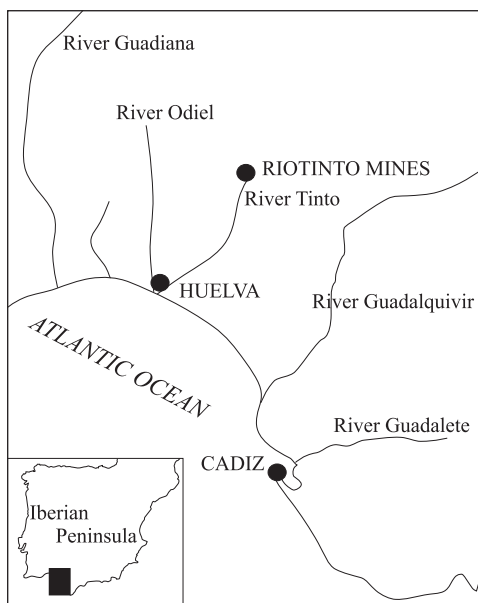


Fig. 1: The Huelva area (F. González de Canales).

industrial *emporion* in the Far West with indigenous participation (Fig. 1). That is to say that over some 400 years and until the beginning of Carthaginian influence, westward Phoenician expansion developed in two phases – what might be called ‘pre-colonial-emporitan’ (*ca.* 940?–740 BC), and colonial proper or ‘colonial-emporitan’ (*ca.* 740–540 BC). The most outstanding event during the second phase is the arrival and settlement (around 630 BC) of Ionians at the *emporion* of Tarshish, which, at practically the end of this phase, *ca.* 540 BC, became known as Tartessos in Greek sources.

The Pre-colonial-Emporitan Phase

To date, the oldest Phoenician pottery assemblage documented in the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 2) comes from an excavation at 7–13 Méndez Núñez Street/12 Las Monjas Square in the old city centre of Huelva;¹³ together with the development of numberless industrial, craft and agricultural activities, it defines this pre-colonial phase. On account of the powerful water-table common to the lower parts of the city, the excavation had only reached the level of the 7th century to, perhaps, the end of the 8th century BC level. However, further pumping and the activities of a construction company brought forth, at a depth of 5 m, 2.5 m below the water-table,

¹³ González de Canales *et al.* 2004; 2006.

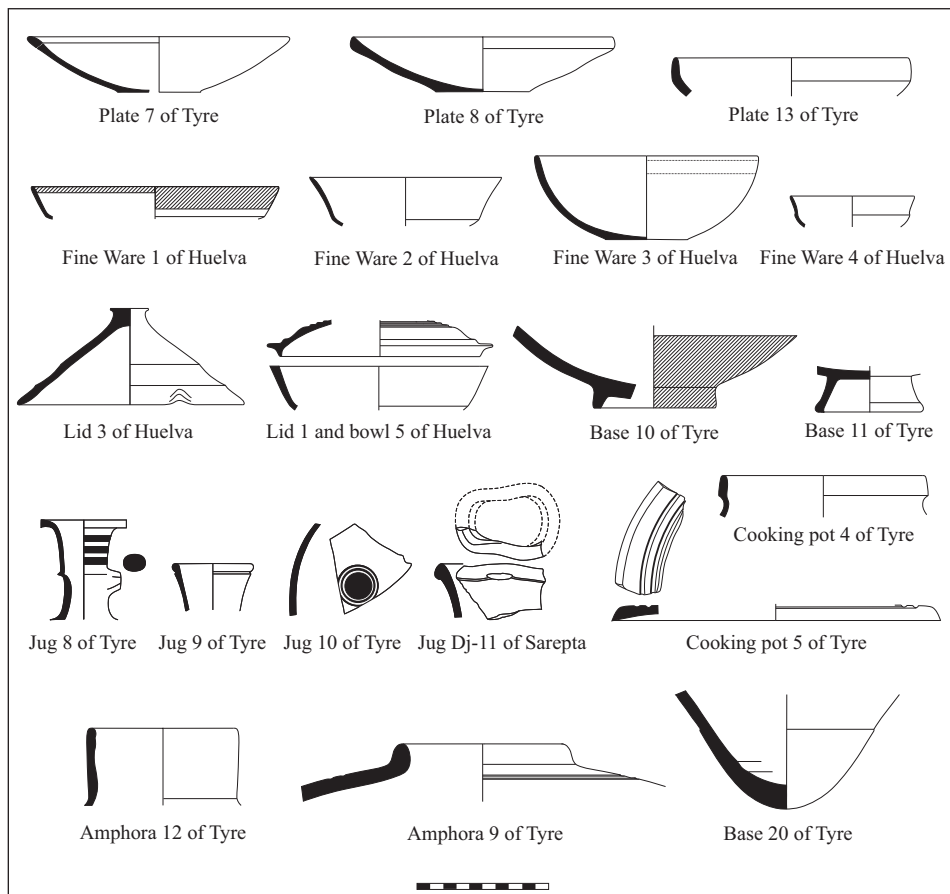


Fig. 2: Some Phoenician ceramics (F. González de Canales).

a dark greyish level, approximately 1 m thick, containing the first anthropogenic remains here. In spite of the fact that these were recovered in a secondary position, we should note that:

1. The strong viscosity of the marshy estuarine sediments which constitute the level, identified through binocular examination, favour the presence of embedded materials.
2. The selective rescue of materials, limited to the well-differentiated earths from the level, was done very carefully almost entirely by the authors of the original publication.
3. Any possible intrusions from the upper levels during soil removal were minimised. Intrusion from lower levels was discounted since only virgin soil was found.

Eight thousand and nine fragments catalogued as being diagnostic of vessel types or for their decoration (the rest, totalling some 90,000, were considered as atypical) were found within a date range of *ca.* 900–770 BC according to the conventional dating of pottery. The catalogued fragments were assigned to the following vessels: 4703 of local handmade, 3233 Phoenician, 33 Greek, 8 Cypriot, 30 Sardinian (to which some Nuraghic amphorae of Phoenician tradition must be added) and 2 Italic.¹⁴ Limiting the count to rims and base fragments, local and Phoenician traditions were similarly represented: 3000 and 3112 respectively.

The main reference point for cataloguing and dating Phoenician pottery is the study carried out by P.M. Bikai in Tyre,¹⁵ complemented by the Phoenician horizons in Cyprus¹⁶ and, in some cases, by the Sarepta typology¹⁷ and other Eastern sites. Likewise, the chronology established by J.N. Coldstream for Greek Geometric pottery was examined,¹⁸ as well as that by A. Nitsche¹⁹ for SPG Euboeo-Cycladic plates. Although the stratigraphy of Tyre remains seminal due to the role of this city in Phoenician expansion and to the great experience of Bikai, the position of certain fragments suggests some degree of misplacement, thus it may be sounder in these circumstances to attend to whole sets of pottery rather than to isolated cases. It should also be remarked that, in place of *ca.* 740 BC,²⁰ a later date has been suggested for the end of stratum IV at Tyre: *ca.* 760 BC,²¹ which accords with the pottery associations and the presence and absence of Phoenician and Greek ceramics within the context of Huelva and some Eastern sites, such as Tell Abu Hawan, whose recent revision suggests a new dating towards the end of stratum III of *ca.* 759 BC.²² This stratum comprises Greek pottery of the transition between Middle and Late Geometric, so that it ends a bit later than the Huelva context. Should we accept that stratum IV

¹⁴ A 'Villanovan' origin has been suggested for these two Italic fragments, attributed to one cup and one kantharos (González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 98–99 and pls. XX.6–7 and LIX.10–11). Recently, M. Botto and J. Vives-Ferrándiz (2006, 118–19), following some scrutiny of F. Delpino, concur in considering the cup with an 'S' profile and chevrons on the body (*coppe baccellate*) as imitating metallic models and note that the oldest metallic *patere baccellate* in the Mediterranean was found in tomb 21 at Castel Decima, dated to the third quarter of the 8th century BC, i.e. immediately after the Huelva context. For the present they consider the establishing of comparisons and determining the area of provenance of the Huelva piece to be extremely problematic. As for the kantharos, they consider it to be closer to the *taza attingitoio*, with parallels in southern Etruria and Pontecagnano, although with some differences, and suggest a Tyrrhenian origin.

¹⁵ Bikai 1978a.

¹⁶ Bikai 1987.

¹⁷ Anderson 1988.

¹⁸ Coldstream 1968.

¹⁹ Nitsche 1986–87, 32.

²⁰ Bikai 1978a, 67–68.

²¹ Bikai 1981, 33.

²² Aznar *et al.* 2005.

at Tyre finished in *ca.* 760 BC, then the transition from the Salamis to the Kition horizons would have to be established earlier, perhaps *ca.* 770 BC. Lastly, it is relevant that Huelva's Phoenician pottery is formally much closer to Tyre's than to that from other Eastern sites, with some exceptions. For this reason it will be discussed using the type-series established by Bikai as a major point of reference, and also making use of his table for the stratigraphic distribution of the various Tyre types.

Amongst the most significant Phoenician ceramics at Huelva (Fig. 2) are 380 plate rims of Tyre Type 7, 475 rims of Types 8 and 9 (grouped for Huelva because of the intense colour alteration to ware and slip brought about by the alkaline environment), 93 of Type 10, 18 of Type 11, 11 of Type 13, and 2 of Type 14 (although these last rims are similar to those of lamps and they have not been properly considered in some earlier publication; the selected ones show some differences of treatment compared with several hundred other lamp fragments examined). A plate of great quality,²³ in form close to Tyre Type 7, contributes little for want of parallels.

Eight types of bowls distinguished in Huelva²⁴ from 132 rim fragments are not represented in the type-series at Tyre. But the find of a Tyre Type 10 base and 13 bases of Type 11, which may belong to deep bowls of Type 6, suggests that some rims assigned to Tyre Type 10 plates might correspond to this type of bowl with its similar rim. Regarding the fine ware plates/bowls, the changes in classification of specimens from Tyre,²⁵ Kition²⁶ and Cyprus,²⁷ and the colour changes of the Huelva pottery, made comparison extremely difficult. For this reason, a purely formal typology was established. Huelva's Type 1, represented by 103 rims and, probably, by nearly all of another 162 incomplete rims, corresponds generally speaking to Type 6 of the first Tyre classification. Given the great quality, the convexity and the existence of a tiny support structure, the entirety of 55 base fragments preserving part of the centre may be ascribed, in principle, to Tyre Type 6 fine ware. However, some bases with this support were decorated with ridges and stripes in reserve and there were also rims with similar decoration to these bases; these could be ascribed to Tyre fine ware Type 2. There is no chronological distortion, as Tyre fine ware Types 6 and 2 are found in the same strata, V–II, although not in the same proportion: Type 6 is most common in stratum IV and Type 2 in stratum II. Huelva fine ware Type 2 (6 rims) was not classified separately, but it was at Kition as fine ware Type I.D;²⁸ Type 4 (6 rims) does not appear in the Tyre series either, whereas

²³ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 36.

²⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 44–50 and pls. VII–IX, XLVII–XLVIII.

²⁵ Bikai 1978a, 26–29; 1978b, 52–54.

²⁶ Bikai 1981, 23–24.

²⁷ Bikai 1987, 37–41 and pls. XVIII–XIX.

²⁸ Bikai 1981, 24.

Type 3 (209 rims) is formally similar to Tyre Type 4 and some specimens of Type 8. Of the jugs, 34 rims were ascribed to Tyre Type 7 (trefoil). There were no fragments of the late biconical body shape proper to the Amathus horizon of Cyprus.²⁹

The other 32 rims belonged to jugs of Tyre Type 8 and varieties Dj-4 to Dj-10 of Sarepta;³⁰ a fragment of a rim and neck, assigned to Tyre Type 9, showed a ridge below the rim similar to one of the Cyprus specimens;³¹ three body fragments decorated with vertical circles were assigned to Tyre Type 10, and another three fragments to spouts of Tyre Type 11 jugs (spouted-jugs), although some colleagues preferred to assign these last to trefoil rim jugs. Finally, seven jug rims belonged to Sarepta variety Dj-11.³²

Eleven amphora rims of Tyre Type 12 and 24 of Type 9 were recovered, of which four showed ridges on the shoulder similar to 'Kommos type' amphorae (another five fragments with such ridges were not included in the absence of their rims). Four bulbous vessels of Tyre Type 20, nine rims and a flat base of Nuraghic amphorae of Phoenician inspiration, some with reserves, and five rims of B1/B2 amphorae (Bartoloni)³³ = T-3.1.1.1./T-3.1.1.2 (Ramon Torres)³⁴ were also identified. A couple of kraters were found next to a specimen from Tyre stratum XIV,³⁵ although a more recent date must be estimated for those from Huelva. The Tyre type-series does not deal with lids but, out of the four types differentiated at Huelva,³⁶ Types 3 (10 rims) and 4 (six rims) show certain affinities to some specimens from Tyre strata IV–II.³⁷ Due to their dainty finish, perfect polish and absence of burn marks, Types 1 and 2 of Huelva must surely belong to bowls (pyxides); even a Type 1 lid would fit a Type 5 bowl (Fig. 2).³⁸ Three Cyprus lids similar to Huelva Type 2 (two rims) were assigned to the Kition horizon,³⁹ but an earlier date cannot be ruled out with such a small sample. Amongst the cooking pots, ten of Tyre Type 4 and three of Type 5 (tray for baking bread) may be noted. No chronological approximations can be attempted for the remaining vessels beyond their compatibility with the rest of the context.

Based on the pottery discussed above, the pre-colonial phase at Huelva equated to strata X–(part of) IV at Tyre and encompasses the end of the Kouklia horizon

²⁹ Bikai 1987, 58.

³⁰ Anderson 1988, 204–08.

³¹ Bikai 1987, no. 36 on p. 7 and pls. IV, XXIV.

³² Anderson 1988, 208–10.

³³ Bartoloni 1988, 32–33 and fig. 4.

³⁴ Ramon Torres 1995, 180–82 and figs. 30–31.

³⁵ Bikai 1978a, pls. XLI.7 and XCIII-Krater.

³⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 54–56 and pls. X.4–23, XLIX.6–14.

³⁷ Bikai 1978a, pl. X.1, 2, 5.

³⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004: lid, pls. X.9, XLIX.8; bowl, pls. VIII.23, XLVIII.6.

³⁹ Bikai 1987, 62 and pl. XVII.427–429.

and the whole of the Cypriot Salamis horizon. Its end date is estimated at *ca.* 770 BC, based on the absence of Late Geometric Greek pottery and of certain Phoenician vessels, such as Tyre Type 2 and 3 plates, low quality fine ware, mushroom-mouthed jugs, and Western plates of folded rim; whilst the *terminus ante quem* of some Phoenician pottery – Tyre Type 10 bases, Type 14 plates and Type 12 amphorae – together with three SPG I–II Euboeo-Cycladic plates, establish its start date at *ca.* 900 BC, though not excluding the second half of the 10th century BC.⁴⁰ Any earlier dates lack foundation given the absence of older Phoenician vessels of the Kouklia horizon, the Cypriot Geometric or the Greek Protogeometric which could sustain them. A set of Sardinian ceramics could have a more ambiguous dating – the 8th century BC, according to a detailed report of Dr S. Sebis.⁴¹

Why are we not inclined toward the highest dating?: because of our intention to identify the proto-historical habitat of Huelva not just with the city-emporion of Tartessos of Greek sources, which may date back to the end of the 7th–6th century BC (Herodotus 4. 152. 2–3; Scymnus 163–164; Avienus *Ora Maritima* 290), but also with the Biblical Tarshish from the time of Hiram I. This would be a foundation for the traditional philological hypothesis, in which the Greek toponym ‘Tartessos’ derives from the older Phoenician/Hebrew ‘Tarshish’.⁴² The change would consist in the adoption of the suffix ‘*essos*’, very common in Asia Minor. More precisely, according to a well-known story by Herodotus (4. 152. 2–3; 1. 163), nowadays confirmed by thousands of Archaic Greek pottery fragments at Huelva, mostly uncatalogued, and by some inscriptions of the same affiliation,⁴³ the Greeks who

⁴⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 199.

⁴¹ Kindly supplied by Dr A. Stiglitz.

⁴² The bibliography on Tarshish/Ophir is extensive. It should be emphasised that the current Huelva finds were not at the disposal of previous writers: Bunnens 1979, 57–91; Koch 1984, with a wider territorial focus than the one exposed here; Lipiński 2004, 189–265, who gives a more recent dating to Tarshish in 1 *Kings* 10:22; or others.

⁴³ See Shefton 1982; Fernández Jurado 1984; Olmos Romera 1986; Cabrera Bonet 1990; González de Canales 2004, 279–332. Archaic Greek luxury ceramics are not absent from Huelva. Among Attic examples are a vase from the circle of the Gorgon Painter (Cabrera Bonet 1990, 55 and fig. 10.172–173), cups and Komast skyphoi, some of them suggestive of the KY and KX painters (Fernández Jurado 1984, 26–28 and fig. 8; González de Canales and Serrano 1991), an olpe decorated by Kleitias with a depiction reading ‘Atenea’ (Olmos Romera and Cabrera 1980), two Gordion cups, one of them also perhaps decorated by Kleitias (Fernández Jurado 1984, 20–23 and fig. 6), one ‘horse-head amphora’ (Fernández Jurado 1984, 36 and fig. 13), and Little Master cups (Fernández Jurado 1984, 16–17 and fig. 4). Among the Corinthian examples are one early lipless cup, with geometric decoration and *dipinto* (González de Canales and Serrano 1995, 10–11), and another from the Middle Corinthian period with a representation of a mythical winged beast (González de Canales 2004, 323). Some Laconian cups also can be considered as luxury items (Fernández Jurado 1984, 18–20 and fig. 5; González de Canales 2004, 321), as can two Siana cups from Samos with plastic decoration (González de Canales 2004, 323). The very restricted dispersion of some of these vessels points to the attractiveness of the Huelva *emporion* to the Greeks.

arrived in Tartessos came from Samos and Phocaea. Now, the acceptance that Tarshish existed from the time of Hiram I implies the defence of a Phoenician historical background in 1 *Kings* 10:22. The products documented at Huelva, notably silver obtained by cupellation and ivory (with related workshops),⁴⁴ could have been brought to market at an early stage; a Phoenician presence cannot be explained otherwise. These coincide with the commodities mentioned in 1 *Kings* 10:22; and there are clear chances of discovering gold and apes⁴⁵ to confer truthfulness on the verse, irrespective of its authorship, mode of transmission and the later postulated inclusion of Solomon – an initial late origin should be discounted because the invention of a relationship between Hiram I of Tyre, Tarshish and a series of products found at Huelva, some of them very unusual, whose location in the Far West coincides with all biblical references to Tarshish (*Jonah* 1:3; implicit in *Psalms* 72:10 and *Ezekiel* 38:13), is inconceivable. Adjusting the chronology for Huelva ceramics to match the time of Hiram I of Tyre, although admissible, would have been deemed an exercise in making the findings fit the text, i.e. of essaying Biblical Archaeology. Other products from Tarshish mentioned by *Ezekiel* 27:12 – iron, tin and lead – are also documented in the Huelva context.

Amongst the remaining finds, 11 Phoenician inscriptions⁴⁶ turn out to be chronologically compatible with the context, such as an ivory comb with a geometric decoration.⁴⁷ Also found have been carpentry shops, bone instruments and worked astragal bones, agate cores (suggesting a glyptic workshop), Phoenician lead weights, ostrich eggs, collar beads of vitreous paste, quartz and amber, possible baetyls, an alabaster vessel and a basalt bowl. There are remains of domestic cabins, bovine and ovine-caprine bones bearing witness to animal husbandry and breeding activities,

⁴⁴ The piece depicted on pls. XLII.49 and LXVII.56 in González de Canales *et al.* 2004 (39.3 in González de Canales *et al.* 2006) does not belong to an elephant tusk but to a *Bos (primigenius?)*, an enormous horn as it first looked macroscopically (González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 166, line 11). The confusion arose from the fact that all of the 40 or so pieces analysed corresponded to ivory, but in this case the sample turned out to be insufficient. Thus it was incorrectly understood that it had been analysed.

⁴⁵ At the 6th International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies (Lisbon, 2005) we aired the possibility that the Tarshish products mentioned in 1 *Kings* 10:22 and *Ezekiel* 27:12 might have been shipped from Huelva to Tyre (González de Canales *et al.* forthcoming). As to the apes in 1 *Kings* 10:22 (not mentioned in all versions of the Bible), Huelva Museum contains a curious Orientalising stone statuette of a primate, found some years ago in the vicinity of the proto-historic habitat (see pl. XLIX in Garrido Roiz 1970). A hypothetical identification of 'Tarshish stone' (*Ezekiel* 1:16, 10:9; *Song of Solomon* 5:14; *Daniel* 10:6; and an interpretation of the 'carved and hewn stones' in 1 *Kings* 10:22 in the Septuagint) with the pyritohedral crystals (a dodecahedron with pentagonal faces – so-called fool's gold) – FeS₂ – of the Iberian pyrites belt was also discussed at the same Congress (González de Canales forthcoming).

⁴⁶ Heltzer 2004.

⁴⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 165 and pls. XLI.3, LXVII.3.

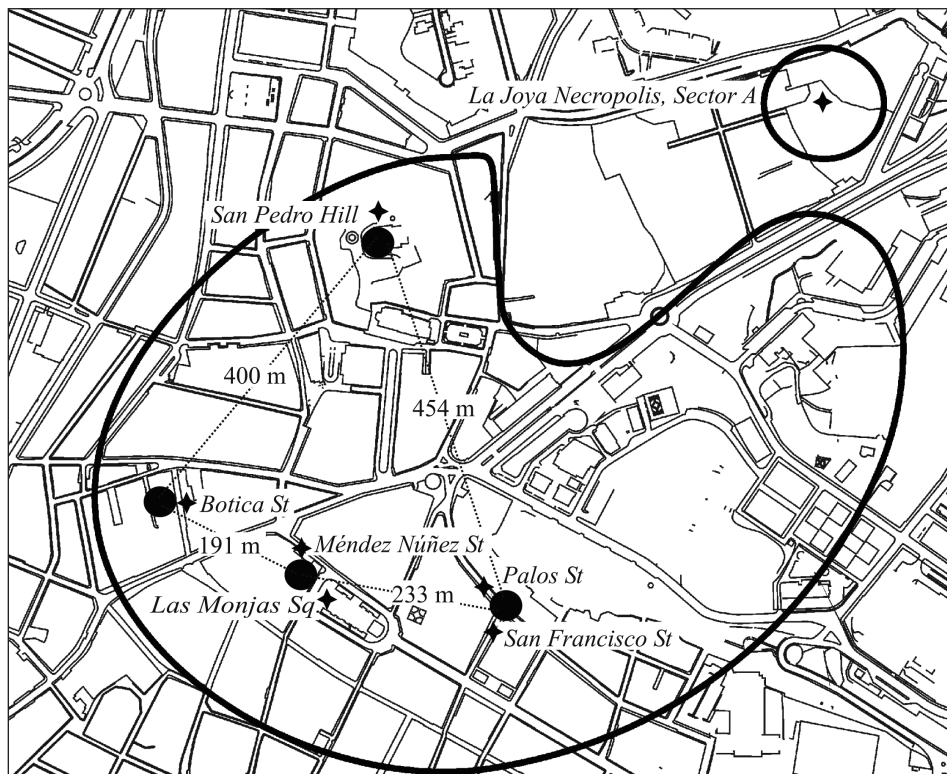


Fig. 3: Pre-colonial finds in the colonial-emporitan occupation area (about 20 ha with dense urbanisation of 'oriental' type, and areas with many ceramics and other finds but without a dense urbanisation on the right-hand side of the marked boundary) (F. González de Canales).

diverse specimens of seafood, *Murex brandaris* and *Murex trunculus* (for purple?), and agricultural crops, among which are *Vitis vinifera*, *Ficus carica* and *Hordeum genus* seeds. As to information yielded by the contents of amphorae, the inner surface of an atypical body fragment still contained some fish remnants. Another four fragments, including a 'Kommos type' amphora and a Tyre Type 20 base, bore an internal coating of a dark substance soluble in organic solvents; according to analysis carried out on other specimens,⁴⁸ it might be pine resin. As with the Huelva amphorae containing a similar coating but no fish remnants, these vessels could have been used to transport wine (notwithstanding the aforementioned presence of *Vitis vinifera* in the context).

⁴⁸ Information from Prof. M. Botto.

An unavoidable question is the extent of Huelva in the pre-colonial period. It has been estimated to cover some 20 ha in the subsequent phase.⁴⁹ Although excavations are still required to garner archaeological evidence in the lower parts of the city, where the rising water-table is a hindrance, there is enough information to suggest that it reached a considerable size.

Such are their complexity and multiplicity that it is unthinkable that the activities documented at Méndez Núñez Street/Las Monjas Square were confined just to this site; rather, they seem to be the tip of the iceberg. There is, however, further evidence (Fig. 3). The Phoenician wall at San Pedro Hill, some 428 m to the north, has already been mentioned; likewise, the out of context find of a fragment of an Attic MG II krater or pyxis, at the intersection of Palos and San Francisco Streets, some 233 m from the site and 454 m from San Pedro. A squared-off rim jug⁵⁰ unearthed at 5–9 Botica Street, some 400 m from San Pedro, can also be mentioned. From the same area comes a set of Phoenician inscriptions, one of which, dated to the 8th or no later than the beginning of the 7th century BC,⁵¹ was executed on a large handmade native vessel which showed deep traces of burning inside (from ritual use?).⁵² The distances between their find-spots are considerable, suggesting that Huelva occupied an area in the pre-colonial phase, at least towards the end of it, little less than in the later period, although its urban density is still to be determined.

Phoenician navigators would have counted upon several landfalls and supply sites on their routes through the Mediterranean, not excluding the exploitation of natural resources at some of these sites. In Cyprus the Phoenicians would have acquired the Geometric pottery found in the Huelva context, including the three Black-on-Red juglets (Fig. 4); in Greece two kantharoi, two skyphoi, three kantharoi or skyphoi and a trefoil rim jug of Attic MG II (a handle of a probable kantharos was also found), as well as 15 plates and two SPG Euboeo-Cycladic pendent-semicircle skyphoi, the most significant pieces among the Greek vessels (Fig. 4). The conclusion that these ceramics were transported by the Phoenicians is shared by Coldstream,⁵³ whose attention to the Huelva finds we deeply appreciate. Kommos, in southern Crete, represents an intermediate transit point which can be linked to Huelva by the 'Kommos type' amphorae with ridges on their shoulders. The two Italic pottery fragments mentioned above seem to witness that peninsular Italy lay along the

⁴⁹ González de Canales and Serrano 1995, 12 and fig. on p. 14.

⁵⁰ Gómez Toscano 2001–02, 113 and fig. 3.8.

⁵¹ Heltzer 1995.

⁵² González de Canales and Serrano 1995, 11.

⁵³ Coldstream forthcoming.

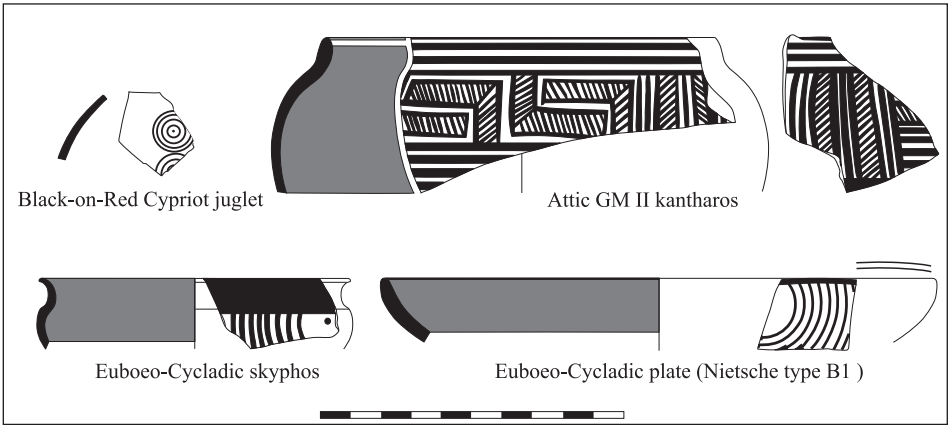


Fig. 4: Some Cypriot and Greek Geometric ceramics (F. González de Canales).

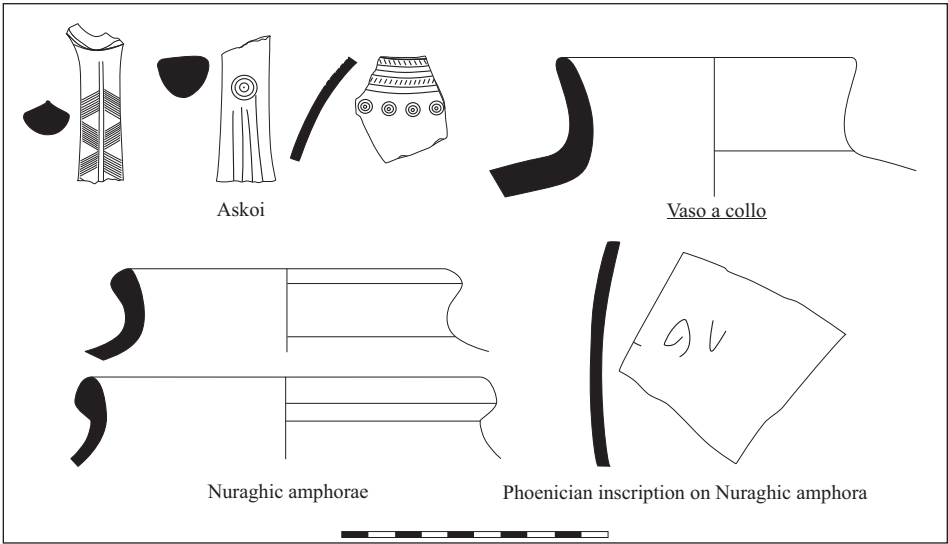


Fig. 5: Some Sardinian ceramics and a Phoenician inscription (F. González de Canales).

course of some of the voyages to Huelva. Sardinia and, perhaps most notably, Sant'Imbenia (Alghero, south-western Sardinia), considered as an *emporion*,⁵⁴ where a skyphos with pendent semicircles assigned to Kearsley's Type 5 has been attributed to Phoenician commerce,⁵⁵ can be linked to Huelva through the recovery at the Méndez Núñez site of Sardinian vessels: 13 askoi, a bowl, 15 *vasi a collo*, and 9 rims and a base of Nuraghic amphorae (Fig. 5). Furthermore, a Phoenician inscription on a Nuraghic amphora fragment (Fig. 5)⁵⁶ endorses the Phoenicians as the bearers of Sardinian pottery to Huelva. Without leaving Sardinia, the probable mention of Tarshish in the Nora Stone⁵⁷ and 'Tarsisi' in an Assyrian inscription of Esarhaddon (681–669 BC)⁵⁸ confirm the existence of the toponym in contemporary sources.

In North Africa, some Egyptian Mediterranean harbours can be integrated into this intricate circuit (further inland, the emergence of Phoenician objects probably prior to 9th century BC has been attested in Heracleopolis Magna),⁵⁹ and perhaps Carthage in its initial phase: five Ramon Torres T-3.1.1.1-2/Bartoloni B1–B2 amphorae have appeared in the Huelva context. If we look at the texts, the reasons for the foundation of Carthage may have differed in part from those for the other colonies. Its foundation date, 814/3 BC, seems consistent since it was in a period of living historical memory; moreover it was a city of transcendental importance, wide open to the Mediterranean. Furthermore, Carthage has yielded a single handle Euboean cup of SPG I–III⁶⁰ and Nuraghic amphorae.⁶¹ In the Iberian Peninsula, an early Phoenician presence was already detected at the bottom of the Final Bronze stratigraphy at Peña Negra de Crevillente (Alicante) in the form of ivory bracelets, necklace beads, and two elbow fibulae and one double-spring fibula in perfect stratification.⁶² The Huelva context itself confirms the existence of connections with Estremadura-Portugal during the pre-colonial-emporitan phase for the supply of tin (a sheet of it was found) and perhaps gold, and with Africa for ivory, ostrich eggs, and maybe also gold and apes. These connections, in which the local population must have played an important role, explain the appearance of glass paste, iron, bronze and ivory in several sites of the Iberian Peninsula.⁶³

⁵⁴ Ridgway 1998, 319.

⁵⁵ Ridgway 1995, 80–81.

⁵⁶ Heltzer 2004, 133, no. 2 and figs. XXXV.2, LXI.2.

⁵⁷ Bunnens 1979, 30–41; Amadasi Guzzo and Guzzo 1986; Tsirkin 1986, 180–81; Lipiński 2004, 234–47.

⁵⁸ Schulten, 1922, 156–57; Lipiński 2004, 227.

⁵⁹ Padró 1991.

⁶⁰ Vegas 1993, 360, no. 8 and fig. 1.8.

⁶¹ Docter *et al.* 1997; Docter 1998; Oggiano 2000, 241–42.

⁶² González Prats 1990, 106.

⁶³ Like the comb from Cabeço de Vaia, in Monforte, Portugal (Gomes 1990, 78 and fig. 10.H.).

The Colonial or Colonial-Emporitan Phase

Only a brief comment on the chronological aspects is called for, since Phoenician colonies are already abundantly documented not just in the Mediterranean but also along the Atlantic coastline of Spain, Portugal and Morocco.

Amongst the oldest pottery found in the colonies of the Iberian Peninsula, several items from Castillo de Doña Blanca and Morro de la Mezquitilla can be singled out, notably a piece of fine ware of Tyre Type 6,⁶⁴ several plates of Tyre Type 9,⁶⁵ and some Sagona 2 amphorae.⁶⁶ Although, according to Tyre's stratigraphy, the production of these vessels starts in certain cases in the first half of the 8th century BC, they continue to be documented well into the second half of that century (strata III–I), thus hindering attempts to establish precisely when the colonies were founded. As far as Greek pottery is concerned, a chronology around the second half of the 8th century BC is preferred: the oldest examples found to date correspond to Protocorinthian kotylai, whose production starts around 720 BC, and a Late Corinthian cup of Thapsos type, of *ca.* 750–720 BC, from la Fonteta, Alicante.⁶⁷ Therefore, the dating of the middle or second half of the 8th century BC, sometime proposed for Morro de la Mezquitilla,⁶⁸ seems satisfactory. A beginning to colonisation in the decade of the 730s BC would coincide with the period in which Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 BC) restarted the Assyrian campaigns against Syria-Palestine with terrific strength. Henceforth the foundation of colonies would come to be justified not by the procurement of high-value raw materials, as they had been in the past, but preferably by the search for a place of shelter and settlement for the refugees fleeing Assyrian oppression. Isaiah (23:6), having prophesied in Jerusalem since 733 BC, recommended the Tarshish ships run away to Tarshish. From another standpoint this would allow the colonies to solve the possible demand from the Levant for foodstuffs.⁶⁹ In any case, the arrival of new populations would increase agricultural activity,⁷⁰ which had already begun during the emporitan phase, in order to provide for basic needs without eating into the marketing of food surpluses (olive oil, wine, salt and salt preserves) or hindering the participation of the colonies, varying according to their strategic position, in the exploitation of metals and other high-value goods which had justified the previous phase.

⁶⁴ Maaß-Lindemann 1990, 170–71, pl. 1.1 and photographs b–c; 1994, 284–85 and fig. 1.1.

⁶⁵ Ruiz Mata and Pérez 1995, fig. 18.1.

⁶⁶ For example in Morro de Mezquitilla (Maaß-Lindemann 1995, fig. 1.4) and Doña Blanca (Ruiz Mata and Pérez 1995, 58 and fig. 19.4; Córdoba Alonso and Ruiz Mata 2005, 1.297).

⁶⁷ García Martín 2001, 210 and figs. 2.2 and 7.

⁶⁸ Maaß-Lindemann 1994, 291.

⁶⁹ González Wagner 2000.

⁷⁰ Wagner and Alvar 1989.

The Cádiz site deserves distinct comment, given that its foundation in a remote time (according to Roman-era sources) has turned the research of Phoenician remains into a very particular issue. Recent excavation in the urban nucleus of the city has yielded some pottery chronologically close to that of Castillo de Doña Blanca. So, 38 Cánovas del Castillo Street yielded, among other vessels, some plates morphologically close to Tyre Type 7,⁷¹ others similar to Tyre Type 9,⁷² bowls classified at Tyre as Type 4 fine ware (Huelva Type 3), and two fragments of Sagona 2 amphorae.⁷³ There is also a pyxis of dilated chronology, out of position.⁷⁴ It is better to leave Cádiz out of our twofold scheme until the outcome of future research is known.

Radiocarbon Dating

Radiocarbon determinations frequently tend to antedate the beginning of the Western colonies to the 9th century BC, even to its beginning. This fact, together with the date for the foundation of Cádiz in Roman-period sources, explains the inclination of some scholars towards dates older than those derived from the ceramics themselves. In the Huelva context, the calibration of three radiocarbon determinations (GrN-29511, GrN-29512 and GrN-29513), for which we are much obliged to Groningen University, dates the cattle bones between 1000 and 820 cal BC. The weighted average of the three datings is 2755±15 BP, 930–830 cal BC with 94% probability.⁷⁵ Such results suggest an older age for the end of the context than the one established from the ceramics of around *ca.* 770 BC, for the following reasons.

The high representation of plates in the Huelva context turns this category into the most reliable indicator for certain statistical determinations. The percentage of plates of Tyre Type 7 relative to the total number of plates (39.21%) is much closer to Tyre stratum IV (24.34%) than to stratum V (4.36%), and the same is the case for plates of Types 8 and 9 considered jointly (47.99%, 57.66% and 15.59% respectively), as it is for Types 10 (9.60%, 5.72% and 33.63% respectively) and 11 (1.86%, 2.36% and 12.24% respectively), presuming a discreet exception for Type 13 (1.13%, 0.62% and 1.31% respectively). Furthermore, the percentage of Type 10 plates might be even closer to Tyre stratum IV had bowl-rims of Tyre Type 6 been assigned to it. Differences with older Tyre strata are even greater. This means that maximum activity from the standpoint of Phoenician ceramic occurs at the end of the context, equivalent to the first part of Tyre's stratum IV. The most significant

⁷¹ Córdoba Alonso and Ruiz Mata 2005, fig. 5.3.

⁷² Córdoba Alonso and Ruiz Mata 2005, fig. 6.2.

⁷³ Córdoba Alonso and Ruiz Mata 2005, fig. 13.1–2.

⁷⁴ García Alfonso 2005.

⁷⁵ Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006.

assemblage of Greek ceramics, a dozen fragments of Attic MG II vases,⁷⁶ two fragments of skyphoi⁷⁷ and five fragments of plates⁷⁸ belonging to Euboeo-Cycladic SPG III, can also be subsumed at the end of the context. This is so, given the lack of more recent Greek Late Geometric pottery in the context and the presence of squared-off rim jugs and fine ware amongst the more recent Phoenician vases, which co-exist with Attic MG II and Euboeo-Cycladic SPG III vases in tomb 1 of the Salamis necropolis,⁷⁹ as a paradigm of the horizon extending up to Tyre's stratum IV.⁸⁰ Three other fragments of Euboeo-Cycladic plates belong to SPG I–II,⁸¹ and seven fragments can not be ascribed to any particular period for lack of rims. The chance that some of the bones dated might also come from the moment in which a greater concentration of Phoenician ceramics was produced is reasonably high, therefore the later dates of the radiocarbon tests are provisionally extendable to Attic MG II, whose conventional initial dating should probably have to be revised backward if the radiocarbon determinations were to be accepted.

Without opting for any particular chronology, be it ceramic- or radiocarbon based, it may be noted that in the case of the colonies, a dating to the 9th century BC, whilst breaking the basic scheme proposed, would decouple it from the supposed Syrian-Palestinian diaspora caused by the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III. Currently there are some differences for the 10th–8th centuries BC between the radiocarbon results from different laboratories and samples. These are not excessive, but they are relevant when it comes to adjusting the dating to calendar years with the precision demanded, so that prudence calls for discretion. The debate will only be concluded once all the factors capable of introducing modifications at a regional and world level have been identified, the assumptions we must make today have been clarified in full, and the methods, techniques and results have been checked and accepted by mathematicians, physicists, environmentalists and archaeologists. As a last recourse, there is always the chance of new finds such as an inscription mentioning some historical event or character.

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⁷⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pls. XVIII, LV–LVI.

⁷⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pls. XIX.1–2, LVII.1–2.

⁷⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pls. XIX.4 and LVII.10, XIX.6 and LVII.5, XIX.8 and LVIII.1, XIX.9 and LVIII.4, XIX.10 and LVII.4.

⁷⁹ Coldstream 1963; Desborough 1963; Bikai 1987, 50.

⁸⁰ Bikai 1987, 67–68.

⁸¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pls. XIX.3 and 11–12/LVII.3 and 6–7.

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CYPRriot TASTE IN EARLY GREEK CERAMIC IMPORTS*

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Abstract

This paper discusses the range and distribution of Greek Geometric imports in Cyprus. Nowhere do they imply the presence of expatriate Aegean Greeks, but wherein lay their attraction for Cypriot users? Why are they so rare in most Greek-Cypriot kingdoms, but so abundant at Amathus, stronghold of the indigenous Eteocypriots? Special scrutiny is devoted to untypical accumulations at Salamis and (apparently) Kourion, suggestive of *symposion* sets offered through gift-exchange between aristocrats, rather than through casual trade. Finally, the character of these imports is compared and contrasted with those from Mycenaean Greece, and also with Geometric imports in the Levant.

During the past 40 years I have been engaged, sporadically, in the study and publication of Greek Geometric exports to Cyprus, concentrating mainly on their various origins and their chronology. This article offers some retrospective reflections, with special attention paid to those who acquired, used and enjoyed these imports. My thoughts have been stimulated by a parallel study of why earlier Cypriots welcomed imports of Mycenaean pottery,¹ and also by a general survey of the ‘consumption’ of Early Iron Age Greek imports to Cyprus and North Syria,² to which additional thoughts are offered here. We begin with some wide generalisations about the general run of Greek Geometric imports to Cyprus, before concentrating on some exceptions to the general rule that require special explanations. Inevitably, some references to my previous articles will be made, but their message will be summarised as briefly as possible.

* Prof. Nicolas Coldstream submitted the final version of this paper in December 2007. His death on March 21st 2008, a matter of a week before his 81st birthday and just a fortnight before the eagerly awaited publication of the 2nd edition of his *magnum opus*, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, was a great loss to the world of classical scholarship as well as to his many friends. The paper has been left as it was. At the proof stage he had intended to add some page references to Coldstream 2008.

I was entertained by Nicolas and Nicky at their London home in September 2007. Nicolas was, as ever, full of energy and plans, and looking forward to the appearance of the new edition of his book and to that of this article (Gocha Tsetskhladze).

¹ Steel 1998.

² Crielaard 1999.

The General Run

We may start with four general statements. With few exceptions, the Geometric imports occur in tombs. By far the commonest shape among them is also the most popular of Greek Geometric drinking vessels, the skyphos. More surprisingly, the imports are very thinly distributed among the Greek-Cypriot kingdoms, but are especially plentiful at the Eteocypriot kingdom of Amathus. Lastly, most of the Geometric imports (with the exception of those from Salamis) came from Euboea, home of the most active of early Greek merchants in the eastern Mediterranean. Each of these general statements needs some qualification, and some detailed comment.

It may be urged that the predominance of tombs as the source of the imports is no more than the consequence of an inevitable bias towards the excavation of cemeteries, always more accessible than Cypro-Geometric settlements usually buried under a heavy overlay from later antiquity. But the settlements, though as yet little explored, have yielded no certain imports of Greek Geometric; only local imitations of Greek skyphoi.³ From sanctuaries one would expect fine and unusual offerings of pottery, and indeed the temple site of Astarte at Phoenician Kition has produced a scattering of Greek Geometric imports.⁴ Others have come to light at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathus.⁵ There remains, however, a great preponderance found in the cemeteries: never more than in a few tombs, but always in those of wealth above average. A useful chart,⁶ showing 20 tombs with the quantity of imports found in them, contrasts the majority with one to four imported vessels with three tombs containing much larger concentrations, amounting to sets that could have served a *symposion*. Three tombs will receive special scrutiny.

Finds of Geometric skyphoi exported outside the Aegean invite two alternative interpretations, depending on the local context: either as evidence for Greeks living abroad, or as an exotic luxury with an appeal to foreign users. As a chattel essential to the Geometric Greek way of life, much as the stemmed kylix had been for the Mycenaeans, its presence abroad could indicate the presence of Greek settlers among foreign communities. But in Etruria, for example, a persuasive case for some Greek residents rests not merely on the exported skyphoi, but much more so on the imitations in local clay that are so faithful to the originals in shape, decoration and

³ For example at Salamis (Calvert and Yon 1977, 12–13, nos. 31–34, pl. 4). No. 20 there may perhaps be from an imported Euboean LG skyphos, of the one-bird type characteristic of Chalcis (see Coldstream 2008).

⁴ Coldstream 1981, 17–22, pls. 16–18; Karageorghis 1981, 61–63, pl. 1; 2005, 2, 54, 58, 60–62, 70, 89–91, 136.

⁵ Thalman 1977, 65–67, nos. 1–5, pl. 1.

⁶ Crielaard 1999, 270, fig. 3.

technique as to indicate the hand of the expatriate Greek potter.⁷ Only thus, with such imitations at their disposal, could Greeks living beyond the Greek world enjoy the amenity of the crockery made up to the standard to which they had become accustomed – just as the earliest colonies in the West, from Pithekoussai onwards, developed colonial imitations for their own use.

The skyphos was the only Greek Geometric shape to make any sustained impact on the extensive repertoire of Cypro-Geometric (CG) pottery,⁸ by no means deficient in its own drinking shapes; indeed, the stood bowl of CG III with two handles is the distant cousin of the Greek Geometric skyphos, both descended ultimately from the deep bowl of Mycenaean IIIB. To the skyphos, potters in Cyprus paid the compliment of imitating its shape. Although it never became the most favoured drinking vessel in Cyprus, the imitations enjoyed a limited vogue throughout the 8th, 7th and early 6th centuries, eventually influenced by the East Greek 'Ionian cups'.⁹ There was no consistent effort, however, to make faithful reproductions of the originals. Aegean Greek drinkers would have been accustomed to a smooth coating of interior paint, such as we see in the close copies made in Etruria. An interior coating is sometimes found in early imitations of Aegean Middle Geometric (MG), decorated with hatched meanders or battlements,¹⁰ but already a Cypriot element in the decoration appears in the concave chevrons, and in the use of Bichrome.¹¹ From the late 8th century onwards, Cypriot adaptations dispense with solid interior paint in favour of groups of fine lines inside the lower body, in the Cypro-Geometric tradition; and the Bichrome technique has become normal.¹² In brief, like all foreign ceramic shapes with some appeal for Cypriot users, the Greek skyphos has been modified to suit indigenous Cypriot taste; indeed, the earliest known attempt at a local adaptation occurs not in any of the Greek-Cypriot kingdoms, but at Amathus where, well back in the 9th century, the Euboean pendent-semicircle skyphos gave rise to a large and rather clumsy imitation in the Bichrome technique, with the pendent semicircles laboriously rendered freehand in their concentric sets.¹³ The conclusion must be that the local copies of skyphoi do not by themselves indicate the presence of expatriate Aegean Greek users; rather, that the Aegean imports with their smooth coated interiors may have had some initial attraction for prosperous and outward-looking Cypriots, but the shape was

⁷ Blakeway 1932–33, 192, Class B.

⁸ Coldstream 1979, 255–69.

⁹ Coldstream 1979, 266, no. 26, pl. 31.6.

¹⁰ Coldstream 1979, 258–59.

¹¹ Coldstream 1979, 258–59, nos. 4, 6, pl. 29.

¹² Coldstream 1979, 262–66, pls. 30–31.

¹³ Coldstream 1987, 22–24, no. 4, pls. 8, 11.

soon adapted to local taste, and absorbed into the Cypro-Geometric repertoire for Cypriot users.

The overwhelming frequency of Greek Geometric pottery at Amathus¹⁴ requires some comment. For non-Greek Eteocypriots, did the Geometric imports have a special attraction as something 'other'? Or are our statistics skewed by the comparative frequency of excavation in the cemeteries of Amathus? In answer to the second suggestion, one notes at least five Greek-Cypriot sites of the Early Iron Age (Lapithis, Marion, Kourion-Kaloriziki, Papho-Ktima and Palaepaphos-Skales)¹⁵ where at least ten chamber-tombs have been excavated, but are entirely lacking in Greek Geometric imports. Especially remarkable in this respect is the abundantly furnished Skales cemetery with some 50 tombs, where the only ceramic imports are of Phoenician unguent vessels of the CG I period (1050–950 BC)¹⁶ and there is nothing obviously from Greece, with the possible exception of a bronze tripod cauldron of the same early date.¹⁷ This is one of many bronze vessels in that cemetery, where metal offerings might have been a more appropriate symptom of wealth than fine painted pottery made by distantly related Aegean cousins of the wealthy Greek Cypriots buried there.

With regard to the first suggestion, it should be noted that, whatever attraction the imports may have had for the Amathusians, they were no less willing to receive Phoenician pottery; indeed, a comprehensive study has drawn attention to Amathus as by far the most prolific source in Cyprus of pottery exported from the Phoenician homeland¹⁸ – apart from the Tyrian colony of Kition. Perhaps the abundance of ceramic imports at Amathus, both Greek and Phoenician, is best explained by its favourable position, as a convenient port and staging-post in southern Cyprus, on the safest maritime route between the Aegean and the Levant. This route was already being plied as early as the first half of the 10th century, when exports of Greek pottery were reaching the Phoenician metropolis of Tyre.¹⁹ Significantly, it is Amathus that received the earliest Greek imports in Cyprus: from one tomb, a skyphos and a cup of the late 10th century.²⁰ These were followed by a steady flow of Greek Geometric vessels, closely matching those that reached Tyre.²¹ To preserve a sense of

¹⁴ Statistics, now out of date, are given in the map, Coldstream 1986, 322, fig. 1. Add Coldstream 1995b, 187–214. I am informed that now (2007) over a thousand tombs have been excavated at Amathus.

¹⁵ Coldstream 1986, 322, nn. 9–13.

¹⁶ Bikai 1983.

¹⁷ Karageorghis 1983, 116, tomb 58.37, pls. 89, 115.

¹⁸ Bikai 1987, 71–72.

¹⁹ Coldstream 1988, 38–40, pl. 10.24–26.

²⁰ Coldstream 1987, 22, n. 10, pls. 10, 17, *Lim* 46/3–4.

²¹ Coldstream 1988, 42, fig. 1.

proportion, however, we should concede that the Aegean vessels, however numerous they may seem in comparison with those from other Cypriot sites, at Amathus constitute only a very small part of the total corpus, and are confined to a small minority of the richer tombs.²²

We conclude this first section with some thoughts about the origin of the Greek imports, and about those most likely to have brought them to Cyprus. For the conveyors there are four possible candidates: Greeks, Phoenicians, Cypriots and unknown middlemen. The last possibility cannot be wholly excluded, but it is difficult to take seriously the claims of middlemen who leave no trace in the archaeological record. Any active overseas initiative by the Cypriots is rendered unlikely by the extreme scarcity of Cypro-Germanic exports to the Aegean – apart from the export of small unguent vessels briefly considered below, for which the impulse probably came from Phoenician settlers. As for the Phoenicians, Homer recalls them as purveyors of trinkets when their merchants visited Aegean shores; some *orientalia* found in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi²³ may well have arrived in this way. And in Cypro-Geometric pottery there was indeed some Phoenician influence on the local repertoire, but it was mainly confined to slow-pouring unguent shapes. The Cypriot Black-on-Red juglet with a neck ridge, already established as 9th century, is an accomplished local adaptation of a cruder Phoenician prototype, adopting an earlier Levantine practice, hitherto foreign in Cyprus, of decorating such vessels in dark matt paint above an orange-red slip. Westward exports and their local imitations form a reciprocal initiative from Cyprus to the Aegean, probably organised by Cypro-Phoenician merchants – but that is another story.²⁴

As exporters of Greek Geometric pottery to Amathus, however, by far the strongest candidates are those who also made most of the exports, besides being the most active maritime traders of the Aegean world: the Euboeans, some seeking Cypriot copper, others calling at Amathus on their way to lucrative markets in the Phoenician homeland. And Euboea is not merely the most frequent source of Geometric imports in Cyprus; one imported shape, the plate, suggests a conscious desire to satisfy local demand.²⁵ The plate, very rare in Geometric Greece, had in Cyprus become an essential domestic chattel from the early 10th century (CG IB) onwards, probably introduced under Levantine influence; and of the Euboean Sub-Protogeometric type decorated with pendent concentric semicircles, those found in

²² For example Coldstream 1995b, 212–13.

²³ For example Popham and Lemos 1996, pls. 141–145.

²⁴ Coldstream 1984, 136–37 (Crete); 1969 (Dodecanese). It now appears that many Black-on-Red exports to the Aegean came not from Kition, but from western Cyprus (see Schreiber 2003, 285–306; 2005, 385).

²⁵ Coldstream 1995b, 200.

the homeland are greatly outnumbered by exports to Cyprus and also to the Levant where finely decorated plates were no less welcome.²⁶

The Euboean imports to Amathus are accompanied by six Attic MG skyphoi,²⁷ of finer fabric and with more fastidious linear decoration. The Euboeans at home, however, also shaped a taste for fine Attic MG vessels;²⁸ thus, those found at Amathus could well have travelled in Euboean ships.

The Salaminian Exception

The Geometric imports to Salamis depart from the general run in several respects. With the possible exception of a single Late Geometric (LG) skyphos fragment from the settlement,²⁹ there is nothing from Euboea. Instead, a large concentration of 34 vessels, Attic and Cycladic, was found with the earlier of two burials in Tomb 1 of the Royal Cemetery,³⁰ the largest accumulation of Geometric imports ever to be found in any single context in Cyprus, datable to the second quarter of the 8th century by the Attic MG II vessels. And even at Salamis this find is exceptional. Tomb 1 contains the earliest well-furnished burials in the western area reserved for the princely elite brought to their tombs on horse-drawn chariots and hearses whose remains were found in the broad *dromoi*. In the subsequent tombs in this privileged necropolis, imports of Geometric pottery are virtually absent.³¹ It may well be that, as in the earlier rich tombs in the Skales cemetery of Old Paphos, indicators of wealth are to be seen not in fine imported pottery, but rather in more costly materials: bronze vessels, and elaborate *orientalia* in ivory and faience. In no. 79,³² one of the latest and by far the richest tomb in this cemetery, the bed and four thrones, inlaid with ivory plaques of consummate Phoenician workmanship, are indeed worthy of a local king, buried with a pomp suitable for rulers in the Near Eastern world at a time when Cyprus was already enjoying the benefits of absorption within the Assyrian empire, after the voluntary submission of the 'seven kings of Ia' to Sargon II in 709 BC.

Be that as it may, the extraordinary accumulation of Greek ceramic imports in Tomb 1 is sufficiently unusual as to provoke special explanations concerning the individuals buried with them. First, however, we need to look closely into the stratigraphical evidence within the tomb. The Attic assemblage consists of a pedesta

²⁶ Coldstream 1988, 39.

²⁷ Coldstream 1987, 26–27, nos. 14–16; 1995b, 207, nos. 15–17.

²⁸ For example Popham and Lemos 1996, pls. 109–110.

²⁹ Calvet and Yon 1977, 13, no. 30 (see n. 3 above).

³⁰ Dikaïos 1963.

³¹ Karageorghis 1967, 15, tomb 2.86b, large Greek Geometric fragment, not illustrated.

³² Karageorghis 1974.

krater and 21 skyphoi, all of the MG II phase, and all well matched in single graves of the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery. They form a remarkably homogeneous group; all could have been made, and shipped together, within a very short time during the second quarter of the 8th century.³³ And the 12 non-Attic vessels decorated with pendent semicircles – 2 skyphoi and 10 plates – are of types unlikely to occur later than the middle of the 8th century.

Firm stratigraphical evidence within this tomb is not plentiful. Over the years, rainwater seeping through the chamber roof had caused flooding of the floor. The Attic krater had been removed by villagers, who fortunately handed it over to the Department of Antiquities so that its Director could conduct a careful excavation of the tomb. In a pit dug into the chamber floor he discovered the cremated bones (an extreme rarity in Cyprus), with one of the Attic MG II skyphoi.³⁴ Hence arises a reasonable supposition that the entire corpus of imported Greek pottery went with the first burial. This suggestion gains strength from the context of one of the pendent-semicircle plates, found covering the mouth of one of the earliest local amphorae in the *dromos*, of the CG IIIB phase.³⁵ When CG III was thought to have persisted until *ca.* 700 BC,³⁶ it seemed that the Greek imports might have been enjoyed as tableware for about a generation before their deposition in the tomb; but a more recent reappraisal of the relative and absolute chronology has raised the terminal date of the third period to not later than 759 BC.³⁷ Thus there need be no considerable interval between the arrival of the imports and their deposition with the first burial of Tomb 1.

As was fitting for the princely dead of Salamis, both burials were brought to the tomb in chariots, perhaps indicating a tradition of 'heroic' burials shared by Cypriot and Aegean Greeks, as known to us from the Homeric description (*Iliad* 23. 108–261) of the funeral rites paid to Patroclus.³⁸ The remains of the chariots, with the horse skeletons and their trappings in bronze, were found in the wide *dromos* where the stratification had been less seriously disturbed than in the chamber. Levels corresponding to the two burials could be distinguished; the second incumbent, for whom a fragmentary inhumation could be recovered, could be dated to *ca.* 700 BC by local pottery well within the Cypro-Archaic I period.

With the first burial, how best can the extraordinary abundance of Attic Geometric pottery be explained? Very rarely, even in Athens, do we find such a copious

³³ Coldstream 1963.

³⁴ Dikaios 1963, 148; 186, no. 59.

³⁵ Dikaios 1963, 192, no. 138, fig. 35.30.

³⁶ Gjerstad 1948, 423.

³⁷ Coldstream 1979, 266–67.

³⁸ Coldstream 2003, 349–50.

store of skyphoi in a single grave; the only comparable accumulation there is of 31 MG II skyphoi with meanders – like many of those at Salamis – found in a grave south of the Acropolis,³⁹ exceptionally rich in pottery, with 83 vessels in all. Granted that rich burials in Cyprus are often accompanied by huge quantities of pots, what is extraordinary is that, with the first burial in this tomb, there should be such a large set of Attic Geometric imports, a fabric otherwise rare on the island.

One theory accounted for this Attic ‘dinner set’ as the dowry of an Athenian noblewoman married into the Salaminian royal dynasty,⁴⁰ on the assumption that only a woman would have been buried with the gold and crystal beads found with the cremation in the bronze cauldron. In Athens, however, men too could receive finery, especially gold bands; and, in Athens, the combination of cremated remains in a bronze cauldron, and a pedestalled krater with an abundance of drinking vessels, is more consistent with a male incumbent:⁴¹ the vessels would constitute part of his *symposion* set. This burial, then, will have been of a local prince, brought to his tomb on a chariot according to the local custom for royalty, but with an interest in acquiring large numbers of foreign vessels for his banquets. It is possible that these vessels came to him through gift exchanges with elite families in Athens, and in the Cycladic source of the 12 pendent-semicircle vessels;⁴² in favour of this action is the circulation elsewhere of the Attic MG II pdestalled krater, in its homeland an aristocratic vessel of high prestige, as also in the royal capitals of the eastern Mediterranean, not only in Cyprus but also in the Levant, at Hama, Tyre and Samaria.⁴³ But our prince’s taste in foreign pottery was not limited to Aegean products. Tomb 1 also contained at least 30 Phoenician vessels, distributed among both burials. From a full study of imports to Cyprus from that source,⁴⁴ it appears that, in Cypro-Geometric tombs, imports from Greece are usually accompanied by Phoenician vessels, mainly of closed shapes which would have complemented the drinking ware from the Aegean. Thus it could be that, in any rich Cypriot tomb with foreign vessels, imports from both directions signify nothing more than a manifestation of prosperity. Here one might adduce a parallel case in a rich Protogeometric tomb at Knossos, where a set of 23 Attic vessels, skyphoi and cups, are accompanied by a bronze bowl inscribed with the name of a Pheonician owner, but with a burial in no way differing from the local practice.⁴⁵ Still to be explained, however, is the fact that, whereas

³⁹ Brouskari 1979, pls. 35–40.

⁴⁰ Gjerstad 1979.

⁴¹ Coldstream 1983a, 202–03.

⁴² Desborough 1979.

⁴³ Coldstream 2000, 26.

⁴⁴ Bikai 1987, 74, imports to Salamis tomb 1.

⁴⁵ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 25–30, 400–02, figs. 65–66, pls. 64–66 (Teke tomb J).

Phoenician imports are widely distributed in rich Cypriot tombs, in this tomb the large concentration of Aegean Geometric pottery, especially Attic, is unique.

On the assumption that the prince of the first burial had a taste for feasting crockery from overseas, one alternative solution to the problem may be found in the ten SPG pendent-semicircle plates. For an aristocratic *symposion* in Geometric Athens, a krater and numerous drinking vessels were essential, together with some vessels for pouring; when Hesiod advises 'do not leave the oinochoe upon the krater' (*Erga* 7444), he is exhorting a host not to be mean with the wine. For our prince, pouring vessels would be provided by the local pottery and the Phoenician imports; but no princely banquet in Cyprus, whether in daily life or at the funeral, would be complete without a set of plates, dispensable in Greece, but essential to the Cypriot way of life. Unusually, the imported plates are not Euboean, but Cycladic imitations thereof, containing abundant inclusions of mica characteristic of those islands.⁴⁶ It may be that the ship bringing this homogeneous service of Attic vessels also called *en route* at the Cycladic source of the plates, which deserves investigation from chemical analysis.

In CG tombs without imports, *symposion* sets are not easy to detect, mainly because any local shape corresponding to the Greek krater is scarce. There are, however, some inklings of a taste for a *symposion* with imported pottery in some of the Eteocypriot tombs at Amathus. Tomb 194 of the North-West Cemetery, though much plundered, contains the remains of an Attic MG krater and, from Euboea, an oinochoe and, with pendent-semicircle decoration, 14 skyphoi and 7 plates;⁴⁷ these, however, lack the homogeneity of the Salaminian set and could have been acquired piecemeal during the 9th and early 8th century. Tomb 2 of the Swedish expedition, whose fine ashlar masonry is preserved today in the garden of the Amathus Beach Hotel, contained a set of 12 Euboean LG skyphoi with birds in metopal panels, with which a large Red Slip bowl imported from Phoenicia could have served as a krater.⁴⁸ In Tomb 321 a Euboean pedestalled krater was accompanied by three assorted drinking vessels of the 8th century, but of different dates.⁴⁹

All these signs of a desire for Greek Geometric crockery came from well-documented excavations. It is an unfortunate paradox that the clearest indication of a homogeneous *symposion* set, made in a single workshop and perhaps specially intended for export, comes from a source wholly lacking in any trustworthy archaeological context.

⁴⁶ Coldstream 1988, 38, n. 38.

⁴⁷ Coldstream 1995a.

⁴⁸ Gjerstad 1935, 15; 1977, 27–28, nos. 66–77; Bikai 1987, 35, no. 430.

⁴⁹ Coldstream 1987, 22–27, nos. 9 (krater), 2 (pendent-semicircle skyphos), 12 (kotyle); also nos. 4 and 13 (imitations of Greek skyphoi).

Kourion and Cesnola

Two excavated cemeteries in the Greek-Cypriot kingdom of Kourion, at the localities Kaloriziki and Bamboula, were in use throughout the Early Iron Age, but are wholly lacking in Greek imports. In this context the claim of L.P. di Cesnola, American consul in Cyprus during the 1870s, to have found in a 'treasure chamber'⁵⁰ three Greek Geometric figured vases – a huge krater and two oinochoai – has provoked a reasonable scepticism; but his alleged find would prove no more exceptional than the large concentration of Greek vessels in Royal Tomb 1 at Salamis, discussed above. As at Salamis, so at Kourion, we must envisage the taste of a local grandee for fine – and in this case spectacular – imports of Geometric pottery from the Aegean.

Recently there has been a glimmer of hope in locating di Cesnola's find of the three Geometric figured vessels, rescuing them from his romantic and semi-mythical account. A monumental built tomb excavated in 1989 at the locality Ayios Ermoyiannis, in the plain below the hill on which the city of Kourion stood, produced only Classical finds; but some items of jewellery found there matched those from di Cesnola's treasure, in which the assorted objects range from the Early Iron Age until Roman times.⁵¹ It seems likely, then, that the three figured vessels may have been found in a rich tomb.

The huge ovoid krater,⁵² if we accept its export to Kourion, will be the largest Greek Geometric vessel (height 1.15 m) known to have been shipped overseas. Almost as large is an Attic MG II belly-handled amphora (height 1.04 m) found in a rich tomb at Knossos.⁵³ In both cases, the motives for export are likely to have been personal rather than merely commercial. The Attic amphora, of a size comparable to the grave-markers for aristocratic burials in Athens, is not likely to have been sent to Knossos merely as a container for wine; accompanied by a krater and a pyxis from the same workshop and found in the same Knossian tomb, it is most easily explained as part of a set of prestigious vessels given by a noble Athenian family to their peers at Knossos. Likewise, the three figured vessels found by Cesnola invite explanation as a gift from Euboea to a local grandee.

The finder of these vessels has given his name to a leading painter of Euboean LG pottery and his workshop. Its products and its influences are more widely spread around the Mediterranean than those of any other personality in Greek Geometric vase-painting. There are exports to Delos, Crete, Cyprus at Al Mina,⁵⁴ and Euboean

⁵⁰ di Cesnola 1877, 332–33, 407.

⁵¹ Christou 1996, 176; Buitron 1997, 29.

⁵² Moore 2004, 79–84, the fullest publication of the krater, with its abundant bibliography.

⁵³ Coldstream and Catling 1996, pls. 202–203, from tomb 219.

⁵⁴ Coldstream 1971, 8–9.

colonial imitations of the figure style at Pithekoussai,⁵⁵ and even at Carthage.⁵⁶ Of the painter's three themes on the krater, the Oriental Tree of Life flanked by animals, and horse grazing in the field and feeding indoors at the manger, the last is exactly reproduced on the necks of the two oinochoai.⁵⁷ All three refer to the interests of a Euboean horse-owning aristocracy concerned with the fertility of their land and the pasture of their horses.⁵⁸

This Euboean LG figured repertoire differs from that of Athens in the omission of any reference to death and funeral; and at Eretria, the most extensively excavated site in Euboea, no figured pottery displaying the influence of the Cesnola workshop has ever been found in a funerary context.⁵⁹

These three vessels, then, were made to be enjoyed in daily life. They form the kernel of a homogeneous *symposion* set; the krater, when filled with diluted wine, would have served a most convivial party worthy of a prince. On its lid, the handle in the form of a miniature hydria suggests the customary mixing of wine with water, when poured out of the oinochoai. One would expect the set to have been completed by a number of drinking vessels. The six Euboean skyphoi that came to New York in the same lot, although their provenance is unknown, nevertheless are consistent in date (apart from two pendent-semicircle examples) with the figured vases, and one of them (74.51.478) faithfully repeats the one-bird metopal design on the shoulder of the miniature hydria crowning the lid; this could well be a minor piece from the Cesnola workshop.⁶⁰

We know of only two other contexts in Cyprus where figured Geometric imports have been found. Both occur outside the Greek-Cypriot sphere and both, in different ways, are related to the repertoire of the Cesnola workshop.

From the British Museum's excavations at Amathus in 1893–94, a seriously plundered tomb⁶¹ contained, of pottery, 'small fragments only', including part of a krater showing a grazing horse in the manner of the Cesnola workshop. The other recorded finds – gems, glass and paste – suggest that this tomb would not have been poor.

Phoenician Kition, as we have noted, has produced a scatter of Greek Geometric pottery, offered at the sanctuary of Astarte; but of Phoenician tombs in Geometric

⁵⁵ Coldstream 1994b.

⁵⁶ Niemeyer and Docter 1994, 106–10, n. 26, figs. 5–6.

⁵⁷ Moore 2004, pl. 50.

⁵⁸ Coldstream 1983b, 242–45.

⁵⁹ Blandin 2007, 147, n. 1625. However, the Cesnola Painter's small hydria from Chalcis came from a tomb (*AthAA* 2 (1969), 27–29, figs. 6–7).

⁶⁰ Moore 2004, 86–89, pls. 1–2. The one-bird scheme of 74.51.478 is especially typical of Chalcis (see Coldstream 2008). Of the two skyphoi with blank metopes (pl. 52), 74.51.594 looks like a local imitation.

⁶¹ Murray *et al.* 1900, 116, tomb 18; 103, fig. 150.

times, we as yet know but little. A surprising Greek find has come to light in Tomb 11: an Attic LG kantharos, large enough (height 24 cm) to have served as a krater, portraying the Oriental Tree of Life on both sides, and accompanied by 95 other items (as yet unpublished) of the CG III and Cypro-Archaic I periods.⁶² On one side the Tree is flanked by birds and pendent double axes; on the other, by rampant goats (as on the Cesnola krater); with small birds flying in the field. This kantharos, of Attic LG Ia, anticipates by a few years the more fully developed iconographic programme of the Euboean Cesnola Painter, whose prime is contemporary with the LG Ib phase of the Attic sequence.⁶³

The Tree of Life, heraldically flanked by animals or birds, was well established in the figured repertoire of the Levant well back in the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁴ It is surely no accident that its adoption into Greek Geometric iconography should have occurred in the regional styles of those Greeks most active in eastward initiatives; and, in Cyprus, a land close to the Near Eastern world, it would not be surprising if their renderings of the Tree received a special welcome, both in Greek-Cypriot Kourion and in Phoenician Kition.

The Wider Picture

When seen from the viewpoint of those who received and used the imported pottery, it may be instructive to confront the Aegean Geometric imports to Cyprus with the Mycenaean pottery that arrived during the Late Bronze Age. In both periods, by far the greatest mass of imports comes from tombs, always richer than the average. There is some evidence, too, for drinking sets of Mycenaean vessels,⁶⁵ dominated by amphoroid krater. This shape, most frequently decorated with chariot scenes, in Cyprus enjoyed a vogue as a prestigious tomb offering that would have been thought strange in Mycenaean Greece. And some Mycenaean shapes, like the shallow bowl with wishbone handles in imitation of the local White Slip ware, would have been made specially to appeal to Cypriot taste.

There are, however, two sharp contrasts to be noted. Geometric imports would not have appeared wholly strange and exotic to Cypriot users, accustomed to the well-established wheel-made technique and repertoire of CG pottery, which included distant cousins of the imported Greek shapes. Much more exotic would have seemed the first Mycenaean imports, crisply thrown wheel-made vessels with sophisticated

⁶² Coldstream 1994b. Some of the older finds are illustrated in *BCH* 114 (1990), 947–49, figs. 23–30.

⁶³ Coldstream 1971, 9–10.

⁶⁴ Kahane 1973, 118, figs. 1–2. On CG pottery the Tree is flanked only by birds – see Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974, 356–58, XXVe.1–2, for example.

⁶⁵ Steel 1998, 289–90.

painted decoration, arriving in a land where the normal wares, Base Ring and White Slip, vigorously persevered with a handmade technique. After the 13th century these Mycenaean imports had a not entirely happy result in stifling the local handmade fabrics in favour of dull wheel-made imitations.

The second major difference lies in the much greater range of shapes among the Mycenaean imports. These included many closed forms whose counterparts we do not find among the Geometric imports. Prominent among them is the stirrup-jar containing perfumed oil, a product of the Mycenaean palaces exported throughout the eastern Mediterranean. From then onwards, Cyprus never experienced any lack of slow-pouring vessels for dispensing unguents. In the earliest centuries of the Iron Age, the local repertoire included globular flasks and bottles, often with a reinforcing ridge on the neck, usually in the Bichrome technique, and related to counterparts in the Levant. Contemporarily with the imports of Greek drinking vessels, Cypriot Black-on-Red juglets were being produced *en masse*, and even exported to the Aegean.

In this context we should view the virtual absence of Corinthian imports to Cyprus in Geometric times. During the late 8th century, the thin-walled and superbly crafted pottery of Corinth was the most widely exported ware around the Aegean and towards the West, even beyond the Greek colonies as far as Spain. In the Greek world, Corinth had taken the lead in the export of choice unguents, bottled in small globular aryballoi of Early Protocorinthian; but in Cyprus, with its own plentiful production of unguent containers, there was no call for these finely decorated little vessels.⁶⁶ In Crete, too, there was a similar reluctance to receive Corinthian aryballoi: Crete, too, had no lack of unguent flasks, augmented by Cretan imitations of Black-on-Red imports from Cyprus.⁶⁷

In the Levant, in contrast to Cyprus, Greek Geometric exports have been found much more often in settlements than in tombs, but that is surely because excavations of the Early Iron Age have been much more frequent there than in cemeteries. Even so, there is a close congruence in the range of Greek exports with those that reached Cyprus.⁶⁸ In particular, one notes the popularity in the Levant of Euboean pendent-semicircle vessels, skyphoi and especially plates, as welcome there as they were in Cyprus: both shapes are represented in the few funerary contexts so far

⁶⁶ The only certain Corinthian Geometric import to Cyprus, an LG kotyle (Coldstream 1995b, 209, no. 18, fig. 5), preceded the vogue for, and wide distribution of the globular aryballoi. A coated MG skyphos, published as 'Corinthian' (Gjerstad 1977, 23, no. 51), seemed to me to be of Attic fabric.

⁶⁷ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 351–58.

⁶⁸ For a comparison of Greek Geometric exports reaching Tyre and Cyprus, see Coldstream 1988, 42–43, fig. 1.

published,⁶⁹ as well as in the settlements. Large concentrations of Greek drinking vessels in a domestic context, for example at Al Mina, have been open to interpretation as the crockery of Greek mercantile settlers;⁷⁰ alternatively, they could be attributed to an enthusiasm among Syrian residents for fine Aegean pottery used at their banquets.⁷¹ Such an enthusiasm would be mirrored in Cyprus by the vogue for Greek imports among the non-Greek inhabitants of Amathus, well placed for negotiation with Euboean ships passing on their way to the Levant.

However, at two of the Greek-Cypriot kingdoms, rich accumulations of Greek Geometric pottery seem to indicate something more personal than casual trade: perhaps personal exchange between guest friends at a high social level. At Kourion – if anything reliable can be retrieved from di Cesnola's fantasy – the group of three Euboean LG figured vases, including the enormous krater, could be construed as a handsome present from a Euboean nobleman to a local prince. Likewise, at Salamis, the Attic MG II 'dinner set' could have arrived as a gift from an Athenian aristocrat, perhaps mindful of the ancient links of Cypriot Salamis with the eponymous island in the Saronic Gulf, home of Teucer, the legendary founder of the Cypriot city.⁷² Even so, such a gift to a Cypriot prince would not have been complete without a consignment of plates, scarce in Athens, but easily obtained *en route* in the Cyclades.

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⁷⁰ Boardman 1990.

⁷¹ Luke 2003, 49–53.

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ANCIENT CHRONOGRAPHY, ERATOSTHENES AND THE DATING OF THE FALL OF TROY*

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Abstract

Through close scrutiny of the surviving fragments of ancient chronography, it is possible to work out the way Eratosthenes, in his lost *Chronographiai* (ca. 220 BC), arrived at his date for the Fall of Troy (1183 BC) – a ‘universal’ reference point in antiquity. By combining new information from Manetho, with Timaeus, Ctesias, Herodotus and other sources, he devised a compromise chronology for the Greek past: ‘high’ enough to satisfy Hellenistic cultural interests, and ‘low’ enough to satisfy Alexandrian critical scholarship. What was reckoned originally to be an event of the 10th century BC, and later raised as far as the 14th century BC in competition with the older eastern civilisations, ended ‘appropriately’ being placed half-way in the 12th century BC. Surprisingly, this date, the mechanics of which were previously not fully understood, ultimately played a misleading role in the modern debate of the Greek archaeological ‘Dark Age’.

‘I claim, therefore, to have shewn that many of our early Greek dates are demonstrably, and many more of them probably, too early...’ This confident conclusion written nearly 75 years ago by the classicist A.R. Burn was printed in a journal as important as the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.¹ Chronology since then has come round a full circle. While by 1960 Burn himself, under the pressure of growing interpretation

* For reading an early version of this paper (2004) my thanks go to Prof. Fergus Millar and Prof. Robert Fowler. The latter’s criticisms have helped to shape some points which had not been adequately expressed before, and also became the reason for the brief discussion in Appendix 2. His challenge for a broader study of ancient chronography cannot be met at present (but cf. Kokkinos 2003; 2009). I am grateful to the anonymous referees for encouragement, and particularly to the one who insisted on ‘openness’ regarding the ‘low’ *archaeological* chronology, for which Appendix 1 (somewhat beyond the conclusion of this paper) was written. As ‘openness’ usually leads to ‘inconvenient truths’ (like Al Gore’s documentary on global warming), I hope that he/she is now strong enough to take them. Many thanks to my colleague Peter James on whom I naturally tried this appendix with progressive results. It is now 25 years that Peter and I have studied together the minutiae of chronology (philological, astronomical, archaeological, scientific), and our differences have never been too great.

¹ Burn 1935, 145. Opposition to the ‘high’ philological dates which had been introduced into Greek archaeology by W.M.F. Petrie, whose interpretation of chronology based on his 19th century excavations in Egypt was triumphantly announced also in the same journal (Petrie 1890), had already been led by classicist C. Torr (1896). Besides, long before the inception of field archaeology, arguments against the ‘high’ chronology of the Greek historians (rediscovered since the works of J. Scaliger and D. Petavius) were strongly made by I. Newton (1728 – published posthumously).

in the field of archaeology, had had to retract his claim that the Trojan War should be dated no earlier than the 10th century BC, from the mid-1980s several contemporary scholars could criticise much of the archaeological and chronological wisdom that led to placing the event at the beginning of the 12th century BC.² As a result, classicists from the mid-1990s would again begin recognising that the 'original' date assumed for the *Troika* could only have fallen in the 10th century.³ This paper will attempt to explain how ancient chronography ended being stuck with a 'high' date, ultimately misleading the modern debate of the Greek archaeological 'Dark Age' (see Appendix 1).

When Eratosthenes around 220 BC sat in Alexandria to construct what was destined to become the standard chronology of the ancient world (with the Fall of Troy placed at 1183 BC), he must soon have realised the shock he would create in the name of Hellenistic 'science'. But on what basis did he achieve this? What was the new evidence that he presented? Can we guess the method followed in his scheme in view of the unfortunate loss of his *Chronographiai*? The long-held modern view that Eratosthenes relied on the Spartan king lists, which presumably had already been fixed in time, has rightly been called 'nonsense' by D. Panchenko – for in the 3rd century BC nobody knew the actual lengths of the reigns of the early kings, unknown even in the 5th century to Herodotus (7. 204; 8. 131).⁴ This view is actually based on a forced reading of a much quoted statement by Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 1. 3). In reference to writers of the past who provided an absolute date for Lycurgus the lawgiver, Plutarch simply says that they (with Eratosthenes mentioned first) worked this date out by 'computing the time' (*analegomenoi ton chronon*) of the 'successions' (*diadochais*) of the Spartan kings. This does not mean that an *official* king list was available, nor that it also included generally *accepted* reign lengths. On the contrary it implies that Eratosthenes, in the first place and by unspecified means, would have been responsible for calculating *a* version of the royal chronology.⁵

Much earlier than Plutarch, Polybius (12. 11. 1) had referred to Timaeus of Tauromenium (*ca.* 270 BC), as having attempted – previously to Eratosthenes – to

² Burn 1960, 408; James, Thorpe, Kokkinos and Frankish 1987; James, Thorpe, Kokkinos, Morkot and Frankish 1991a; 1991b; 1992; James, Kokkinos and Thorpe 1998; Morkot 2000; 2003; James 2003; 2005; 2006.

³ Burkert 1995; Panchenko 2000.

⁴ Panchenko 2000, 41. It is not even clear how far the lists in Herodotus meant to serve as king lists or genealogical tables, since kings such as 'Cleomenes' of the Agiads and 'Hegesicles', 'Ariston' and 'Demaratus' of the Eurypontids, known to Herodotus elsewhere (for example 1. 65; 5. 48–51; 6. 61–66), are not included – already discussed by Prakken (1940).

⁵ The same goes for the indirect reference in Diodorus (1. 5. 1), *sylogizomenoi tous chronous*. Sositheus of Laconia (*ca.* 250 BC) may have put together a Spartan king list in his work *Chronōn Anagrapḗ* (FGH 595 F 2) – cf. Cartledge 2002, 297.

create a timescale by drawing comparative tables involving Sparta while utilising the list of the Olympic victors as a yardstick. As is well known, this list had initially been compiled by Hippias of Elis (*ca.* 400 BC) and doubts about the way it had been put together had been expressed elsewhere by Plutarch himself (*Numa* 1. 4). Criticism would have begun with Aristotle (*ca.* 340 BC), whose discovery of an inscribed discus at Olympia (synchronising Lycurgus with Iphitus of Elis the founder of the Olympic Games – Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1. 2) must have created a radical revision, perhaps reflected in Aristotle's lost book *Olympionikai* (Diogenes Laertius 5. 26).⁶ Some utilisation of the Olympiad reckoning, even if not for the purpose of universal chronography, may in fact slightly predate Timaeus as it seems to appear in Dicaearchus of Messena (*ca.* 300 BC), another Sicilian,⁷ who would conceivably have acquired such knowledge from his teacher Aristotle himself (*Bios Hellados* = Fr. 58a Wehrli).⁸ Thus although since the time of Herodotus (and probably earlier) a rough estimate could be made by counting back the number of given generations, the Spartan 'king lists' were not fixed in absolute time before Timaeus and Eratosthenes, and themselves then became the result of chronographic construction involving real or imagined 'synchronisms' with famous people and events – with inevitable compromises along the way.⁹

Lycurgus is a good case in point. According to Simonides (Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1. 4), in the 6th century BC, he was reckoned to be son of king Prytanis – thus belonging to the *ninth* generation of the Eurypontids. According to Herodotus (1. 65), in the 5th century BC, he was the uncle of king Leobotas – thus belonging to the *eighth* generation of the Agiads. After further transformations, according to Aristotle (Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1. 2), in the 4th century BC, he appeared to be contemporary with the much later character, Iphitus of Elis – thus belonging to the *thirteenth* generation of the Spartan king lists. In the following decades Timaeus had to invent a 'second' Lycurgus to account for the glaring time discrepancy (Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1. 3). It is not clear whether Eratosthenes in the 3rd century BC followed Simonides or some other source (he certainly ignored Aristotle) in terms of Lycurgus' affiliation, but in the single, most important fragment we have of his new scheme, Lycurgus

⁶ Christesen (2007, 61–62) thinks that the discus is unlikely to have been unknown to Hippias, but this view overestimates how much could have been found by Hippias, and underestimates the possibility of discoveries after his time (*cf.* Shaw 2003, 65–70).

⁷ An even earlier connection in Sicily, attributed to Philistus (*ca.* 400 BC) by Stephanus of Byzantium (*FGH* 556 F 2), can be discounted as it looks retrospective coming from an age when Olympiad reckoning was commonplace. By the same token, such reckoning has retrospectively been attributed as early as to Xanthus (*FGH* 765 F 30) and Hellanicus (*FGH* 4 F 47a), older contemporaries of Herodotus, before even Hippias' list of victors had been constructed.

⁸ See below n. 30.

⁹ Admitted by Mosshammer (1979, 178).

has acquired the precise date of 884 BC (*FGH* 241 F 1a).¹⁰ To achieve consistency Eratosthenes must have developed a Spartan chronology more 'accurate', as it were, than that of Timaeus, whose scheme nevertheless could not have been far off – that is to say judging from the latter's date for the Fall of Troy in 1193 BC, ten years earlier than that of the former.¹¹ So the question is from where did Eratosthenes draw confidence for his revolution in Greek chronographic thought?

Thinking of the environment in which Eratosthenes advanced his research – that is to say Egypt in the Early Ptolemaic period – it should not have been difficult to guess the direction of his inquiry. In fact a neglected hint (*FGH* 244 F 85) has always been available in George the Syncellus (*ca.* AD 800), displaying at least an interest that Eratosthenes would have had in looking into the local Egyptian records. Despite superficial objections from critics, which do no justice (as we shall see below), K. Geus in his recent study on Eratosthenes rightly accepted Syncellus' statement.¹² By the time of Eratosthenes, an unexpectedly fresh work on ancient Egypt had been published in Alexandria – that of a local Hellenised priest Manetho of Sebennytus (*ca.* 260 BC).¹³ Eratosthenes' employment of the reckoning system of

¹⁰ Among the various 'synchronisms' then in circulation, that of Lycurgus with Homer, surprisingly carried no significance for Eratosthenes, as he dated Homer '100 years after the capture of Troy' (*FGH* 241 F 9a) – that is 1083 BC according to his chronology – in sharp contrast to Herodotus (2. 53) who placed Homer 400 years before his own time, or *ca.* 830 BC! Even the clever improvement of Apollodorus, who followed Eratosthenes, placing Homer '100 years after the Ionic migration' (*FGH* 244 F 63b) or 943 BC, could not really solve the problem as Lycurgus would have met Homer only as a child. Mosshammer (1979, 178), added that 'it is by no means clear' how Eratosthenes computed the epoch of Lycurgus. A possibility would be through Thucydides' reference to the introduction of the Spartan constitution 'rather more than 400 years' before the end of 'the late war' (1. 18. 1), assuming that this was taken to be the Decelean War (ending in 404 BC), and assuming that a life span of 80 years for Lycurgus would then be added by Eratosthenes to present the birth year – so $404 + 400 + 80 = 884$.

¹¹ The present writer disagrees with the view that Timaeus' date for the Fall of Troy must be pushed back to 1334/3 BC by proxy dating based on *FGH* 566 F 80 (Asheri 1983, 56–57; 1991–92, 70, n. 31), and the correct figure (based on Olympiad reckoning familiar to Timaeus) should be that conveyed by Censorinus: 1193 BC (*DN* 21. 3 = *FGH* 566 F 126) – see Jacoby 1904, 147, 162; *cf.* Pearson 1987, 47. Timaeus' date must have guided Manetho of Sebennytus (*ca.* 260 BC), before Eratosthenes, whose Fall of Troy in 1195/4 or 1194/3 BC fell 670 years (the total of Egyptian 20th–26th Dynasties) before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525/4 BC (27th Dynasty). The precise date is indeed acknowledged later by an Egyptian successor, 'Thrasyllus' of [Mendes] (*FGH* 253 F1) – conceivably a mistake for Ptolemy of Mendes (*FGH* 611 F 1a–c). Pearson's legitimate assumption that Timaeus may have been reckoning from the start of the Trojan War (or in other words that he may have dated the end of the war to 1183 BC before Eratosthenes) cannot really be accepted, because the fragments specify the 'fall' of Troy and so does Manetho – *to ilion healō* (*FGH* 609 F 2).

¹² Geus 2002, 57; *cf.* doubt in Niese 1888, 102; see general criticism in the review by Möller (2003), drawing on Blomquist (1992, 64) and Grafton (1995, 21–26).

¹³ Möller (2005, 258) is rightly surprised to accept that Eratosthenes would have ignored Manetho, but she is presumably succumbed to 'arguments' by J. Dillery (1999), which however cannot be found in his paper! For Manetho's work (conveniently translated in the Loeb series by W.G. Waddell in 1940), see now Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996.

Olympiads (following Timaeus) in combination conceivably with the newly compiled Egyptian king lists (at least back to the beginning of the Persian period), meant that international events could now be dated absolutely. For example, for the first time a precise date was given to the beginning of Cyrus' reign in Persia, which was equated to the first year of the 55th Olympiad (55. 1) – our own 560/59 BC.¹⁴ This date was taken as a fundamental point of departure of future universal chronography, and one could afford to ignore it only at one's own peril, as did the early school of Biblical chronographers.¹⁵ Similarly later, Claudius Ptolemy (*ca.* AD 140) using Mesopotamian astronomical evidence, which seems to have been brought to Alexandria from Rhodes by Hipparchus (*ca.* 140 BC) where it would conceivably have been introduced by Berossus (*ca.* 270 BC), produced an absolute Babylonian chronology back to the beginning of the 'Nabonassar Era' in 747 BC – also holding good today.¹⁶ But what was the accepted date for the beginning of Cyrus' reign in Persia before Eratosthenes? What had to be revised in the chronology of the Persian period by the newly compiled Egyptian evidence? And indeed, was there anything to be revised earlier, in the received Greek knowledge of the Assyrian period, by the Mesopotamian evidence put forward later in a definitive form by Ptolemy?

Before the time of Eratosthenes and Manetho, the reign lengths of the Persian kings conveniently available to the Greeks had been 'established' by one of the most unreliable of ancient authors – Ctesias. Surprisingly his *Persika* enjoyed a lasting popularity to the end of antiquity, inevitably because Ctesias had been present at the accession of Artaxerxes II in 404 BC, and thus could be believed to have collected

¹⁴ The main fragment of Eratosthenes reveals the Persian connection in setting Xerxes' passing to Greece at 480/79 BC in parallel to Olympic reckoning (*FGH* 241 F 1a). Apollodorus (*ca.* 150 BC), who based himself on Eratosthenes, refers to Persian kings as having previously being linked to this system (*FGH* 250 F 6). It is now almost certain that Eratosthenes was responsible for fixing Cyrus' Year 1 to 560/59 BC (*cf.* Mosshammer 1979, 87, 118, 262), but it must be noted that the length of Cyrus' reign in Persia is only an assumption based on Herodotus, unconfirmed by Near Eastern sources (Kokkinos 2009, 7, n. 18). A series of writers from Polybius in the 2nd century BC onwards adopted this datum as testified by Julius Africanus in the 3rd century AD (*apud* Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10. 10. 4).

¹⁵ See Kokkinos 2003. From the earliest Biblical chronographer Demetrius of Alexandria, a contemporary of Eratosthenes, to Theophilus of Antioch (*ca.* AD 185), the date of the Fall of Jerusalem under Nebuchadrezzar II managed to slowly drop from *ca.* 660 to 629 BC (as against the modern 587/6 BC). We have to wait to Clement of Alexandria (*ca.* AD 200) to find the Graeco-Persian chronology of Eratosthenes (by then confirmed by Claudius Ptolemy) being introduced into Christian chronography, lowering the event to 588 BC (see *Strom.* 1. 21/ 127. 1). Yet in order to accommodate it Clement inevitably got into a tangle with Biblical prophesy and history. He spanned the captivity, lasting '70 years' according to the prophet Jeremiah (25:11), from the 'seventh year' [read seventeenth] of Nebuchadrezzar (588/7 BC) to the 'second year' of Darius I (520/19 BC) – reckoned inclusively – when it actually lasted only 47 years (*Ezra* 1:1) to the 'first' (or 'second') year of Cyrus over Babylon (540/39 BC). What Clement was tacitly conceding was that the 'prophetic' number would instead have concerned the distance between the destruction of the First Temple (586 BC) and the construction of the Second Temple (516 BC).

¹⁶ See Depuydt 1995.

accurate information about the king's predecessors.¹⁷ The work has not survived but his relevant table can be reconstructed from various fragments (*FGH* 688):

(1) Cyrus	'30 years' – F 9. 8	(modern, 29 years)
(2) Cambyses	'18 years' – F 13. 14	(modern, 8 years)
(3) Bagapates	'7 months' – F 13. 15	(modern, 7 months)
(4) Darius I	'31 years' – F 13. 23	(modern, 36 years)
(5) Xerxes I	LOST – F 13. 33	(modern, 21 years)
(6) Artaxerxes I	'42 years' – F 14. 46	(modern, 41 years)
(7) Xerxes II	'45 days' – F 15. 48	(modern, x-months)
(8) Secyndianus	'6 months and 15 days' – F 15. 49	(modern, x-months)
(9) Darius II	'35 years' – F 16. 57	(modern, 19 years)

If we count the parts of a year (nos. 3, 6–7) as whole years, we have here a total of 158, plus the length of the 'lost' reign of Xerxes. This reign, which would also have been inflated like most reigns in Ctesias, has recently been argued to be indirectly recoverable via an early Biblical chronographer, Demetrius of Alexandria.¹⁸ It seems probable to have been '28 years' long, making Ctesias' grand total 186. Adding this number to 404 BC, when Artaxerxes II took over the throne, we are driven back to 590 BC for the beginning of Cyrus in Persia.¹⁹ This is *30 years* too early by comparison to the later accepted date of 560/59 BC for the same event.

Now among the data of Manetho concerning the ancient Egyptian dynasties (not all of which were of equal strength as we judge today), there was a list of the 27th Dynasty which was made up of Persian kings. In the 'scientific' eye of Eratosthenes, as one can only imagine, this list, collected and translated from original native sources, had to cancel Ctesias' Persian table at a stroke. The total was significantly shorter. Of course the 27th Dynasty in Manetho began only with the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, but the correct length of Cyrus' and Cambyses' reigns must have been readily available to Eratosthenes from old Herodotus (1. 214; 3. 66–67). The latter may have frequently been 'supplanted' in the scholarly circles of Alexandria and elsewhere,²⁰ but he had to be trusted on this point against the then

¹⁷ See Drews 1973, 104; Wacholder 1974, 114; Adler 1989, 17, 28; Verbrugge and Wickersham 1996, 27; cf. Braun 1938, 6–13; Macginnis 1988; Bichler 2004; Lenfant 2004; Stronk 2007.

¹⁸ See Kokkinos 2003, 9, n. 12. Note that the reign of Xerxes is given by Clement as '26 years' (*Strom.* 1. 21/ 128. 1 – apparently slightly corrupted), based on earlier chronographers who used Ctesias, despite the fact that in Clement's own time the figure of '21 years' had been established for Xerxes beyond any doubt by Ptolemy's Canon.

¹⁹ The same basically is the conclusion of Bonquet (1990, 13), who was forced to the slightly later date of 583 BC by employing the known figure of '21 years' for Xerxes. However, Bonquet was fully aware of the inflation in Ctesias' figures, and his article is a significant contribution.

²⁰ By 'supplanted' is not meant ignored or discarded, since Herodotus remained a vital read in the Hellenistic period (see Murray 1972; cf. recent bibliography in Hornblower 2006), but rather argued

current discredit of the Persian information in Ctesias.²¹ But unlike Herodotus whose last absolute date given was the ‘sixth year’ of Xerxes (7. 7, 20; 8. 51), while Thucydides had only referred to the ‘thirteenth year’ of Darius II (8. 58), Manetho continued his table of the Persian kings providing a sound link to Artaxerxes II’s accession in 404 BC (and beyond). All in all, the beginning of Cyrus rule in Persia for the first time was to be pegged firmly at 560/59 BC, which was sufficiently earlier than the beginning of Cyrus in Babylon (530/29 BC), as Claudius Ptolemy’s Canon was to confirm with astronomical evidence three-and-a-half centuries later.

Yet, despite the correction/reduction of 30 years at this level, it was unfortunately still felt obligatory to take a lead from Ctesias’ fantastical scheme for the periods before the Persian. Previously to Cyrus, Ctesias in his chronology had fitted the Median kings. This list has survived in Diodorus (2. 32. 6; 34. 1. 6):

(1) Arbaces	‘28 years’
(2) Maduces/Mandaukes	‘50 years’
(3) Sosarmus	‘30 years’
(4) Artias/Artykas	‘50 years’
(5) Arbianes	‘22 years’
(6) Arsaeus/Artaeus	‘40 years’
(7) Artynes	‘22 years’
(8) Artibarnas	‘40 years’
(9) Aspadas/Apandas = Astyages	LOST

The total here is 282, plus the ‘lost’ reign of Astyages. The length of this reign, being the last Median and known better to the Greeks, would hardly have been shorter than that in Herodotus – especially since Ctesias, like Herodotus, is known to have placed the entire history of Cyrus’ youth under Astyages (*FGH* 90 F 66). The reign of Astyages was ‘35 years’ long (Herodotus 1. 130), thus making the grand total 317. Adding this to Ctesias’ date of 590 BC for the beginning of Cyrus’ rule in Persia, the Fall of Nineveh would have been placed by Ctesias at 907 BC.

against on many issues. For example Herodotus as a ‘falsifier of fact but out of ignorance’ in Manetho’s work, see Dillery 1999, 97–98. Criticism of Herodotus had started implicitly by Thucydides (1. 20) and continued through Ctesias (who paradoxically belonged to Herodotus’ school), Aristotle, Timaeus and Manetho, to the substantial polemics of the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods (by Aelius Harporation, Plutarch, Valerius Pollio and Libanius) – for example, see Evans 1968.

²¹ Slightly earlier than Manetho, Berossus had performed a similar feat with his research on Mesopotamian records revealing almost identical Persian figures. Yet, there does not seem to be evidence that Early Seleucid Berossus was used (or indeed that he was even available) in Egypt during the Early Ptolemaic period – all of his known fragments would seem ultimately to depend on Posidonius of Apamea (*ca.* 135–50 BC) with no earlier attestation (see Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996, 27–31). As mentioned above, Hipparchus could have been the first to bring ‘Berossan’ type of evidence to Alexandria, but only shortly before Posidonius was born and thus a century too late to be used by Eratosthenes (*contra* Mosshammer 1979, 262; and Shaw 2003, 55, who follows him.).

Of course Eratosthenes could now differ by adding the same total to 560 BC, thus placing – we cannot but assume – the Fall of Nineveh at 877 BC instead. It does not matter whether Eratosthenes actually mentioned the Fall of Nineveh as such, since he could not but follow the overall structure of Greek chronography as it had been linked to the Eastern king lists by Ctesias. If this has to be so, it is ironic, and probably conspicuous, that Herodotus' total of 150 or 156 years for the Median empire had to be ignored here.²² It seems that reducing Ctesias' figures more drastically would have been politically incorrect in Hellenistic Alexandria, as the Greek past must at all costs have been kept as antique as possible to match the heavy competition from the newly discovered histories of the Eastern kingdoms.²³ Had Herodotus' total (vastly superior by comparison) being adopted at this point by Eratosthenes, the assumed date for the Fall of Nineveh would have been placed as late as 710 or 716 BC (modern 612 BC).²⁴

Previously to the Medians, Ctesias in his chronology had fitted the Assyrians. His list of kings was totally artificial, constructed out of 'generations' (*geneas* as he admits) of fathers followed by their sons – eight generations back to the Trojan War, 22 back to the beginning of the empire, 30 in all. The precise list cannot be recreated with confidence, but it does not matter since the total figure has been preserved and we can easily guess at the way it worked. Diodorus in 2. 21. 8 (all manuscripts) tells us that Ctesias had the Assyrian empire lasting 'more than 1360 years', and thus a number less than 1370 is called for. But we should note that this number in Diodorus 2. 28. 8, has been rounded off to 'more than 1300', as it became convenient to later chronographers. While king no. 1 was 'Ninus' who started in Year 1, king no. 22 was 'Teutamus' under whom the Trojan War took place in Year 1000+ (Diodorus 2. 22. 2), and king no. 30 was 'Sardanapallus' whose capital fell in Year 1360+ (Diodorus 2. 23. 1). Thus there were more than 360+ (and less than 370) years between the Fall of Troy and the Fall of Nineveh. The number represents eight or nine generations (kings nos. 22 to 30), depending on inclusive reckoning, and

²² The individual reigns in Herodotus 1. 107 (Deioces 53, Phraortes 22, Cyaxares 40, Astyages 35) add up to 150 years, which include (*syn*) the 28 years of Scythian domination during Cyaxares' reign. Yet, Herodotus 1. 130 gives '128 without (*parex*) counting the Scythian rule', i.e. a total of 156 years (*cf.* Drews 1969, 7–8; Helm 1981, 90, n. 28). The attempt of Scurlock (1990) to add the 28 years to the figure of 150, ending with 178 years in all, unfortunately ignores Herodotus' total.

²³ Chronology as an apologetic tool, which came to the fore particularly in the disputes between Greeks and Jews, see Wacholder 1968; and note the term used by Mendels (1990, 106): '... the "grand debate" of the Hellenistic period, namely the debate on inventions, priority of origins and cultures.' Josephus' first book *Against Apion* is the best illustration of the 'who is older' competition which took dimensions in the Early Hellenistic period. Chronological propaganda was of course on the cards much earlier (see Boer 1956).

²⁴ See below n. 33.

for Ctesias each generation must obviously have had to be either 46 years ($8 \times 46 = 368$) or 41 years ($9 \times 41 = 369$) – the first being a recognisable unit of ancient generational count, even if among the highest proposed.²⁵ So, assuming that the original number was ‘368’, adding it to 907 BC (Fall of Nineveh) Ctesias would have dated the Fall of Troy to 1275 BC.

Different dates had already been put forward for this event by the time of Ctesias (*ca.* 400 BC) – for example by Hecataeus (*ca.* 520 BC), Pindar (*ca.* 475 BC), Democritus (*ca.* 440 BC), Herodotus (*ca.* 430 BC) and Thucydides (*ca.* 415 BC).²⁶ Herodotus seems to have known two low (in the 10th century BC) and one high date (in the 13th century BC),²⁷ but Ctesias was determined to support the ‘higher’ chronology – Herodotus (2. 145) gave a rough figure for it between 800 and 900 years before his time of writing, that is to say between *ca.* 1330 and 1230 BC which is perfectly comparable to that of Ctesias. Indeed 1275 BC could have been Herodotus’ own placement of Troy’s fall (see Appendix 2). This date did not automatically go down well with Ctesias’ successors. The chronographer of the Parian Marble (264/3 BC) clearly had to employ the rounded figure of ‘300’ (Diodorus 2. 28. 8) in place of Ctesias’ original ‘368’, to arrive at 1208/7 BC for the Fall of Troy ($907 + 300 = 1207$).²⁸ But what would Eratosthenes have done with the Trojan War having presumably reduced (as required by his scheme) the Fall of Nineveh to 877 BC? We know that Eratosthenes dated the Fall of Troy to 1183 BC,²⁹ so evidently he

²⁵ See Jacoby 1902, 39; *cf.* Boncquet 1990, 15.

²⁶ Panchenko (2000) has reviewed expertly the dates of the early writers known to us, turning Democritus into the champion of a middle (or low-middle) chronology for the Fall of Troy (1151/0 BC). The present writer would differ to his approach, believing that Democritus’ date was probably 1171/0 BC (*cf.* Mansfeld 1983), but he would still be champion of such a chronology, as no one is known in the 5th century (Hecataeus belongs mostly to the 6th) to have supported a lower date.

²⁷ As shown appropriately by Burkert (1995). The two low chronologies (one involving Egyptian ‘Proteus’ and the other Hecataeus’ private genealogy) were almost certainly interdependent. The present writer would differ from Burkert only in his count of generations between Proteus (no. 334) and Psammetichus (no. 342), which are eight rather than ‘seven’, and thus 266 years added to 670 BC (the beginning of Psammetichus’ reign according to Herodotus) will place the Trojan War at 936 BC (rather than 910 BC).

²⁸ It should be stressed that events in the Parian Marble before the Battle of Salamis are consistently dated *inclusively* from the baseline of 264/3 BC, thus ‘217 years’ as stated (not 216) lie between archon Diognetus (264/3 BC – *FGH* 239 A/1 intro.) and archon Calliades (480/79 BC – *FGH* 239 A/2, 51). In modern calculations it would be easier to add the Parian’s stated sums to a baseline of 263/2 BC, so ‘945’ years to the Fall of Troy (*FGH* 239 A/1, 24) would be 1208/7 BC. Burkert (1995) laments the ‘inconclusive explanations’ offered in regard to Parian’s chronology – for an attempt, see Piérart 1989.

²⁹ Usually given as 1184/3 BC, but Clement of Alexandria (*FGH* 241 F 1a), our main source for Eratosthenes’ date, gives the added figure of 860 years before 323 BC (the death of Alexander), which is precisely 1183 BC. Censorinus (*FGH* 241 F 1c) agrees placing the event 407 years before Year 1 of Olympiad 1 (776 BC). Dionysius of Hal. (*FGH* 241 F 1b) calculates to 1184 BC, while Clement in another fragment (*FGH* 241 F 1d) to 1185/4 BC after emendation.

employed a figure of '306' instead. Although this may be thought to be a number corrupted gradually in the manuscripts of Ctesias – from '360' to '306' to '300' – it seems rather an intentional calculation on the part of Eratosthenes. It accounts exactly for 9 generations of 34 years. Adding six years to the rounded number of '300' is also closer to the 'more than 300' as Diodorus says. Hecataeus' reckoning of three generations per century, as transmitted by Herodotus (2. 142), or mathematically 33.33 per generation, is a number liable to be rounded off as 34. Indeed Agathias (*ca.* AD 560) cites Ctesias for the duration of the Assyrian empire as lasting '1306 years' (*Hist.* 2. 25. 4). Also the figure '306' (nine generations \times 34) itself might not have appeared solely in Eratosthenes. According to Burkert, Dicaearchus of Messene (*ca.* 300 BC) may have used it earlier to date the Fall of Troy '306 years before the first Olympiad' (*Bios Hellados* = Fr. 58a Wehrli), thus $776 + 306 = 1082$ BC – the lowest estimate available in antiquity for this event after that of Hecataeus.³⁰ After reducing the Persian baseline by 30 absolute years, Eratosthenes could not have afforded to operate with one of the longest generation units (46 years) used by Ctesias for the Assyrian period, and so he would have switched to one of the shortest, that of Hecataeus found in Herodotus ($33\frac{1}{3}$ years). The Parian chronographer had no such concern as he refrained from dating the beginning of Cyrus in Persia.³¹ Therefore, the difference between Eratosthenes' new date for the Fall of Troy (1183 BC) and that of the Parian chronographer (1207 BC) was basically Eratosthenes' reduction of the Persian baseline by '30 years' – minus the added six years to the Assyrian period before the Fall of Nineveh (required by the nine generations recorded in Ctesias).³²

³⁰ Smethurst (1952, 224) believed that Dicaearchus 'exerted considerable influence on Eratosthenes'. However, the reading '306' (rather than '336?') seems to be Burkert's emendation (1995, 143), the scholion on Apollonius Rhodius itself has '436' as given by Ax (2000, 342, n. 15). This is not to say that in Ax's case another emendation is not required elsewhere in the text, for the total ('2943') of MS *L* is indeed emended (see Mirhady 2001, 68, F 59). Admittedly, nevertheless, the reading '436' does indeed work without emendation with the total ('2936') of MS *P* – not mentioned by the editor despite his potentially brilliant reconstruction of the 'Sampi' digit in the number. At all events, it must be noted that the appearance here of Olympiad reckoning (if not retrospective on the part of the Scholiast) is earlier than Timaeus as discussed above.

³¹ Writing before Eratosthenes, the Parian chronographer would not be in the position to challenge Ctesias' Persian figures, though he must have been aware of the problem of absolute chronology. Following Ctesias he accepted a length of 31 years for Darius I, but nevertheless he placed them (inclusively) between 519/8 BC ('[2]56 years' + 263/2 BC – *FGH* 239 A/2, 44) and 489/8 BC ('[2]26 years' + 263/2 BC – *FGH* 239 A/2, 49), whereas Ctesias would have required something like 541–511/0 BC. Thus in absolute terms the Parian, evidently following Herodotus (and possibly Berossus?), was not at this point far off modern chronology, which puts Darius I between 522 and 486 BC!

³² Would Eratosthenes have had some knowledge, direct or indirect, of the work of the Parian chronographer? Interestingly, it is said that he knew the younger Euenos of Paros, presumably a poet like the elder Euenos (*FGH* 241 F 3).

Given the unreliability of Ctesias, the question arises as to what date could have been produced for the Fall of Troy, if only the length of Herodotus' Median empire was to be adopted (while using Eratosthenes' assumed '306' figure for the Assyrians back to Teutamus). The answer is that Eratosthenes, as already mentioned, could have added Herodotus' 150 or 156 years to 560 BC, arriving at a date of 710 or 716 BC for the Fall of Nineveh, to which the '306' years would have set the Fall of Troy at 1022 BC or 1016 BC. It must simply have been a matter of contemporary politics that one of these lower dates did not become universal instead of 1183 BC. Of course today, thanks to documentary discoveries (ancient copies of Babylonian Chronicles), we actually know that Nineveh fell in 612 BC.³³ Had Eratosthenes known this, and had he had the courage to ignore Hellenistic cultural tensions which required an 'older' chronology for the Greeks,³⁴ whatever Assyrian number was to add from Ctesias (300, 306, 360, 368), the Trojan War would have turned out to be an event of the 10th century.

In fact, such an estimate was not beyond the earliest Greek intellectual imagination, based on a rough calculation of traditional genealogy. For example, Hecataeus claimed a 'divine' ancestor in the 16th generation (Herodotus 2. 143), that is to say between two and three generations before the Trojan War – no mingling of divine and human was allowed after this cataclysmic event.³⁵ Hecataeus' ancestors during the *Troika*, would be between the 14th and the 13th generations, the Fall of Troy registering approximately at the middle point of the latter. If Hecataeus wrote in *ca.* 520 BC, having visited Egypt in *ca.* 530 BC (most likely before the Persian conquest of 525), he would have been born around 560 BC. Applying his rule of 33⅓ years per generation we have the following table:

Gen. 1 ends <i>ca.</i> ?	(Death of Hecataeus)
Gen. 2 ends <i>ca.</i> 560 BC	(Birth of Hecataeus)
Gen. 3 ends <i>ca.</i> 593.33 BC	
Gen. 4 ends <i>ca.</i> 626.66 BC	
Gen. 5 ends <i>ca.</i> 659.99 BC	
Gen. 6 ends <i>ca.</i> 693.32 BC	
Gen. 7 ends <i>ca.</i> 726.65 BC	
Gen. 8 ends <i>ca.</i> 759.98 BC	
Gen. 9 ends <i>ca.</i> 793.31 BC	
Gen. 10 ends <i>ca.</i> 826.64 BC	

³³ See Grayson 1975, 38–52.

³⁴ See above n. 23.

³⁵ It was suggested by Burkert (1995, 143–44) that by example of the 'Neileids' of his home town Miletus, Hecataeus' Trojan War would have taken place between the third and fourth generations after Poseidon – Nestor and his sons fought at Troy.

Gen. 11 ends	ca. 859.97 BC	
Gen. 12 ends	ca. 893.30 BC	
Gen. 13 ends	ca. 926.63 BC	
<hr/>		ca. 943 BC (Fall of Troy)
Gen. 14 ends	ca. 959.96 BC	
Gen. 15 ends	ca. 993.29 BC	
Gen. 16 ends	ca. 1026.62 BC	(Divine Ancestor)

This artificial table clearly reveals a perceived date of *ca.* 943 BC for the Fall of Troy, which is very close to the *ca.* 936 BC date extracted from the Egyptian 'Proteus' chronology also put forward by Hecataeus.³⁶ Other Greek private genealogies of the 6th century BC indeed pointed to the middle of the 10th century BC for the Trojan War, for example that of the Philaids (*FGH* 3 F 2).

In conclusion a 'low' chronology of approximately *ca.* 940 BC came first, but soon had to become 'high', raised to *ca.* 1275 BC, in the ensuing competition at the meeting of the Greeks with the older eastern cultures. Up and down it went, when by setting the Fall of Troy '1000 years' before the Crossing of Alexander to Asia in 335/4 BC, Douris of Samos (*ca.* 300 BC) satisfied himself in reaching the ultimate date of 1335/4 BC for the earliest historical event of Greece (*FGH* 76 F 41). Presumably this was now deservedly 400 years earlier than Hecataeus' original estimate! By comparison, Eratosthenes was being 'scientific' to having to bring the date down to a compromising 1183 BC. From the Biblical point of view, supported by the Tyrian Annals (now linked to Mesopotamian chronology), a more realistic absolute dating had also begun to be created, by which the beginning of the kingdom of Judah was being reduced to the 10th century. This we still follow today.³⁷ The famous king Solomon had therefore to be alive during the Trojan War as dated by Hecataeus! Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 1. 21/ 114. 2; 117. 6; 130. 2), of course, did not miss the opportunity to underline such 'discovered' a synchronicity based on Phoenician evidence: 'Hiram gave his daughter to Solomon about the time of the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia, after the capture of Troy, as is said by Menander of Pergamus, and Laitus in *The Phoenicia*'. To follow the development of ancient chronography from Greece to Egypt to Babylon to Tyre to the Bible is a fascinating journey, much understudied in its wider implications, for which more will have to be written elsewhere.

³⁶ See above n. 27.

³⁷ See recently Galil 1996.

APPENDIX 1

A 'Dark Age' by Circular Argument

After a long journey, ancient chronography came to agree on a 'high' date (1183 BC – though in fact 'middle', as even higher figures had been proposed) for the Fall of Troy, the earliest event which could be accepted as 'history' by Greeks. This philological date played a misleading role at the beginning of the modern debate on the Greek archaeological 'Dark Age' near the end of the 19th century. Although this is not the place to go into the complex historiography of ancient chronology as a subject,³⁸ a brief clarification of what is meant by 'misleading' will be in order following the suggestion of one of the anonymous referees of this journal. At the inception of the era of excavations the only background dating available for the period before *ca.* 700 BC was *philological* (ancient literary texts and surviving ancient documentary evidence), in combination with partly dependent *astronomical* theories. Out of these was slowly developed a new method of dating: *archaeological* – as stratified pottery was linked to philological evidence and thus placed in 'exact' time. Whole or part dependence on ancient chronography is therefore beyond doubt at this stage. In recent decades an unthinkable method of absolute dating (or a combination of two) has been introduced: *scientific* – radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology are meant to be totally independent at least in principle. This will be mentioned last.

In the case of Greece, local archaeological evidence could not be placed correctly in time until W.M.F. Petrie at the turn of the 20th century announced his discoveries of stratified Mycenaean pottery in Egypt.³⁹ This led to a large amount of Greek material which was previously thought to date centuries later being backdated to earlier centuries leaving a void behind. In terms of 'relative' chronology this was perfectly legitimate, even if this was now making Greek archaeology directly dependent on the 'absolute' dates of Egypt. A question, nevertheless, became immediately obvious: on what were Egypt's absolute dates based? Egyptian archaeology was dated by links to the *philological* evidence of the Egyptian 'Dynastic' system. This system was made up from ancient textual (primarily Hellenised Manetho) and documentary (surviving native monuments) evidence, in combination with partly depended *astronomical* theories. When using the monuments, however, the task had been one of putting flesh on the already 'established' Manethonian chronology. The order of the dynasties as set by Manetho was basically followed, with various adjustments of the individual reign lengths. Astronomical theories, such as Sothic dating, added an illusory dimension.⁴⁰

³⁸ A convenient summary is found in James, Thorpe, Kokkinos, Morkot and Frankish 1991a, 6–26. See particularly Barr 1985; Grafton 1993.

³⁹ Petrie 1890; 1891; *cf.* his address to the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1901 (Drower 1985, 263–64).

⁴⁰ Particularly after the publications of James *et al.*, Sothic chronology has been begun to be sidestepped by Egyptologists – for further critiques, see Rose 1994; Schaefer 2000; O'Mara 2003; but contrast Depuydt 2005. One is reminded of Gardiner's familiar statement (1961, 148): 'To abandon 1786 BC as the year when Dyn. XII ended [based on Sothic dating] would be to cast adrift from our only firm anchor, a course that would have serious consequences for the history, not of Egypt alone, but the entire Middle East.' The consequences have been shown to be much broader than Gardiner could anticipate.

But nothing changed the fact that a 'preconceived' chronological framework (precisely that of ancient chronography) was systematically being promoted and it was never denied.⁴¹

Manetho's text, in the bare fragments transmitted to us, carried a date for the Fall of Troy close to the ancient Greek consensus: 1195/4 or 1194/3 BC (based on Timaeus).⁴² This date was linked to the end of the Egyptian 19th Dynasty (Fr. 55 Waddell), either by Manetho himself or by one of his ancient copiers – but this does not matter in the present context. Inevitably any discovery of Greek pottery associated with material belonging to the 19th Dynasty would automatically transfer Manethonian 'absolute' dates (bolstered by the monuments and astronomical theories) to the Greek pottery, labelling it as product from approximately the time of the Trojan War. In the short run, Petrie's discoveries had exactly this effect. C. Torr objected to the avalanche caused by Petrie, but clearly on the wrong archaeological grounds.⁴³ As we can judge today the 'relative' chronology of Petrie was definitely necessary. However, Torr was right in demanding that Egyptian 'absolute' chronology should first be demonstrated on a 'dead-reckoning' principle: working back from the known to the unknown, adding the highest reign lengths present in the monuments for individual pharaohs, and determining their true succession, while ignoring Manetho and astronomical theories. Strong arguments against the misleading 'high' dates of ancient chronography (rediscovered since the 16th century by J. Scaliger and D. Petavius), were not new and had been put forward already by I. Newton in the 17th century.⁴⁴ Torr even offered his own 'dead-reckoning' by the monuments which led to a much shorter Egyptian chronology, which would have allowed the Trojan War to have fallen close to the turn of the 10th century BC. As was expected, and only with one exception,⁴⁵ Manethonian Egyptology soon rejected Torr. Thus in a circular fashion, a notorious practice often in archaeology, Greece basically received Greek inflated philological dates via Egypt to assign 'correctly' in time its own Greek archaeological material! The last comment of Petrie seemed to fail even to hide the circularity: 'After seeing the archaeological evidence and their unanimity, we may perhaps begin to grant some probability to the legendary Greek chronology.'⁴⁶ The resulted hiatus, the so-called 'Dark Age', created a battlefield for the following generations of Greek archaeologists in their effort to fill it up. This effort continues.⁴⁷ Petrie's gift to Greece was 'relatively' valuable and under the circumstances 'absolutely' useless.

⁴¹ The grave uncertainties about the astronomical chronology which was then used to back Manetho had been clearly admitted at the very time Petrie was firing at Greece (for example Griffith 1900).

⁴² See above n. 11.

⁴³ Torr 1896; after exchanges with opponents lasting for several years, see Torr 1902.

⁴⁴ Newton 1728.

⁴⁵ Lieblein 1914.

⁴⁶ Petrie 1891, 205. Surprisingly this circular argument was still not apparent in 1971 to Snodgrass (2000, 12): 'If these traditional dates, as most scholars seem to assume, were reached only by the ramshackle structure of the Spartan pedigree, with forty years to its generation, then their accuracy is a remarkable coincidence.' Snodgrass's discussion of chronography (2000, 10–16), includes some excellent and honest statements about a subject he is struggling to bring into line. Also note Cartledge (2002, 297–98), in reference to the congruence between pottery and pedigrees, who says: 'we cannot pretend that in the present state of our knowledge this is much more than a happy coincidence.'

⁴⁷ This period has been filling up to such an extent with archaeological material dated 'absolutely' by circular arguments, that Snodgrass (2000, xxiv) in his new edition of *The Dark Age of Greece* now regrets not having originally (1971) named the book *The Early Iron Age of Greece*. Despite the rhetoric – lacking an absolute date – Snodgrass is wise in keeping presently the old title.

K. Kitchen, today's leading Egyptologist, believes that conventional Egyptian chronology can after all be demonstrated by 'dead-reckoning' backwards without dependence on external sources.⁴⁸ Yet, this is wishful thinking. Kitchen simply borrows from biblical chronology via a hypothetical identification of Pharaoh Shoshenq I (22nd Dynasty) with the infamous 'king Shishak', whose invasion of Judah is dated to 926/5 BC (1 *Kings* 14:25, written not earlier than the 7th and probably in the 6th century BC).⁴⁹ Biblical (*philological*) chronology is basically sound back to the 10th century BC – in parallel to the Tyrian Annals – being linked to Mesopotamian chronology which is established at least back to 911 BC (pegged *astronomically* to an eclipse of the sun on 15 June 763 BC mentioned in the Assyrian eponym list).⁵⁰ But apart from the phonetic similarity, Shoshenq I and 'Shishak' (arguably the Pharaonic nickname 'Sesi' abbreviated from 'Ramesses', as we know in the case of Ramesses III of the 20th Dynasty) are almost certainly two different individuals, as their records of campaign and other evidence suggests. In sum, even if many Egyptologists would still not openly admit, Egyptian chronology has been irreparably eroded not only by the uncertainty of its Sothic dating, not only by the exposure of its claim not to be depended on a hypothetical identification in the Bible, but now also by being shown to have basically been built around the inflated ancient Greek chronographic tradition.

Finally, what is the position of the new *scientific* methods of dating? Despite the scientific hype (much of which is accepted but not really understood by field archaeologists), radiocarbon and dendrochronology are not yet capable of supporting Egyptian conventional chronology which would agree with Manetho (placing the Fall of Troy in the 12th century BC) as against Hecataeus (placing it in the 10th century BC). In fact some recent interpretations of 14C and dendro results, are steadily pushing for even 'higher' dates which in effect support the fantasies of Ctesias (placing the event in the 13th century BC)!⁵¹ It is not possible here to enter discussion on the 'probabilistic' statistics applied to scientific methods which have a series of inbuilt uncertainties – from the field to the lab and inter-lab to the trees and stratosphere to pottery association and stratigraphical interpretation.⁵² Immense caution, and as much common sense, can only be suggested for the time being.

⁴⁸ Kitchen 1991; cf. replies by James 1991; James and Morkot 1991; James, Thorpe, Kokkinos, Morkot and Frankish 1992; see now the revision of Kitchen 2007.

⁴⁹ For comments to Kitchen's scheme, see James and Kokkinos 2000; the Egyptological hypocrisy on this point has also been noted by Hughes (1990, 190), Barnes (1991, 66–67) and Galil (1996, 16). In his new preface, Kitchen (2006, xx) accepts that his scheme is based on an 'Assyrian-backed Hebrew synchronism'.

⁵⁰ See Galil 1996. After the publications of James *et al.*, excavated material in Israel previously thought to belong to the 10th century BC were down-dated to the 9th century by Finkelstein and his school (for example Finkelstein 1996). This is a step in the right direction, creating a fully expected *archaeological* 'Dark Age' (parallel to that of Greece), however, at the unexpected *philological* (-*cum-astronomical*) time of famous Solomon. Unfortunately previous centuries were not also possible to be down-dated by Finkelstein, evidently due to the assumingly 'forbidding' Manethonian chronology of Egypt which provides dates to the local archaeology of these centuries. Only when this is realised, harmony will be achieved in Israel (as much as in the entire Mediterranean).

⁵¹ For example Newton, Wardle and Kuniholm 2003, 188; in a sharp contrast 'low' 14C results are also been advocated, see Piasetzki and Finkelstein 2005.

⁵² James, Kokkinos and Thorpe 1998; James 2002; see also the writer's views on the problems of 14C for *internally* dated material such as the finds from the Judaean Desert, in Doudna 2002; for scientific criticisms, see Keenan 2002; 2004; for critical comments on the 'high' dates, see also Bietak 2004.

APPENDIX 2

Herodotus' Date of the Trojan War

D. Asheri estimated correctly Herodotus' placement of Troy (2. 145) as 'ca. 1280–1270 a.C.',⁵³ a date which would have been worked out with the aid of the Spartan king lists (Herodotus 7. 204; 8. 131). With Leonidas as king no. 21, who died in 480 BC, and Heracles as no. 1, who was one generation before the Trojan War, the event would have been dated $20 \times 40 = 800$ years earlier. The 40-year-long generation should then have been a departure from Hecataeus' 'three generations per century' (Herodotus 2. 142),⁵⁴ causing a 'high' chronology which must first have been proposed after Hecataeus (ca. 520 BC) and before Herodotus (ca. 430 BC). Yet, in the present writer's opinion, Pindar (ca. 475 BC) already knew the '1275' placement, and while sticking to the 'three generations per century', he accounted for it with the addition instead of *extra* generations: 25 generations minus 1 = $24 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 800 + 475 \text{ BC} = 1275 \text{ BC}$ (*Pythian Odes* 4. 10, 65) – or conveniently 24 generations divided by three per century = $8 \times 100 = 800$. In the period between Hecataeus and Pindar, one of the names that might be suspected as the inventor of the 'extra' generations (and thus directly or indirectly of the 'high' chronology itself) is Acusilaus of Argos, or else Hellanicus if older than Herodotus (see Dionysius *Epist. ad Cn. Pompeium* 3). The general conclusion has already been put squarely by R. Ball:

We seem to have a choice between supposing with E. Meyer that the dates for Herakles and the Trojan War were based on the Spartan king lists, and therefore were worked out on the basis of a forty-year generation which is more or less what is needed, or believing that these dates are worked out on the basis of 'three generations to 100 years' but according to some genealogy which we do not have.⁵⁵

Whichever way it was done, we can now say that the 'high' date arrived at for the Fall of Troy was 1275 BC. R. Fowler believes that the 'three-generations-to-the-century' formula was Herodotus' own, but it did not occur to him to apply it to the Spartan king lists, although he did to the ancestors of Agron of Sardis arriving at a date of 'ca. 1330' for Heracles.⁵⁶ But apart from the fact that a 30-year generation was already known before Herodotus to Heraclitus in ca. 500 BC shortly after Hecataeus,⁵⁷ and that Fowler's calculation via Sardis should actually be closer to ca. 1350,⁵⁸ it sounds as special pleading that again would not occur to Herodotus this time to apply the 23-years-per-generation formula evident in the calculation of Agron's own descendants (Herodotus 1. 7). It does not really matter whether the descendants were supposed to form a king list rather than a genealogy, since a formula could still be created from the total number of years (505) given by Herodotus (1. 7).⁵⁹

⁵³ Asheri 1983, 53. It is also the date of Ps.-Herodotus (*Homer* 38), who gives 168 years before Homer, who lived 622 years before 480 BC. This work seems to date no later than AD 150.

⁵⁴ See also Panchenko 2000, 70.

⁵⁵ Ball 1979, 278.

⁵⁶ Fowler 1996, 75.

⁵⁷ See Fränkel 1938; cf. Hesiod *Works and Days* 605–705.

⁵⁸ See Prakken 1943, 21–24.

⁵⁹ Cf. Keyer 1986, 233, n. 17.

Nevertheless, there may be a problem worth considering here. How can we be sure that the '22 generations' of Heraclidae, were not meant originally to be going back to Heracles himself (like the Spartan king lists), rather than only to Agron according to Herodotus understanding? In such a case, adding the total of the Mermnads (170 = Herodotus 1. 14, 16, 25, 86) to the baseline of 548/7 BC for the fall of Sardis (Olympiad 58.1, at least according to Latin Eusebius⁶⁰), as well as then adding the total of the Heraclidae (505 = Herodotus 1. 7), we are driven back to 1223 BC for Heracles (*cf.* Velleius 1. 2. 3) and 1183 BC for the Fall of Troy – one generation of 40 years later. This surely must be striking, as the latter date happens to be precisely that of Eratosthenes! Rather than suggesting an even higher Herodotan chronology for the Fall of Troy, perhaps Fowler should have investigated the reception of Herodotus' data and the assumptions that could be made upon them by subsequent historians and chronographers. What started as 'low' in Hecataeus and found to be 'high' in Herodotus could have ended as 'middle' in Eratosthenes. This may not be an alternative way to the latter's outcome, but rather a complementary and confirmatory one.

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Abbreviations

CQ *Classical Quarterly*.
 TLS *The Times Literary Supplement*.

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⁶⁰ See now Kokkinos 2009.

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THE EARLIEST GREEK IMPORT IN THE IRON AGE LEVANT: NEW EVIDENCE FROM TELL ES-SAFI/GATH, ISRAEL¹

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Abstract

This article presents a fragment of a late Submycenaean/early Protogeometric wavy-band deep bowl found at the Philistine site of Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel. Produced in the Argolid, this item appears to be, as of now, the earliest Iron Age Greek import to the Levant. This unique find presents an opportunity to review some problems relating to the chronological correlation between the Aegean and the Levant in the early 1st millennium BC, as well as the cultural contacts in the eastern Mediterranean during this period.

Introduction

Tell es-Safi/Gath is a large, multi-period site situated in Israel, on the border between the southern coastal plain (Philistia) and the Judean foothills (the Shephelah), approximately halfway between Jerusalem and Ashkelon (Fig. 1). Settled almost continuously from late prehistoric through to modern times, it is identified as Canaanite and Biblical Gath ('Gath of the Philistines'), as *Blanche Garde/Alba Specula* during the Frankish period, and as Tell es-Safi during the late mediaeval and modern times.²

Although the site was excavated in 1899,³ little was known about this site prior to the current archaeological project, which commenced in 1996 (Fig. 2).⁴ The ongoing work has revealed extensive evidence from the 3rd–1st millennia BC,

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² Rainey 1975; Schneidewind 1998; Maeir and Ehrlich 2001.

³ Bliss and Macalister 1902.

⁴ Maeir 2003; 2008.

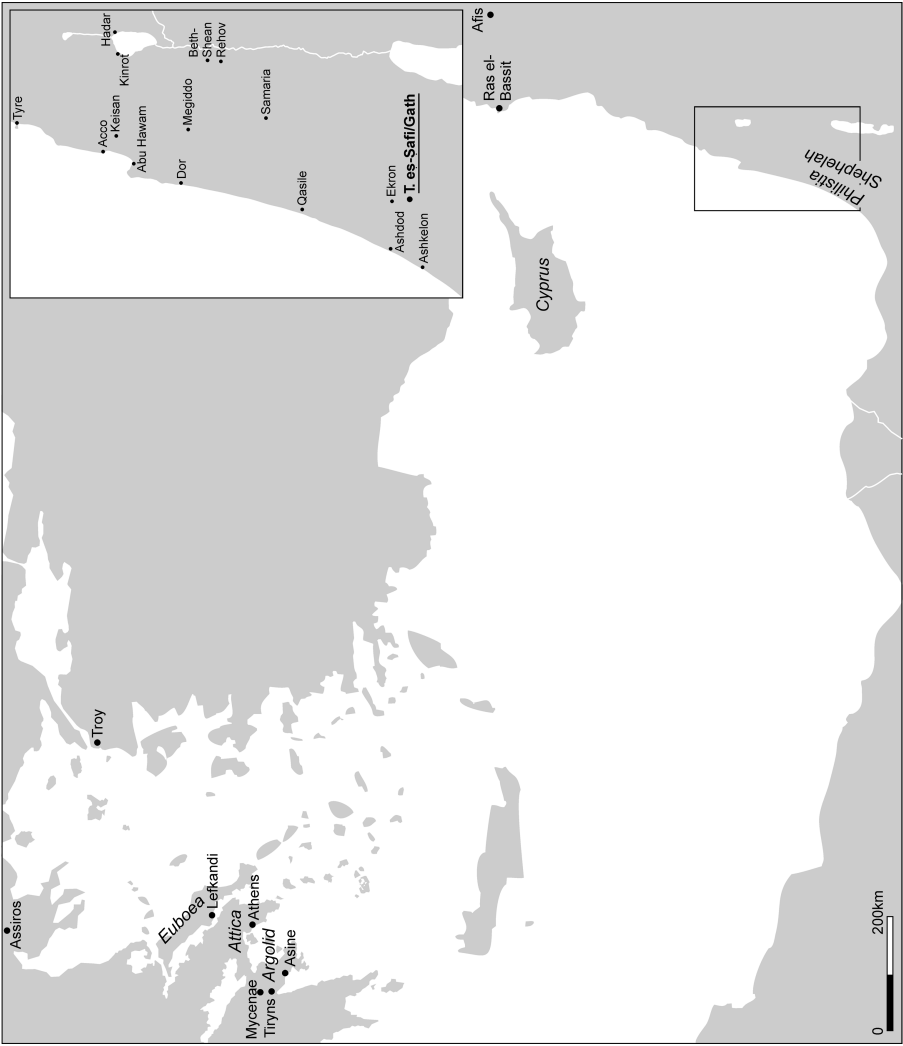


Fig. 1: General map of the eastern Mediterranean with the location of major sites mentioned in text.

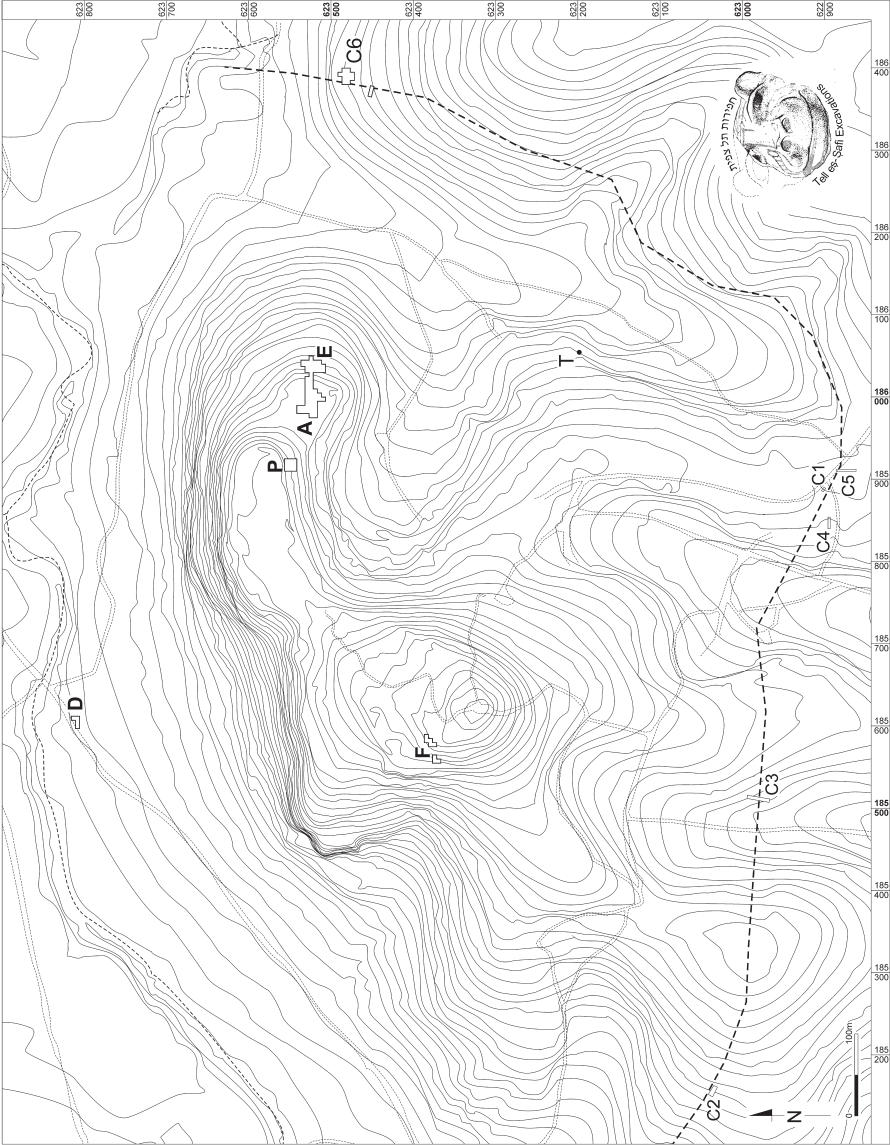


Fig. 2: General plan of the excavations of Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel.

including remains of an Early Bronze III settlement, Middle Bronze fortifications,⁵ late Late Bronze finds,⁶ and a robust sequence representing the Iron Age I–IIB (*ca.* 1200–700 BC).⁷ The latter remains date to the period when the site was one of the five major cities (Pentapolis) of the Philistines, and as such, portray a vibrant and richly textured picture of the development of Philistine culture, from its earliest stages until the early 8th century BC. During the end of this period, in the mid- to late 8th century BC, the Philistine character of the site was much less pronounced, and it apparently was affiliated with the cultural realm of the kingdom of Judah.⁸

While excavations in different areas throughout the tell have revealed various stages of the Iron Age, the predominant remains that have been excavated date to late Iron Age I and to Iron Age IIA (*ca.* late 11th–late 9th centuries BC). Based on the results of surface survey as well as the excavations in Areas A, D, E and F, during Iron Age IIA the site reached its maximum size in any period (*ca.* 45–50 ha; see Fig. 2).⁹ As such, it was most probably the largest settlement in Philistia during that period (and one of the largest in the entire Levant). The dominant role of Tell es-Safi/Gath may perhaps be mirrored in the biblical texts as well, where ‘Gath of the Philistines’ is portrayed as the principal Philistine polity during the early Israelite monarchy, in particular *vis-à-vis* the ‘Davidic cycle’ in the *Book of Samuel*.¹⁰ The impressive archaeological evidence dating to Iron Age IIA is aptly represented by the well-preserved stratum A3, as well as by a number of additional phases dating to late Iron Age I and early Iron Age IIA (strata A4 and A5). This period of prosperity is relatively short lived; in the mid- to late 9th century BC the site was destroyed, apparently by Hazael, king of Aram Damascus, as mentioned in 2 *Kings* 12:18.¹¹ The devastating evidence of this destruction was seen throughout the site, in particular in area A. Subsequently, although the site continued to be settled, it never returned to being a dominant regional polity.

In addition to the impressive size of the site during Iron Age IIA, as well as its role as a dominant polity, there is evidence of inter-regional connections between Tell es-Safi/Gath and other parts of the Levant. For example, one finds pottery indicating trade and other types of relations with the Judean region (such as the so-called ‘pre-*LMLK*’ jars),¹² *bona fide* imported Black-on-Red Cypriot pottery,¹³

⁵ Uziel 2008, 202–14.

⁶ For example Maeir *et al.* 2002; Wimmer and Maeir 2007.

⁷ Maeir 2003; 2008.

⁸ Maeir 2003; 2004a; Zukerman and Shai 2006.

⁹ Uziel and Maeir 2005.

¹⁰ Maeir 2004b.

¹¹ Maeir 2003; 2004a.

¹² Shai and Maeir 2002.

¹³ Ben-Shlomo, Shai *et al.* 2008; Shai and Maeir 2008.

and local pottery which seems to have Phoenician-influenced shapes and decoration.¹⁴ It is with this background about the site and its role during late Iron Age I and early Iron Age IIA, that the sherd which is the subject of this study can be discussed.

The Sherd

The sherd (reg. no. 530208/1) is a rim of a deep bowl (Fig. 3). It has a horizontal wavy line on upper exterior and solidly painted interior; the paint is red-brown to dark-brown/black. There is a dense wheel-burnishing on both the interior and the exterior, creating shiny, polished surface. Macroscopic analysis of the sherd shows a uniform (no core) and well-levigated cream-coloured ware.

On account of its uniqueness, the sherd, like several other objects from the excavation, was subjected to Thin Section Petrographic Analysis (TSPA) and Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA).¹⁵ According to these results, it is made of a very fine, well-levigated and well-fired clay with hardly any inclusions identifiable by the naked eye. Under the microscope, more numerous fine silty mica, as well as fine, silty rounded and sub-rounded quartz inclusions were observed in a thin section. An accurate provenance could not be determined by the TSPA. On the other hand, the INAA firmly correlated the chemical fingerprint of this sherd with the 'MYBE' chemical group, which is typical of Late Helladic pottery produced in the Mycenae-Berhati area of the Argolid.¹⁶ Thus, it is quite certain that this vessel was produced in the Argolid.

The Archaeological Context

Locus 53023, in which the sherd was found, was excavated in area A (in the 2001 season), and is located in the western part of square 223/89B (Fig. 4).¹⁷ This locus is a construction fill for the southern part of the stratum-A3 building 23033, and includes occupation debris of the underlying stratum (possibly stratum A4, as defined elsewhere on the tell). This fill, composed of nondescript light-brown earth and small unrestorable sherds, was only partially sealed: its northern part underlies stratum-A3 floor 32040 (at 176.67 m),¹⁸ but no clear surface was identified sealing its southern part, where the sherd here discussed was found, as this area was disturbed by modern mole burrows. However, the southern part of fill 53023 is sealed

¹⁴ For example Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2004; Maeir and Shai 2007.

¹⁵ Ben-Shlomo, Shai *et al.* 2008, 5, 8–9, sample SF105.

¹⁶ For example, see Mommsen *et al.* 1988.

¹⁷ For the full description of stratigraphy and architecture of area A, see Zukerman and Maeir forthcoming.

¹⁸ All heights mentioned in this discussion are above sea level.

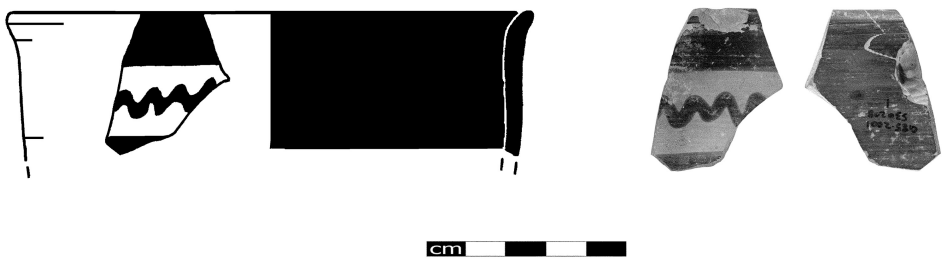


Fig. 3: Drawing and photograph of the fragment of the Iron Age Greek bowl (reg. no. 530208/1) from Tell es-Safi/Gath (photograph: V. Naikhin).

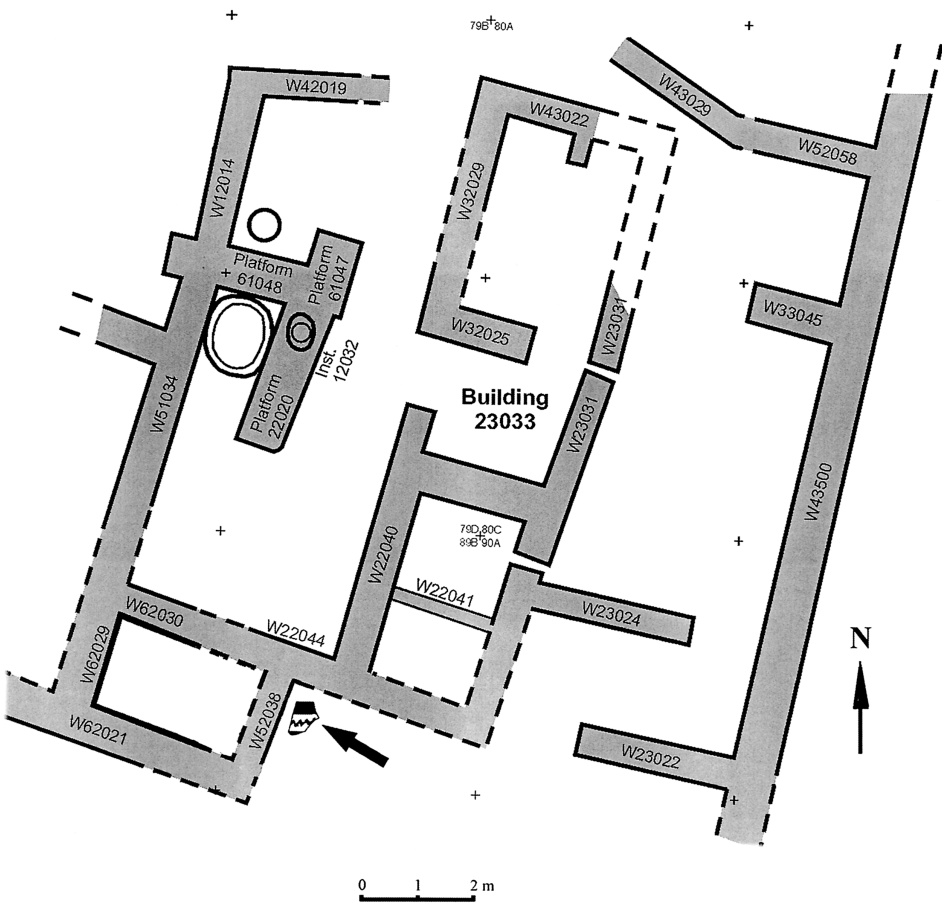


Fig. 4: Tell es-Safi/Gath, area A. Schematic plan of building 23033, stratum A3, Tell es-Safi/Gath, with the find-spot of the Greek sherd.

by a massive, and very distinct, layer of the stratum-A3 destruction debris (locus 22037), which contained a lot of fallen bricks and a large number of restorable pottery vessels, typical of the stratum-A3 assemblage. The bottom level of this layer was defined as 176.64 m. Two additional, adjacent stratum-A3 floors (33038 and 43506) were defined at 176.51 m. The level of basket 530208, in which the Greek sherd was found, is 176.31 m, thus being 0.2–0.36 m lower than the stratum-A3 floors in its immediate vicinity.¹⁹ Underneath locus 53023, the upper part of the earlier (pre-stratum A3, possibly A4) wall system was uncovered, but no floor has been reached so far.

As mentioned above, the destruction of stratum A3 is dated to the mid- to late 9th century BC, that is to the late Iron Age IIA period,²⁰ and is most probably related to the military campaign of Hazael, the king of Aram Damascus. This dating was recently confirmed by 14C radiometric dating.²¹ The remains found beneath stratum A3, so far, do not create a coherent architectural layout, and their nature is still being studied. However, several conclusions can already be formulated on basis of the existing data. First, the pottery that characterises these levels (strata A5–A4) belongs to earlier ceramic horizons, that is late Iron Age I and early Iron Age IIA, and is significantly different from that of stratum A3.²² So far unpublished 14C samples, taken from various contexts of strata A5–A4, yielded 11th–10th-century BC dates.²³ Unfortunately, through the partial exposure of the pre-stratum-A3 levels, the radiocarbon dating of these contexts to a narrower time span is, at this stage, impossible, and their precise stratigraphic connection to the find-spot of the sherd is still unclear. Nevertheless, the typological analysis of the ceramic assemblage that accompanies this piece is quite straightforward: the latest ceramic type in the fill where the sherd was found can provide a *terminus post quem* of its deposition, and suggest (but, of course, not prove) the latest possible date of this piece, shortening the above-mentioned two-century-long chronological range.

¹⁹ It should be mentioned additionally that no Greek imports have so far been identified among the hundreds of vessels retrieved from stratum A3, and no ceramic types characteristic of stratum A3 were found in locus 53023. This data indicates that, although the context of the sherd under discussion is not sealed, it is highly unlikely that it originated in stratum A3. Rather, it originated in one of the pre-stratum-A3 levels.

²⁰ Following the most recent subdivision of Iron Age IIA into the two definable stages: early Iron Age IIA and late Iron Age IIA (see, for example, Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004).

²¹ Sharon *et al.* 2007, tables. 7–8.

²² See Zukerman forthcoming.

²³ These dates, analysed at the Centre for Isotope Research, University of Groningen, will be published in the future in collaboration with H.J. Bruins and J. van der Plicht. Likewise, additional dates from the Rehovot 14C laboratory will be published in the future as well (in the meantime, see Sharon *et al.* 2007).

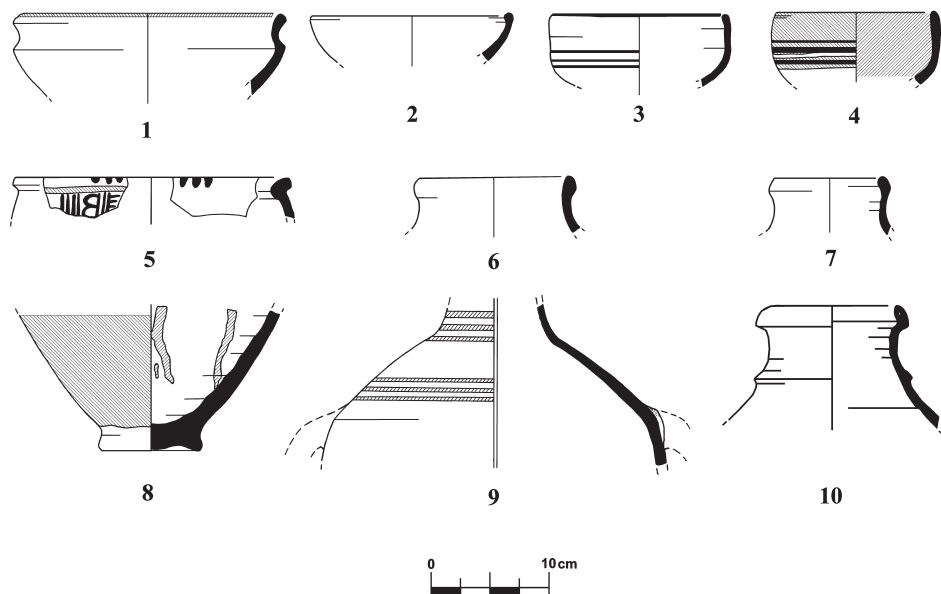


Fig. 5: Local Iron Age Levantine pottery from locus 53023, Tell es-Safi/Gath.

The Accompanying Ceramic Assemblage and its Date

As noted above, the ceramic material retrieved from locus 53023 is unrestorable. Its is composed primarily of the common Iron Age I types, such as rounded and cyma-shaped bowls (Fig. 5.1–2), plain jars with thickened rims (Fig. 5.6–7), as well as Philistine Bichrome types, such as a krater at Fig. 5.5.²⁴ The collared jar fragment (Fig. 5.10, not to be confused with the collared pithos type) and a decorated jar (Fig. 5.9) have an even longer chronological range, including the Late Bronze and Iron Age I.²⁵ The small amount of early red slip pieces (Fig. 5.4, 8) and the two examples of small deep bowls with low carination (Fig. 5.3–4) represent the latest forms in the assemblage. Red slip emerged during late Iron Age I, and became common in Iron Age IIA,²⁶ while deep bowls with low carination are attested in very small numbers in both late Iron Age I and early Iron Age IIA contexts, and disappear in the following period.²⁷ Many common early Iron Age IIA forms, such as bowls with grooved or incurved rims, kraters with bulbous rims, as well as ‘Late Philistine

²⁴ For the dating of these types see, conveniently, Panitz-Cohen 2006, 36–37, 44–47, 62–64, 86–87.

²⁵ For painted jars, see Panitz-Cohen 2006, 81–86; for Late Bronze and Iron Age I collared jars, see Arie 2006, figs. 13.61.4, 13.64.2; Panitz-Cohen 2006, pls. 30.1–2, 31.1, 41.2–3, etc.

²⁶ Mazar 1998, with references.

²⁷ For parallels, see Mazar 1985, fig. 29.19; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001, pl. 79.7.

Decorated Ware',²⁸ are missing from this context. Taking into consideration the limited size of the assemblage (*ca.* 50 indicative Iron Age sherds) and its secondary context, it can be suggested that it was deposited in late Iron Age I, with a possible extension into the very beginning of the following period. In the absolute terms, this would indicate a late 11th-/early 10th-century BC date according to the 'Modified Conventional Chronology',²⁹ or a mid- to late 10th-century BC date according to the 'Low Chronology'.³⁰ Below, this chronological conclusion will be compared with the dating of the sherd itself.

Stylistic Attribution

The piece in question is a fragment of 'a wavy-band deep bowl', very popular in the area of the Argolid during the Late Helladic (LH) IIIC, Submycenaean and Proto-geometric periods. This stylistic regional classification is corroborated by the INAA (see above). Despite a clear continuity in the development of this type, the decoration on the exterior of the bowl appears to be at home in what is often called a Submycenaean stage, though the difficulties with describing the exact meaning of this term are notorious.³¹

Although the LH IIIC Late stylistic attribution can not completely be ruled out,³² we are inclined to believe that the reserved band with a freely painted wavy line falls right between the LH IIIC Late and early Proto-geometric decorative techniques, consisting of wavy lines on reserved bands on deep bowls and skyphoi. P.A. Mountjoy, based on the evidence from Mycenae, has noted that the wavy line on the LH IIIC Late examples is loosely flowing, whereas in the Submycenaean versions the wavy line is drawn so tightly that it resembles a Proto-geometric zigzag.³³ This is exactly what one observes on the piece from Tell es-Safi/Gath. Its wavy line, while resembling the LH IIIC prototypes, is closer to the Proto-geometric zigzag. However, it is not yet a fully developed Proto-geometric zigzag motif, which is in most cases enclosed between bands.³⁴

The comparative material is abundant in the Argolid, and is especially common in Tiryns and Asine during the Submycenaean phase (or the 'Final Mycenaean', according to B.S. Frizell's terminology).³⁵ Despite these parallels, the possibility that

²⁸ Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2004.

²⁹ Mazar 2005.

³⁰ Finkelstein 2005.

³¹ Ruppenstein 2003; Dickinson 2006, 14–16, with references, and see also below.

³² For example Podzuweit 2007, pl. 13.12.

³³ Mountjoy 1988, 4.

³⁴ Lemos 2002, 13–14, 40.

³⁵ See Frizell 1986. Comparisons can be found at: Tiryns (Papadimitriou 1988, 228–30, fig. 1), Asine (Frizell 1986, 78–79, with examples on figs. 13.97, 21.185, 22.188, 57.504–507), and Mycenae

the Tell es-Safi/Gath sherd may belong to the earliest stages of Protogeometric should not be ruled out. It is quite clear that despite the popularity of these bowls during the Submycenaean phase, the continuity that is attested in the Argolid from the time of the palatial collapses to Late Protogeometric,³⁶ does not permit a clear division between the Submycenaean and the Early Protogeometric. Moreover, the relatively thick walls and a possible shallowness of this bowl, and especially the relatively high position of the decorated band, may provide additional corroboration for attributing this piece to the beginning of the Protogeometric. Therefore, the best we can say with regard to the typological attribution of the sherd in question is that despite a certain possibility of being considered as a part of the LH IIIC Late milieu, it most probably belongs to the Submycenaean phase, with a possible continuation into the earliest stages of Protogeometric.³⁷

Chronology

Having established a typological attribution of the sherd, we can turn now to the problem of its chronological attribution, bearing in mind V. Hankey's words of caution that:

the search for absolute chronology is like crossing a minefield with hidden dangers, among them legendary events, relics of records, preconceived expectations and archaeological misinterpretations. One may attempt, but not necessarily expect to reach the other side and safety.³⁸

It should be stated at the outset that we are working with the assumption that despite certain vagueness, the Submycenaean phase, even if it is not a culture in itself, reflects a definable chronological stage, at least in the areas of Attica and the Argolid. J.B. Rutter's well-known plea to abandon the term 'Submycenaean' altogether,³⁹ appears to be outdated in light of discovery and publication of settlement deposits with so-called Submycenaean characteristics, stratified above LH IIIC Late levels, mainly in the area of the Argolid.⁴⁰ However, even if this phase is simply to

(Mountjoy 1988, fig. 2, with a couple of possible exceptions in the lowest row). It seems that comparable deep bowls and skyphoi found outside the Argolid (for example at Athens [Frizell 1986, 78–79, fig. 62], Lefkandi [Desborough 1980, 297–98, fig. 8A–B, pls. 92.S.3.2, 107.S.55.2] and Kalapodi [Nitsche 1987, 39, fig. 60]) are in fact imported from the Argolid (Lemos 2002, 40, n. 43, with further references).

³⁶ Papadimitriou 2006.

³⁷ It seems to be of particular significance that according to Mountjoy's most recent analyses (2005), the true Wavy Line style on Cyprus appeared only in the later phase of Level IIIB at Enkomi, and continued through Level IIIC, making it contemporaneous with the later stage of LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean.

³⁸ Hankey 1988, 34.

³⁹ Rutter 1978.

⁴⁰ Lemos 2002, 7–8, with references.

be seen as the last stage of the LH IIIC period, it is not necessarily important for the purpose of establishing the absolute chronology, since, even in this case, one has to calculate an approximate life span and possible chronological anchors for this distinguishable phenomenon. On the other hand, it is also clear that the Submycenaean phase, linking the latest LH IIIC and the earliest Protogeometric, was not very long-lived.⁴¹ It is generally assumed that this phase may be allowed two generations, that is some 50 years of existence.⁴² However, given the paucity of the so-called Submycenaean material, there is no reason whatsoever not to make it even shorter. I.S. Lemos's recent suggestion, which allows the Submycenaean two generations of 25 years in length, with an additional generation allowed for the transition from Submycenaean to Early Protogeometric,⁴³ is hardly defensible, since it turns a relatively insignificant short-lived local phenomenon, without much internal variety, into one of the major phases of historical development in Iron Age Greece.⁴⁴

Given the confronting opinions on the absolute chronology of the Submycenaean period,⁴⁵ it is not an easy task to establish its duration in absolute terms. The upper anchor, that is to say the transition between LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean, is far from clear on account of the lack of genuine LH IIIC Late imports to the Levant.⁴⁶ The lowest anchor, that is the transition between the Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric, is no less problematic. Moreover, because of the astonishing regionalism that characterised the LH IIIC in general and its final phase in particular, we cannot say with certainty for how long, for example, the so-called 'Final Mycenaean' at Asine co-existed with the Attic Submycenaean; there is no doubt that they were partially contemporaneous,⁴⁷ but the possibility that the Protogeometric characteristics had already started in the Argolid during the latest stage of the Attic Submycenaean, should not be ruled out.⁴⁸ Be that as it may, the real problem begins when one is forced to offer absolute dates.

In 1952, Desborough suggested that the Attic Protogeometric started at *ca.* 1025 BC, while later on, although with hesitation, he preferred a slightly earlier date of *ca.* 1050 BC.⁴⁹ This latter dating has something to do with a canonical date of *ca.* 1050 BC for the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric Iron Age and assumed Cypriot

⁴¹ For example Coldstream 2003, 252.

⁴² For example Warren and Hankey 1989, 168; Whitley 1991, 83.

⁴³ Lemos 2002, 26.

⁴⁴ Coldstream 2003, 252; Dickinson 2006, 14–16, 21; *cf.*, however, Ruppenstein 2007.

⁴⁵ *Cf.*, for example, Whitley 1991, 83–84, with references; Papadopoulos 2007, 96.

⁴⁶ Yasur-Landau 2003, 241.

⁴⁷ Frizell 1986, 86.

⁴⁸ Wells 1983, 124.

⁴⁹ Desborough 1952, 294; 1972, 55.

influence on Aegean pottery at the time of transition between the Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric periods.⁵⁰ Thus, according to this commonly held view:

...the links between Attic Submycenaean and early Protogeometric on the one hand, and Late Cypriote IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I on the other, point to the transition of styles in western Attica having taking place not very long after the date at which it happened in Cyprus; and that date is placed at c. 1050 BC by the most widely accepted chronology for Cyprus.⁵¹

However, what is often not realised, at least on the Aegean side, is that the date of *ca.* 1050 BC for the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric IA is in fact based on E. Gjerstad's calculations concerning the presence of a Cypriot White Painted I bowl in what is now termed Megiddo stratum VIA.⁵² Gjerstad deduced this dating on basis of oral communication he received from W.F. Albright that the time span of Megiddo stratum VIA should be set at *ca.* 1050–1000 BC.⁵³ Although numerous scholars still refer to 1050 BC as a secure chronological anchor,⁵⁴ this is 'no more than a conventional date'.⁵⁵ Thus, it seems that even before one relates the current controversies of Palestinian chronology (see below), the initial date of *ca.* 1050 BC for both the beginning of the Protogeometric and of the Cypro-Geometric I, is certainly too high.⁵⁶

The present authors are not unanimous in their view of the current debate over the chronology of Iron Age Palestine. Maeir and Zukerman side with the Modified Conventional Chronology,⁵⁷ while Fantalkin supports the Low Chronology.⁵⁸ According to the perspective of the former, the Iron Age I/II transition occurred sometime during the first half of the 10th century BC;⁵⁹ according to that of the latter, the late Iron Age I phase accommodates the better part of the 10th century BC. Accordingly, the Low Chronology assumes that in both northern and southern Palestinian sites, the Iron Age I/II transition occurred toward the end of the 10th century BC.⁶⁰

⁵⁰ Snodgrass 1971, 117–18; Desborough 1980, 285; Wells 1983, 121.

⁵¹ Snodgrass 1971, 123.

⁵² Loud 1948, pl. 78.20.

⁵³ Gjerstad 1944, 85, n. 10.

⁵⁴ For Cyprus, for example, see Schreiber 2003; Demand 2004; Sherratt 2006. For the Aegean, see French 2007, 530, fig. 3.

⁵⁵ Iacovou 2004, 64.

⁵⁶ Gilboa and Sharon 2003, 66; Mazar 2004, 29.

⁵⁷ For example Mazar 2005.

⁵⁸ For example Finkelstein 2005.

⁵⁹ For example Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998; Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2004; Mazar 2005; Bruins *et al.* 2007.

⁶⁰ Finkelstein 2005; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2006a; Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006; Sharon *et al.* 2007.

Although these differences of opinion may be explained away by differences in the length of existence of the relevant strata,⁶¹ they do not necessarily matter for establishing the beginning of the Attic Protogeometric, since, in our view, a date closer to *ca.* 1020/1000 BC may fit both the modified and low chronologies in Palestine.⁶² Such a date would be in line with Desborough's initial guess,⁶³ but also with Hankey's lowering of the beginning of Protogeometric,⁶⁴ accepted most recently by Lemos.⁶⁵

This date, however, will contradict some recent suggestions to raise the beginning of Protogeometric by almost a century.⁶⁶ Although such a dramatic revision for the

⁶¹ Fantalkin 2001, 123; Arie 2006, 227–31.

⁶² Thus Megiddo VIA, a key site for establishing the beginning of Cypro-Geometric I, is contemporary, more or less, with Tel Kinrot stratum V, Tel Hadar stratum IV, Dor stratum D2/10–9, Tell Keisan stratum 9a-b and Tell Qasile stratum X (*cf.* Mazar 2005, 24, tabl. 2.2; Arie 2006, 229–31), and this late Iron I ceramic horizon, if started in the 11th century BC, can easily accommodate the first half of the 10th century BC, even according to the Modified Conventional Palestinian Chronology (Mazar 2005). For instance, in Mazar's opinion, both the local and Phoenician pottery from Tel Hadar stratum IV can be dated to the first half of the 10th century BC (Mazar 2004, 29). With this in mind, the late Iron Age I context of the Middle Protogeometric Euboean bowl from Tel Hadar (Kopcke 2002) would fit in with either chronological system – whether the first half of the 10th century BC according to the Modified Conventional Chronology, or the second half of the same century by the Low Chronology. The Tel Hadar vessel represents a later developmental stage of Greek pottery than the Tell es-Safi/Gath fragment (as well as belonging to a different mechanism of Aegean-Levantine relations – see below). Typologically, the Tell es-Safi/Gath sherd must be dated earlier (even if it too was found in a late Iron Age I context). On this issue, see as well Gilboa and Sharon 2003, 68; and n. 94 below.

⁶³ It should be remembered that the commonly accepted Aegean dates for both the Protogeometric period and the lion's share of the Geometric were based on Greek pottery that had been excavated at Tell Abu Hawam, Megiddo and Samaria in the 1920s and 1930s in what have since turned out to be inadequate archaeological contexts (Fantalkin 2001). Moreover, the Greek chronology, as established by Desborough and J.N. Coldstream, was based on a Low Palestinian chronology held by K.M. Kenyon for some time, but when Kenyon subsequently changed her mind, joining in 1971 most Palestinian archaeologists in raising the absolute dates for so-called Solomonic strata, this was ignored by Aegean specialists. For Tell Abu Hawam and the absolute dating of the notorious stratum III, see, most recently, Aznar *et al.* 2005; for a dismissal of the evidence from Samaria, see Forsberg 1995, and most recently Tappy 2001, who fully validates S. Forsberg's pessimistic conclusions (*contra* Coldstream 2003, 249, who still holds that one can trust the results of Kenyon's excavations in Samaria).

⁶⁴ Hankey 1988, based on Mountjoy's (1988) estimation for Submycenaean; and see the useful comments in Warren and Hankey 1989, 167–69.

⁶⁵ Lemos 2002, 26.

⁶⁶ Previous attempts to do so were not accepted by the majority view on the Aegean side; the reasons for this were brilliantly outlined by Desborough in 1957 (and see, most recently, Coldstream 2003; Coldstream and Mazar 2003). Thus, for instance, Saltz's (1978) dissertation aimed to correlate Aegean chronology with the High Palestinian Chronology; despite its undeniable logic some 30 years ago, this is no longer valid (Fantalkin 2001), since one of Saltz's 'secure *points de repère*', which is the date of 926 BC for the end of Tell Abu Hawam III, is totally unacceptable in the present state of research. The same holds true for additional attempts to raise Aegean absolute dates based on assumed correlations with High Palestinian Chronology (for example Yannai 1982; Kopcke 2002). Although J.K. Papadopoulos, in his critical review of Lemos 2002, believes that 'the challenges posed in Daniella Saltz's 1978 dissertation – on a general updating of Greek Early Iron Age pottery in the East – are

beginning of Attic Protogeometric, based on a combination of dendrochronological and radiocarbon datings from Assiros,⁶⁷ is already accepted as possible by some scholars,⁶⁸ there are serious doubts about the conclusions of the Assiros team.

In Assiros, large portions of Protogeometric amphora, classified as H.W. Catling's Group I amphorae with compass-drawn concentric circles,⁶⁹ were found in a secure context of what is termed Phase 3. The absolute dates achieved by means of dendrochronology and 14C have yielded a number of secure dates from Phase 3 and Phase 2 (which was constructed shortly after the structures of the Phases 3 were destroyed by fire). The date of breakage of the amphora was therefore set between 1080 and 1070 BC. Since, according to Catling's classification, this amphora should post-date the beginning of the Protogeometric in Attica by several decades,⁷⁰ it was suggested that the start of Protogeometric should be set at *ca.* 1100 BC, if not earlier.⁷¹

Despite the claims of the Assiros team that such a dating supports A. Mazar's 'Conventional chronology',⁷² from the Levantine point of view, such an upward revision appears to be unacceptable since it contradicts not just the Low Chronology but also the Modified Conventional Chronology, and it appears to be too high even for the now obsolete 'Conventional Palestinian Chronology'.⁷³

Although blaming an old-wood effect might be tempting, the same discrepancy between expected conventional Protogeometric dates and the radiocarbon ones was attested at the neighbouring Macedonian site of Kastanas.⁷⁴ The best explanation therefore would be to claim that contrary to Catling's suggestion, his Group I amphorae did not develop from Athenian Protogeometric prototypes but were a stylistically independent product of the northern Aegean.⁷⁵ Indeed, these amphorae are not attested in Attica, but mostly in northern and east-central Greece (Elateia, Kalapodi, Agnanti, Kastanas, Mende, and the Toumba at Lefkandi), as well as in Asia Minor (Troy VIIb3).⁷⁶ However, as J.D. Muhly rightly observes, the precise dating of this pottery is most difficult to determine, since in many sites it was found together

overlooked and continue to go unanswered' (Papadopoulos 2004; for the same approach, see also Morris 1998), from a Levantine point of view, these challenges belong solely within the framework of the history of the research.

⁶⁷ Newton *et al.* 2005a–b; 2007.

⁶⁸ For example Wiener 2007, 27, n. 188; Brandherm 2008, 160–61; Trachsel 2008, 67–68; Tartaron 2008, 87.

⁶⁹ Catling 1998.

⁷⁰ Lemos, following Catling, attributes these amphorae to the Early Protogeometric/Middle Protogeometric (Lemos 2002, 57).

⁷¹ Newton *et al.* 2005a–b; 2007.

⁷² Newton *et al.* 2005b, 112.

⁷³ Fantalkin 2006, 200, 206, n. 43.

⁷⁴ Newton *et al.* 2005a, 185–86; Jung and Weninger 2004.

⁷⁵ Sherratt 2005, 117; Dickinson 2006, 20.

⁷⁶ Catling 1998; Lenz *et al.* 1998.

with LH IIIC or Submycenaean wares.⁷⁷ It appears, therefore, that if the absolute dates from Assiros are trustworthy, it would not imply raising the start of the Attic Protogeometric, but rather provide additional corroboration for a well-known assumption that the technique of compass-drawn concentric circles was developed in northern and east-central Greece prior to Attica,⁷⁸ and that perhaps the Thessalian or Macedonian Protogeometric styles developed quite independently (at least at the beginning) from the Attic style.⁷⁹

In addition to the suggested upward chronological revision at Assiros, we may mention some recent suggestions to raise the beginning of Early and Middle Geometric styles by some 50 years,⁸⁰ which consequently will lead to raising the beginning of the Protogeometric period. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of this particular suggestion, since it is based on a number of observations.⁸¹ Suffice to say, that once again, the evidence supplied by the Levantine side appears to be crucial, and that such an upward revision will contradict the lower range of the Modified Conventional Palestinian Chronology, and certainly the basic premises of the Low Chronology. Likewise, in too many cases, the suggested upward revision for the Aegean Geometric sequence is based on extremely problematic data, such as on a few radiocarbon dates obtained from secondary mixed deposits in Carthage or Huelva.⁸²

To sum up, based on our understanding of the absolute chronology of the Aegean world, the best we can say with regard to the absolute dating of the Submycenaean (or Early Protogeometric) sherd from Tell es-Safi/Gath is that it might be dated broadly to the second half of the 11th century BC, with a possible continuation into the very early 10th century BC. Such a dating corresponds to the dating of the local ceramic assemblage discovered in the associated archaeological contexts.⁸³

Cultural/Historical Implications

Following the discussion of the context, stylistic attribution and dating of the Greek sherd from Tell es-Safi/Gath, it is necessary to discuss the possible cultural/historical implications of this find. Several interesting aspects can be related to this, including: 1). Should this sherd be seen as the latest of the Aegean imports relating the Late Bronze Age 'World System', or as a beginning of a new, Iron Age trade structure, one that came into being only well after the collapse of the palatial societies of Late Bronze Age Canaan and the LH IIIB Aegean?; 2). What is the relationship between

⁷⁷ Muhly 2003, 28.

⁷⁸ Felsch 1981; Jacob-Felsch 1988; Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 186–90.

⁷⁹ For example Whitley 1991, 82; Sherratt 2005, 117, both with further references.

⁸⁰ Nijboer 2005; Brandherm 2006; 2008; Trachsel 2008.

⁸² In detail, see Trachsel 2004, whose upward chronological revision is even more drastic.

⁸³ Nijboer 2005; Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006.

⁸³ In accordance with the Modified Conventional Chronology, rather than the Low Chronology (see above); but one should keep in mind the nature of this context (a fill).

this sherd and the apparent Aegean/Anatolian origin of the Philistines?; 3). How does this sherd relate to later Iron Age Aegean finds in the Levant?

The World System of the Late Bronze Age collapsed sometime during the early 12th century BC.⁸⁴ The commonly held opinion is that during this very period, one can see both a cessation of the trade contacts between the Aegean and the Levant that were so typical of the Late Bronze Age, and at the same time, the appearance along the eastern Mediterranean littoral of the so-called Sea Peoples, including the Philistines. The latter, who settle along the southern coastal plain of Canaan, have been archaeologically identified on the basis of a unique material assemblage. Most scholars assume that a major component of the Philistine culture derives from non-Levantine sources, most likely of Aegean, Anatolian and/or Cypriot origin. In fact, it is assumed that significant parts of the population of Philistia during the Early Iron Age derived from these regions. The foreign character of the early Philistine culture is manifested in numerous ways, including pottery,⁸⁵ architecture,⁸⁶ cult,⁸⁷ language⁸⁸ and other aspects. Of particular significance is the different character of the Late Bronze Age Aegean pottery that is imported to the Levant, as opposed to Aegean-style pottery that is seen in the early Philistine Iron Age I culture.⁸⁹

In light of the absence of LH IIIC Late imports in the local Iron Age I assemblages in Philistia and throughout the Levant, we strongly believe that the trade frameworks which enabled the import of LH Aegean pottery into Late Bronze Age Canaan ceased to exist during the early 12th century BC. The evidence for Aegean imports into the Levant (and Philistia) reappears in the late 11th/early 10th centuries BC (our suggested dating for the sherd from Tell es-Safi/Gath).

The lack of Aegean imports in the local Philistine and Levantine repertoire is mirrored in other aspects of the Philistine culture as well. While many of the earliest Iron Age I Philistine cultural facets do in fact appear to derive from the Aegean, Anatolian and/or Cypriot realms, following this initial stage, one sees a distinct and definite disconnection between the development of the Philistine culture and that of parallel and more or less contemporary Early Iron Age Aegean cultures. While a

⁸⁴ See, for instance, various papers in Ward and Joukowsky 1992; Gitin, Mazar and Stern 1998; Oren 2000.

⁸⁵ Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Maeir 2007.

⁸⁶ Dothan 2000.

⁸⁷ Dothan 2003.

⁸⁸ Machinist 2000, 63–64; Maeir *et al.* 2008.

⁸⁹ Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Maeir 2007; Mazar 2007. Although some have suggested that the Philistine culture is in fact a local development, related to the deep structural changes in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (Drews 1998; Bauer 1998; Sherratt 1998), these views have been effectively rebutted by, for example, Barako 2000; Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Gilboa 2005.

significant component of the earliest Philistine pottery (as well as other types of finds),⁹⁰ is clearly derived from the LH IIIC material culture, very soon after, the later Philistine Bichrome pottery witnesses a distinct and very different developmental trajectory in comparison with contemporary Aegean pottery assemblages.

Following this initial stage (LH IIIC Early and the early phases of LH IIIC Middle), a different picture emerges. Instead of a largely Aegean orientation, telltale evidence of connections with Cyprus is to be found. For instance, it should be noted that after the initial stage of the Philistine culture, once there is no direct evidence of contact with the Aegean, and the Philistine material culture develops in independent directions, there is evidence uniquely Cypriot influence on the Philistine pottery assemblage.⁹¹

Significantly, unique aspects of Aegean cooking and feasting, such as the use of skewers/obeloi, which appears in Greece only during the Iron Age,⁹² do not appear in Philistia. This indicates that following the initial stage of Philistine settlement, the connection with the Aegean cultures was lost. For comparison one can look at Iron Age Cyprus, where the ongoing introduction of Aegean-oriented behavioural patterns throughout the Iron Age, is a clear indication of the constant and intensive bi-directional contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean during Late Cypriot III, and the continuous introduction of Aegean cultural facets into Cypriot society (whatever may be the relational dynamics behind this).⁹³

We believe that the Tell es-Safi/Gath sherd is to be seen as early (the earliest?)⁹⁴ evidence for the renewal of the trade dynamics in the eastern Mediterranean that

⁹⁰ For example, see Ben-Shlomo, Shai *et al.* 2008.

⁹¹ For a brief statement on such new forms and decorations as appear in Philistia for the first time at this stage, see Zukerman *et al.* 2007, 73–74, n. 31. Additional, though tentative indications of connections between Cyprus and the Levant following the very earliest Iron Age are the recently published provenance studies of the very rare LH IIIC Middle imports into Palestine (from Tell Keisan, Beth-Shean and Acco; although for some, it might seem as the latest stages of LH IIIC Early, see Mazar 2007) which indicate a Cypriot origin for these wares. It would seem that the 12th-century BC Aegean-style imports to the Levant were of Cypriot origin, instead of the primarily Argolid imports of the Late Bronze Age (D'Agata *et al.* 2005). It should be stressed that during the Late Bronze Age, most of the Mycenaean pottery found in the Levant and Egypt and analysed by INAA seems to have been produced in the area of the Argolid (Mommmsen *et al.* 2005; D'Agata *et al.* 2005; Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2008; etc.). In any case, no actual imported Cypriot ceramics of LC IIIA–B have been found in Philistia, perhaps indicating the different dynamics of interaction that existed during Iron Age I between Cyprus and Philistia on the one hand and Cyprus and the northern parts of the Land of Israel (at sites such as Tel Keisan, Tel Beth-Shean and Acco) on the other.

⁹² Furtwängler 1980; Harrer 2001.

⁹³ On the evidence for ongoing contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus during the early Iron Age, see Kourou 1997; Crielaard 1998; Iacovou 1999; 2006; Karageorghis 2002, 115–32.

⁹⁴ A quite similar piece, consisting of the upper part of a deep bowl or skyphos coated in black paint but for a reserved line inside the rim, and a reserved band enclosing a wavy line outside, was discovered in Tyre stratum XIV. In the excavation report, this piece was defined as belonging to a Mycenaean IIIC cup, 'paralleled at Enkomi in a stratum dated to 1150' (Bikai 1978, 65, pl. 39.20). Coldstream, on

enabled the arrival of objects of Greek origin in the Levant. In all likelihood, during late Iron Age I and early Iron Age IIA (*ca.* late 11th/10th centuries BC), there were no direct contacts between the Aegean and the Levant. Rather, these connections were based on middlemen, probably of Cypriot origin.

We cannot state with certainty how this sherd (and what we assume was originally a complete bowl) of Argolid origin made its way into the assemblage of Tell es-Safi/Gath, sometime in the second half of the 11th century BC (or, possibly, very early in the 10th century BC). Undoubtedly it was a rare and exotic item; it could have been brought to the city of Gath by a traveller, a merchant or a diplomatic envoy, either as a present or as merchandise. We prefer to suggest that it reached Philistia in a roundabout manner. As noted above, Greece and Cyprus had ongoing connections from the early stages of the Iron Age onwards; at the same time, we have seen that already in mid-Iron Age I, there is evidence of Cypriot connections with the Levant, and more specifically with Philistia. During late Iron Age I and early Iron Age IIA (*ca.* late 11th/10th centuries BC), the contacts between Philistia and the outside world expanded, and there is evidence of relations with Egypt and, in particular, with the Phoenician and Cypriot realms.⁹⁵ Thus, we suggest that the Greek sherd discussed here belongs to a vessel which first arrived on Cyprus, and subsequently, as part of the Cypriot connections with Philistia, reached Tell es-Safi/Gath.⁹⁶

the other hand, compared it with counterparts from Asine variously termed LH IIIC Late or Submycenaean (Coldstream 1988, 38, n. 31). Although accepting Coldstream's comparison, Gilboa and Sharon have noted that, based on the poor-quality illustration, it is not easy to substantiate a provenance and dating for this piece (Gilboa and Sharon 2003, 44, n. 7). Lemos (2005, 33) on the other hand suggests that this piece should be dated to Late Protogeometric. Most recently, however, Sherratt has suggested that the piece from Tyre should be attributed to Early Protogeometric rather than to the derivative 'Granary Style' (Sherratt forthcoming). If this bowl indeed belongs to Tyre stratum XIV, Coldstream's Submycenaean attribution will suit it better. In addition to this piece, we might note a group of deep bowls, quite similar to the example from Tell es-Safi/Gath in their profile, found at Tell Afis, in levels 9a–7 (Bonatz 1998, 213–15; Venturi 2000, 1717–19). Yet, according to Bonatz, none of these pieces could be assigned to the wavy-line decorated group with certainty and, in any case, he considers this group to be of Cypriot origin.

⁹⁵ Dothan 1998; Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2004, 30.

⁹⁶ While a direct connection between the Argolid and Philistia during late Iron Age I and/or early Iron Age IIA is tantalising, it is hard to accept. Besides the Tell es-Safi sherd, the earliest evidence of Greek imports to the Levant is to be seen in the Euboean Middle and Late Protogeometric ceramics. During this period, the island of Euboea established itself as a major trade centre with the East (Crielaard 2006, 285–91, with references). Significantly, the Middle–Late Protogeometric Euboean imports discovered so far in the southern Levant, all come from the northern Israel, Lebanon and coastal Syria (from the sites of Tel Dor, Tel Rehov, Tel Hadar, Tyre and Ras el-Bassit: see Gilboa and Sharon 2003, 68, with references). The even earlier (Early Protogeometric) beginnings of these connections are hinted at by the (meagre) Levantine finds in the Skoubris cemetery at Lefkandi (Popham 1994; Crielaard 2006, 286). Note that although Lemos (2005, 34, n. 32) believes that it is very likely that direct Euboean connections with the Levant commenced during the Submycenaean period, it is important

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to stress, as she herself admits, that at present there is no evidence of this. In contrast, the sherd under discussion, found at a site in Philistia, does not come from this new centre of international trade, but rather from the Argolid, the region which was the source of the lion's share of the Late Helladic pottery which reached the Levant during the Late Bronze Age, and thus represents a mode of contact quite different from the Iron Age Euboean one. This is an additional argument that the Tell es-Safi/Gath sherd did not arrive directly from the Aegean but rather through a Cypriot intermediary.

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RETHINKING CULTURAL CONTACTS*

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Abstract

The term culture and the notion of cultural contact as an affair of cultural superiority have come under debate. It seems now hardly tenable to think of cultural contacts without taking into account the whole chain of exchange: producer, transmitter and recipient. If cultural exchange is a meaningful process of exchange of goods and ideas between all people involved, its analysis faces a very complex world. The attempts to tackle it lack an approach by which it can be analysed and explained comprehensively. This paper therefore offers a model to outline the various forms of cultural contact and explain how and why foreign goods and ideas were taken on, and in which kind they were changed in shape and meaning.

There has been much recent work on cultural contact and cultural exchange in the last two decades.¹ In the wake of globalisation and related phenomena, first the comparative approach has been (re)detected and increasingly applied to the study of the different national histories. This is a welcome development, yet it also reminds us of the fact that this approach cannot be applied unthinkingly. Parallel research on cultural contact in the modern world has cast serious doubt on one of the necessary presuppositions for comparison that cultures are clearly defined, essentially self-contained entities. Such a reified view of culture is methodologically contested. Therefore this article aims at an alternative way of exploring cultural contact and cultural exchange in the ancient world.

In his work on the history of transfers ('transfers culturels') the French historian M. Espagne emphasises the changes that concepts, norms and images undergo when they are transferred from one culture to another.² As Espagne points out, each

* Discussion of this paper formed the principal focus of a conference entitled 'Die komplexe Welt der Kulturkontakte. "Kontaktzone" und "Rezeptivität" als Mittel für ihre Beschreibung und Analyse', attended by about 30 colleagues from many countries, held in Innsbruck between January 26th and 30th 2009 in honour of the author's 60th birthday. The papers from the conference will be published as a volume of *Colloquia Antiqua*, this journal's monograph supplement (Editor-in-Chief).

¹ The very first draft of this paper was presented at the conference 'Zwischen Ost und West: Griechische Historiographie und der Alte Orient' in Innsbruck in 2004. In Easter Term 2005 the basis was laid for this paper at Clare Hall, Cambridge. The outcome of this work was presented in Cambridge and Edinburgh. I am grateful to the audiences at both places for their critical questions and remarks. Special thanks are due to Erich Kistler and Robert Rollinger who read the entire text and gave much helpful commentary and hints at literature, and also to the two anonymous referees of *AWE*. Finally, my thanks go especially to Johannes Haubold who translated this paper.

² Espagne 1994; 1999; Middell 2000; 2005; see also Habermas and von Mallinckrodt 2004.

culture contains such 'foreign' elements. The point is taken up by scholars utilising the concept of the so-called 'entangled' or 'shared history'.³ They emphasise the connections that cultural exchanges of the kind described by Espagne create even between distant cultures. Taking this idea one step further, M. Werner and B. Zimmermann have recently developed the concept of a 'histoire croisée' (intertwined history): according to them, cultures are always already interlinked and can never be clearly demarcated from one other.⁴

These discussions among historians, dealing with modern history, have not yet had a significant impact on the study of the ancient world.⁵ Classicists and their colleagues in neighbouring disciplines continue to focus on the 'borrowing' of cultural objects, ideas, technologies, etc., and their transmission from one culture to the next. 'Cultures', in this context, tend to be conceived as essentially stable and distinct entities. It may be useful here to have a brief look at two recent examples of this approach, so as to see more clearly its limitations, and to understand better some of the unspoken assumptions that underpin it.

J.H. Tigay has recently asked: 'How similar must two literary phenomena be in order to qualify them as parallels, and what more is demanded if one is to argue that the two are historically related?'⁶ Starting from this question he lists a number of criteria that might help us determine the extent to which the Old Testament book of *Genesis* draws on Ancient Near Eastern models. The overarching criterion, for Tigay, is what he calls a 'shared complexity of pattern'. It has often been pointed out that superficial and/or isolated similarities alone cannot be taken to establish a meaningful connection between texts, so Tigay's approach seems only reasonable. Yet he himself rightly warns against placing too much weight on it: there might after all be some real parallels that do not conform to it. As a case in point, Tigay quotes the example of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which was transmitted in a number of different versions. All versions tell the story of Gilgamesh, yet they diverge on important points. If we did not know that they all formed part of the same story, we would not regard them as belonging together. It follows that the lack of a shared complexity of pattern does not preclude literary borrowing necessarily, and Tigay therefore insists that additional criteria need to be brought to bear. While acknowledging that texts are the more likely to draw on other texts the more similar they are to them, he nonetheless suggests that 'we also have to consider circumstantial evidence such as the likelihood of a given author being familiar with motifs, or literature, stemming from

³ Subrahmanyam 1997; Conrad and Randeria 2002; Osterhammel 2001.

⁴ Werner and Zimmermann 2004; 2003; 2002.

⁵ But for the acceptance of the outcome of this discussion and its application to archaeology cf. Hodder 2002; Bintliff 2006.

⁶ Tigay 1993, 251.

a particular foreign provenience – in other words, with the question of channels of transmission.⁷ This last point leads us away from a mere comparison of texts and encourages us to consider the context of the receiving author or text. According to Tigay, the likelihood of borrowing increases if ‘the number of parallels from the same source found in the same author or in the same period’ is high.

A. Bernabé takes this one step further.⁸ He insists that it is not sufficient to prove the mere possibility of a text drawing on other texts or parts of texts, motifs, etc.: we also need to consider the question of how the process of borrowing might have worked in practice. According to Bernabé, the recipient culture always puts pressure on the received text, thereby reshaping it. It follows that a borrowed story or motif almost inevitably changes its meaning in the course of being borrowed, as well as being adapted in outward appearance. It is therefore important in Bernabé’s view that we study the differences as well as similarities between texts that we suspect of borrowing from one another: for only the differences between them will allow us to learn something about the process of adaptation. These last considerations, in combination with the work of Tigay, allow us to draw some general conclusions about the current state of scholarship on cultural contact in the ancient world.

First, studies of cultural transmission are important but can only answer the question of whether cultural contact in the narrow sense is possible or likely. We cannot necessarily assume that goods and ideas travel from one culture to another of their own accord; or that travelling individuals passively convey them as part of their baggage, as it were. Moreover, when thinking about cultural exchange it is important to consider whether those who transmit a given object, idea or text are willing and able to pass on its significance. Finally, it is up to the recipients to decide how they wish to use the transmitted goods and/or ideas.

Until recently, most scholars of the ancient world did not normally address these issues, and even when they did, they tended to assume that exchange takes place between two self-contained and clearly defined cultures. However, it is now well understood that essentialising views of culture as pure or constant go back to the Romantic notion of primordial ethnicities. J.K. Davies has rightly pointed out with reference to Greekness in particular that ‘the very word “Greek” itself together with other ethnic identifiers such as “Dorian” or “Pelasgian” and with group-labels such as “tribe”, is caught up in a debate about ethnicity and ethnogenesis.’⁹

⁷ Tigay 1993, 255.

⁸ Bernabé 2004; 1995.

⁹ Davies 2002, 237. For Romantic notions of ethnicity, see, for example, Ulf 1996a; J. Hall 1997, 4–16; Middell 2000, 10 with n. 12; Siapkis 2003. This debate it would seem has now been settled, for the formation of a Greek identity has been shown to have lasted well beyond any perceived ‘beginnings’ of Greek history into the 4th century BC; cf. Wolfram 2001; Pohl and Reimitz 1998; Gillet 2002; Jones 1997; J. Hall 1997, 5–9, 59; Luraghi and Funke 2008.

From this it becomes clear that the concept of culture is just as problematic as that of ethnic belonging. 'Culture' has often been used only as a substitute for ethnicity, but like ethnicity it has no historical reality: cultures are, like peoples or nations, constructs that reflect the outlook of a specific group of observers in a specific context.¹⁰ Anybody attempting to understand cultural exchange needs to take this into account. One major consequence will be that the concept of 'acculturation' becomes distinctly problematic: for not only does it presuppose the existence of distinct cultures, it also assumes that lower or less developed cultures adapt to higher or more advanced ones.¹¹

One reason why monolithic notions such as society, state, nation or culture have proved so resilient lies in the fact that the activity and thought of individual agents alone cannot account for historical change. By common consent, social and geographical context is a major factor. Yet, relevant contexts may be constructed in a range of different ways, depending on our overall methodological framework. Thus, adherents of the 'peer-polity' approach see 'culture' or 'civilisation' as limited to a specific geographical space with a shared symbolic system. Within such a space, autonomous and clearly defined 'polities' or 'socio-economic units' come into contact with one another on the basis of 'style and communication'. A.C. Renfrew concedes the similarity of such a communicative system to the idea of a network but emphasises its greater complexity. Other authors adopt the idea of a network but content themselves with describing it in rather vague terms as interaction between the élites of autonomous political and social groups.¹²

Introducing the idea of a network does not replace 'culture' as the central category in the study of the ancient world, though it shifts the emphasis to the political and social structure of ancient societies. However, quite what these structures were is often unclear, a fact that significantly reduces the explicative power of the term network in the study of the ancient world. For we can only invoke networks as a way of explaining cultural contact once we have understood the basic structure of the societies involved (see below, pp. 88–90).

Other scholars attempting to avoid the categories of ethnicity and/or culture have looked at the ancient world in terms of centre and periphery. This approach has its roots in the study of human geography but gathered momentum under the influence

¹⁰ Clifford 1986; Sewell 1999b; Ashcroft *et al.* 1998; Dougherty and Kurke 2003; van Dommelen 1997, 308–09; 2002; see also Given 1998.

¹¹ Cusick (1988) and J. Hall (2004a) give an overview of theories of acculturation. Gotter (2001) attempts to define a culture as a group with a shared identity. Although he tries to avoid the problems that arise from postulating clearly defined cultural units, he ultimately resorts to a crypto-Romantic notion of ethnicity by singling out descent as the decisive criterion of identity.

¹² Renfrew 1987; Larsen 1987; Rowlands 1987. See also van Wees 2002. For modern network theory, see pp. 101–02 below.

of I. Wallerstein's work. Wallerstein sought to explain the dominance of capitalism within the wider framework of a global system. According to him, Europe functions as the controlling centre of that system, with a number of peripheries attached to it. Intermediate zones or 'semi-peripheries' act as buffers between the centre and the periphery proper, to which they redirect some of the costs for the functioning of the global system.¹³

Once divorced from the specific context of a capitalist economy, Wallerstein's approach can be applied to a range of political and cultural constellations across time. Nor does it have to be truly global in scope. Thus, scholars have postulated a (regionally specific) 'global system' that accounts for historical change in the ancient Mediterranean and neighbouring regions. The centre of this system was located in western Asia.¹⁴ Any changes to specific societies in the area could be seen as occasioned by the working of the overall system.

Renfrew has rightly criticised the application of Wallerstein's approach to ancient societies.¹⁵ He singles out two points in particular: first, adherents of Wallerstein's thesis leave little room for developments within 'peripheral' societies. Almost all impulses for change are seen as coming from the centre. Secondly, the resulting model of social and cultural change looks suspiciously similar to older – and now discredited – ideas of cultural diffusion from more to less developed societies. In addition to the objections raised by Renfrew, K. Arafat and C. Morgan point out the subjective nature of any choice of a central area.¹⁶ In order to meet these objections, and so as to be better able to apply Wallenstein's idea of periodic contraction and expansion of the centre to the period after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, some scholars introduced the concept of a 'negotiated periphery' (or 'peripherality') in addition to that of a 'semi-periphery'. Their aim was to combine individual agency with the structural assumptions that underpin the global system as theorised by Wallerstein.¹⁷

Much of this work was driven by an idea pioneered by F. Braudel, according to which the Mediterranean represents a largely unified space. Many scholars of the ancient world have found it useful to adopt Braudel's framework as a way of getting round the difficulty of assigning archaeological finds to specific cultures. They instead focused on networks and trade routes that more or less closely connect

¹³ Wallerstein 1974; 1985; Champion 1989. For an overview of the debate, see Kreff 2003, 15–36; Hodos 2006, 5–7.

¹⁴ Rowlands *et al.* 1987; Sommer 2004. For a critical assessment, see Wallerstein 1993; also Adamczyk 2004.

¹⁵ Renfrew 1987.

¹⁶ Arafat and Morgan 1994. *Cf.* Jacobs 2002.

¹⁷ Kardulias 1999; Morris 1999.

the cultures and states in and around the ancient Mediterranean.¹⁸ Scholars inspired by Braudel's work have largely concentrated on the classical world, with Near Eastern cultures and Egypt commanding less attention.

It is, however, doubtful whether a Mediterranean *koine* can in fact be detected in the archaeological record, let alone in other areas of study. The problems are in part of a methodological nature: scholars assuming the existence of a *koine* have failed to explain how much weight we should place on small-scale phenomena as compared with larger developments. In other words, we may ask how many shared developments that concern the entire Mediterranean or significant parts of it we need to see before we can meaningfully speak of a *koine*. The question is difficult to answer, which is why D. Timpe has recently warned against regarding the Mediterranean as a unified whole at all. Timpe points out that it was never taken as such in antiquity; and he argues that in modern times too the term Mediterranean has been used merely as a convenient tool of classification, without any strong claims to capturing historical reality.¹⁹

There is, however, an even more important point that needs to be taken into account here: Braudel's views of an (eastern) Mediterranean *koine*, as also current discussions of the ancient world in terms of centre and periphery, are based on a largely uniform understanding of the ancient Orient. However, E.W. Said and others have shown that 'the orient' is a discursive construct that only fully emerged in the context of 19th-century colonialism. To this day, the idea of a unified 'Orient' continues to influence our perception of the cultures of the Near East. Yet what we now call 'the Orient' was of course made up of a wide range of ethnic, social and administrative units, each of them with its own specific history.²⁰

In light of what I have argued so far, we can now formulate a number of benchmarks for the study of cultural contact in the ancient world. First, we must take care not to base our enquiry on essentialising views of culture or ethnicity. Secondly, we must consider channels of transmission between producer and recipient. Thirdly, we need to study the diverse ways of using and adapting an imported object or idea. Recipients must be accorded equal importance as producers, and we must pay due attention to small-scale events as well as macroscopic patterns.

These bench-marks suggest that we need to consider a range of factors when studying how an object or idea was produced, transferred, received and (re)used in the ancient world. Our chosen approach must above all reflect the complexity of the processes involved, yet it must also accommodate the need to explain the specific

¹⁸ Horden and Purcell 2000, 123–72; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993.

¹⁹ Timpe 2004, especially 16; for a similar view, see Morris 2003.

²⁰ Said 1978; Wiesehöfer 2006.

TABLE: A MODEL OF CULTURAL CONTACT

Differentiating Factors	Producers	Transmitters	Recipients	different kinds of 'croisement' account for:		Contact Zones	Receptivity
Cultural Characteristics	from intracultural uniformity to diversity	culture 3, 4 ... n	from intracultural uniformity to diversity			<i>Hier</i> open contact zones	<i>archy</i> adoption completely changed meanings
Individual Status	social, economic, political	social, economic, political	social, economic, political			zone of intense contact lacking a dominant partner	adoption nearly complete change of meanings
Type of Society	local group regional polity different types of states	society 3, 4 ... n	local group regional polity different types of states			'middle ground'	imitation, adaptation conscious or unconscious change of meanings
Societal and Individual Needs	various sorts of needs (economic, cultural, social, symbolic)	various sorts of needs (economic, cultural, social, symbolic)	various sorts of needs (economic, cultural, social, symbolic)				accommodation new meanings by misunderstanding
Goods/ Commodities/ Ideas	material goods ideas (with clear meanings)	goods – commodities skills, technologies texts (religious, literary, medical ...)	goods – commodities skills, technologies texts as 'discourses' ideas (with adopted and adapted meanings)			zone of intense contact dominated by one partner	refusal or derivation change or acceptance of meanings
						<i>Hier</i>	<i>archy</i>

In the course of cultural contact, producers and transmitters can and do become recipients as well. To draw out this bi-directional process would make the table confusing.

circumstances and results of any given transfer. In other words, the complexity which we need to capture in a first step then needs to be reduced by introducing plausible patterns of explanation. I propose a tripartite model (see Table on p. 87) that is based on the three fundamental aspects of cultural transmission that I have considered above: culture of origin, process of transmission and recipient culture. For reasons of clarity, I have retained these categories as structuring devices. By introducing differentiating factors I indicate the complexity of 'cultures' and the processes under discussion. In columns 2 and 3 I suggest some of the ways in which one might meaningfully classify and thus begin to explain the rich variety of possible relationships between cultures (or aspects of cultures), and between individual ideas or objects and their significance.

Before presenting the model, it seems to be appropriate to tackle briefly a question that is basic to any reasoning about cultural contact. The model does not include those notions and goods that might originate independently at different places and periods of time. Therefore for illustration no such example is used like the origin of the city-state or general patterns of behaviour. In order to illustrate the possibilities of the model I mostly concentrate on some examples drawn from the Greek Dark Age and the Archaic period. Recent research in these areas of Greek history has allowed us to shed much of the conceptual ballast which 19th-century scholarship has bequeathed us. Scholars have used models from anthropology to cast fresh light on social, political and cultural phenomena. Archaeologists too have continued to explore new tools of analysis and as a result have developed innovative ways of interpreting their data. The Greek Dark Age and the Archaic period cover a wide range of different societies, thus providing us with a good test for the flexibility and explanatory power of the model as proposed in this paper.

I now offer some brief comments on the proposed model for studying cultural contact. The main emphasis in this chapter is on explaining the terminology used. Footnotes are kept to a minimum in this part of the discussion: the relevant literature is discussed in the introduction and illustrative chapters to the model.

Differentiating Factors

In order to capture the diversity and malleability of ancient cultures as they come into contact with one another, I suggest five differentiating factors that help us classify the context of producers, transmitters and recipients in such a way as to render visible the range of processes involved in cultural transfer. Differentiation of this kind is helpful even in cases where we have insufficient evidence, in that it enables us to understand better the nature and extent of the gaps in our knowledge.

Cultural Characteristics

If we wish to understand the motives of those involved in the transfer of ideas or goods we must first of all look at the cultural context to which their producers, transmitters and recipients belong. Large-scale cultures that are named and that therefore tend to be taken for granted (for example 'Egyptian', 'Greek', 'Phoenician') in practice consist of many different cultural spheres that may or may not compete with one another. The extent to which an idea or object is associated with some such sphere will affect its meaning at all stages of its transmission, from producer to transmitter and recipient. The object or idea in question does not carry in itself a fixed and stable cultural significance. Indeed, its significance may shift more than once in the process of transmission. The extent to which we can determine the cultural significance of an idea or object depends in large measure on the coherence of the culture or cultural sphere to which it pertains. Although this is a well-known fact it has not always been taken sufficiently seriously in the study of cultural contact.

Status of Individuals

Social status is another differentiating factor when it comes to determining the significance of an object or idea. Once again it affects the stages of production, transmission and appropriation. The status of a person does not just affect how we view our own culture and its products but also how we perceive transactions between cultures. For example, those wishing to establish diplomatic contact will take a very different view of their actions from those involved in a routine exchange of goods. Of course, such perspectives may shift or overlap. This is important to bear in mind when we draw far-reaching conclusions about the character of a given transfer by looking at the status of the people involved, from merchants to aristocrats, artisans, religious experts and traders.

Social Context

We can only describe the social status of a person if we know something about the society in which they live. We must therefore consider all societies that partake in the transfer of an object or idea. This will enable us to focus on some aspects of historical reality that are not covered by the concept of 'culture'. Social conditions do not just determine status: they also inform the much more specific power relationships and structures of authority that either encourage or discourage the formation of subcultures and other lower-level cultural phenomena. All this very directly affects the ways in which members of different cultures perceive and shape specific acts of cultural exchange. In my model, I prefer to use the term 'society' to the term 'state' because of the different political implications of each of these terms. If we are to differentiate even further, we need to decide which specific system of describing

political organisation we want to adopt. The above scheme is based on the typology of A. Johnson and T. Earle, for the simple reason that their terminology appears self-evidently useful in the context of the period under discussion.²¹ However, the terms of Johnson and Earle too need to be analysed and/or specified further if we are to do justice to any specific object of enquiry.

Societal and Individual Needs

Processes of cultural exchange – whether one-sided, mutual or multilateral – are driven by needs that may take different forms in different societies. The range of possible needs may be conveniently sketched by using P. Bourdieu's taxonomy of capital.²² According to Bourdieu, there are four basic forms of capital: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Bourdieu himself further refines these categories according to the specific context of analysis. When thinking about cultural contact it is important to bear in mind that those who have control over the various forms of capital are more likely to be successful in politics and society. We must therefore reckon with corresponding economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations, as well as those that lead to the acquisition of symbolic capital. In this context, it may be well to sound a note of caution: research in anthropology, and more specifically recent work on cultural contact, has shown that we should not privilege economic needs at the expense of other forms of need or aspiration.

Transferred Objects and Ideas

The producers, transmitters and recipients of objects and ideas are not the only ones who determine what is passed on and how: those objects and ideas themselves also have a role to play. Not every object is equally suitable for transfer, and certainly not all lend themselves to the same form of transfer. That is true of material objects but also of ideas, skills and experiences. Here too we need to bear in mind what was said earlier about the possibility of cultural transfer: we must distinguish between goods and forms of knowledge that are easy to transport and others that can only be moved with great difficulty, such as, for example, monumental architecture or large-scale sculptures. These items must normally be experienced *in situ* or else through the mediation of others. Moreover, the significance that a producer and his primary audiences attach to a text can only be appreciated through direct transmission. The same is true of images and individual motifs in a range of media, and even more so of entire systems of knowledge.²³ Yet even in cases where objects, ideas, etc. are

²¹ Johnson and Earle 1987; for criticism, see van Wees 2002.

²² Bourdieu 1992, 46–79. Incomplete lists of needs can be found, for example, in Miller 1997, 243–44; Morgan 1999, 126–27; Raaflaub 2004.

²³ See Patzek 2004.

transmitted more or less directly, they invariably undergo a process of transformation, as they enter into a new conceptual framework and acquire new meaning for the society that appropriates them.

Reducing Complexity: The Case of Contact Zones

As we have seen, we can capture some of the complexities of cultural transfer by applying a series of differentiating factors to the tripartite model of producer, transmitter and recipient. If we wish to understand individual transfers beyond merely modelling relevant factors at an abstract level, we must look for ways of analysing their causes without taking recourse to the problematic criteria of ethnicity or culture. In order to achieve this, I shall now introduce two new concepts that can help us understand better the various forms of cultural contact: space and contact zone.

‘Space’ does not mean a specific territory or location but a social construct that arises from the factors mentioned above. In a ground-breaking study, M. Foucault has rightly pointed out that ‘we do not (live) in a blank space in which we can simply “situate” individuals and objects.’ Rather, ‘we (live) in a tangle of relationships which situate us in ways that cannot be reduced to each other or even be reconciled with one another.’²⁴ Any location within a given territory thus carries a significance that cannot simply be explained as a function of geographical location, even though geography in the narrow sense of the word has a role to play. The significance of places is produced by human beings and changes with them.²⁵

Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ and ‘social field’ can help achieve a better understanding of how locations acquire meaning, I adopt.²⁶ Habitus refers to the patterns of perception, behaviour and thought which we acquire as part of our socialisation. The term social field places specific patterns of socialisation in a wider context which is defined by various forms of capital, from economic to cultural, social and symbolic. Thinking about social fields enables us to draw an important distinction between (physical) place and (symbolic) space, and to grasp the fact that the production of spaces cannot be a unique and/or uniform process. Moreover, in one and the same (physical) place there can exist several social spaces which may even conflict with one another. If we combine these insights with the idea of a contact zone we can better understand the role of producers and recipients in the complex process of cultural exchange.

²⁴ Foucault 1992 (the paper dates from 1967), 38.

²⁵ Lefebvre 1991 discusses the philosophical background of the ‘production of space’. There has been a steady stream of literature on the ‘spatial turn’, for example Klein 2001; Meijstrik 2005; Schröder and Höhler 2005.

²⁶ For example Bourdieu 1976; 1987. For a basic introduction to Bourdieu’s thought, see Schwingel 1995.

The notion of contact zones builds on the definition of space that I have sketched out above. M.L. Pratt defines contact zones as 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today'.²⁷ Her definition is not based on a geopolitical or territorial concept of space. Rather, she suggests that the real issue is one of power: asymmetrical relationships of domination and subordination contribute to the transformation of mere geography into social spaces.²⁸

The question arises what is meant by 'power' in this context. One may only think of current debates about ancient colonisation to appreciate how important it is to gain some clarity on this issue. The relationship between colonisers and colonised has often been described in terms of one group exercising power over another. More recent scholars have tried to arrive at a more nuanced picture by distinguishing between a pre-colonial and a colonial phase. This distinction makes it clear that the relationship between colonisers and colonised changes over time. However, it is not sufficiently nuanced to be of much help when it comes to analysing cultural exchange. Yet again, the idea of a 'colony' conveys the problematic implication that we are dealing with clearly delineated, self-contained units. Moreover, when discussing ancient colonialism, we tend to transfer ideas and concepts from the history of modern European colonialism to our study of the ancient world.²⁹ If 'power' is to be a useful tool in analysing the various forms of cultural exchange we must try to define it more clearly. The concept of 'hegemony' which some scholars have used in this context does not seem suitable to our purposes: I prefer instead to draw on the taxonomy of power and its uses that scholars working in social psychology have developed in recent decades.

Social psychologists describe power as a feature of asymmetrical relationships, that is to say, relationships in which the partners command unequal means of power. Power may manifest itself in various ways: it can be potential or actual, formal or informal, personal or structural. In all cases, power rests on having control over the means to exercise it, such as the reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, expert power, and power extended in various ways over various types of loci ('ökologische Macht').³⁰ The means by which power may be exercised are

²⁷ Pratt 1994, 4.

²⁸ See, for example, Schlögel 2003.

²⁹ Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Gosden 2004; van Dommelen 1997; Osborne 1998; also Carter 2004; Owen 2005. Ridgway (2004, 17–18, with further literature) points out that 'colony', taken as a teleological term, tends to divert attention away from other possible types of contact; similar: Hodos 2006, 9–13.

³⁰ Fischer and Wiswede 1997 (they refer to French and Raven 1959, and Cartwright 1959). Mann (1986, especially 22–28) usefully distinguishes between authoritative and diffused power. Mann's

crucial for our understanding of cultural exchange. In this connection we also need to consider the costs of exercising power. These are a limiting factor because resources are finite: rival claims to power, levels of resistance, and the costs associated with violent repression are among the factors that may determine the overall cost of exercising power. Another issue to bear in mind is the perspective of individuals who are affected by power, and their response to it. Once we have better understood who holds power and how power is exercised we can apply our knowledge to the study of cultural exchange. Where control over the exercise of power is asymmetrical we might speak of a hierarchy. Where the situation is broadly symmetrical, we are faced with what has been called a 'heterarchy'. Between these two extremes we can place many forms of interaction that give rise to a diverse range of contact zones.³¹

Open Contact Zones

Spaces that are heterarchically structured – i.e. where one side does not monopolise the available means of exercising power – may be called 'open contact zones'. Such spaces arise whenever the producers and recipients of a given object, idea or skill do not come into direct contact with one another; or rather, when such contact does not involve large groups of people from either side. In such cases, neither side can bring to bear the means of exercising power discussed above. Exchanges in open contact zones are often regular and well regulated, but contact nevertheless tends to remain relatively distant, retaining the character of what B. Patzek has aptly described as 'Fernverhältnisse' (distant relationships).³² We may provisionally distinguish four such types of relationship:

First, a distant relationship obtains when producers and recipients communicate through a third party, such as the merchants that were active in the ancient Mediterranean and the Near East. Their role is of course familiar, but we must be careful not to invoke it indiscriminately: who it was that actually helped to transmit a given object or idea needs to be studied on a case by case basis. Another group of people that acted as a conduit for cultural exchange were the itinerant craftsmen who did not have a firm base and stayed in one place for only a short time. Like the Homeric *demioergoi* these specialists did not normally travel long distances.³³

categories overlap only in part with those discussed above and are especially helpful in highlighting the use of force; cf. Rubinstein 1994, 990–92.

³¹ For the term 'heterarchy', see Ehrenreich *et al.* 1995.

³² Patzek 1996a.

³³ Merchants: Liverani 1987, 71–73; Möller 2000, 39–60. Itinerant experts appear to move only within relatively coherent cultural spaces: Zaccagnini 1983; Rollinger 1996, 202–10; Leighton 1999, 207–10; Michailidou and Voutsas 2005; van Dongen 2007, 32–33.

Second, the relationships between Mediterranean Big Men or Chiefs during the Greek Dark Age represent another form of *Fernverhältnis*. These individuals, who are often misleadingly called ‘aristocrats’, participated in an economy of gift-exchange. E. Kistler has recently studied patterns of contact between Lefkandi and Athens during the period between 950 and 850 BC. Drawing on two types of feasts distinguished by anthropologists he has been able to show how economies of gift-exchange may tie into larger trade networks.³⁴ Kistler argues that the Big Men of Athens put on empowering feasts of a kind that is characteristic of broadly egalitarian societies. In the context of these feasts the Big Men acted as patrons and displayed their wealth, including a specific type of tableware.³⁵ Due to competition among the Big Men of Athens, demand for this type of tableware grew, resulting in the rise of a specialised pottery industry. Athenian Big Men liaised with the family of the Chief of Lefkandi, who was interested in continued supplies of Attic tableware: he too used it in the feasts that he arranged in his capacity as Chief and patron of the community. The ultimate aim was to convert material wealth into social capital: the Chief of Lefkandi could impose a hierarchy among his guests by serving them either with bronze tableware imported from Cyprus, or with precious ceramics from Attica. Less privileged guests were treated to locally produced pottery.

A third form of *Fernverhältnis* may be observed in southern Etruria during the 6th century BC, where entrepôts such as Gravisca and Pyrgi helped avoid direct contact between the recipients of goods and their producers, or even those involved in the transfer. As formal contact zones these spaces were ‘highly ritualised, and cosmopolitan in a way that urban centres were not’. They differ from ports-of-trade in that they were not situated between economically incompatible worlds. They function as so-called gateway communities – places that allow an easy, restricted and in some sense controlled transpiration of the cultural borders.³⁶ As a result, producers and recipients are able to avoid direct contact. Hence they were not usually the object of a direct power struggle.³⁷

Supra-regional sanctuaries during the early stages of their existence partook in a fourth type of *Fernverhältnis*, in that imported goods were deposited in them. We have literary as well as archaeological evidence for this habit. Even if we concede that some of the literary examples are problematic, they only make sense if some sanctuaries did indeed represent open contact zones of more than merely regional import.

³⁴ Kistler and Ulf 2005; see also Kistler 1998. Their view finds support in Lemos 2006 and Crielaard 2006, especially 287–91.

³⁵ For a discussion of ‘empowering feasts’ and ‘patron role feasts’, see Dietler 2001, 76–82.

³⁶ Wesler 1983, especially 644–45.

³⁷ Arafat and Morgan 1994, 113. Malkin 2002a, 170; see also Markoe 2003, 214–15. Möller (2000, especially 19–25) discusses ports-of-trade; for a more ambitious definition, see Luke 2003.

As well as depositing goods from far-off places, visitors could exchange information and build relationships. Relationships of this kind were in principle heterarchic and did not necessarily last very long.³⁸

Zones of Intense Contact

Zones of intense contact, or closed contact zones, are the opposite of open contact zones in that their most important characteristic is direct contact between producers and recipients. In practice this can take different forms: one side may exert more or less total dominance over the other, but we also know of such contact zones in which cultural exchange happens more or less freely in all directions.

Little Direct Use of Power. Zones of intense contact may form even where none of the people involved has the power of coercing others, or of bringing to bear (institutionalised) force. This does not mean that power is not being exercised at all but rather that the use of power correlates with various forms of economic, ideological or social dependence.

Regions and settlements that are situated on popular trade routes in the Mediterranean may be regarded as one type of zone where contact is intense. Examples include Cyprus, parts of Crete, and Sardinia, all of which are characterised by a shared interest in cultural exchange.³⁹ The multicultural settlement of Pithekoussai too should be mentioned in this connection, if indeed it owes its existence to its advantageous position on the trade route along the western coast of Italy.⁴⁰ Campania during the 8th century BC appears to have been another zone of multicultural exchange where none of the partners recognisably dominated the others. I. Malkin, who has studied the area, points out that Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans and Italian groups encountered one another peacefully and outside the control of a coercive authority. What is more, he shows that in the second half of the 8th century these groups developed a shared 'sympotic lifestyle'.⁴¹ Once we move away from the current emphasis on cultures as distinct entities, we may view areas such as Campania during the 8th century BC no longer simply as mediating between 'cultures' but as coherent cultural spaces in their own right.

³⁸ For the character of these locations see Ulf 1997a; 2006; Morgan 1990; 2003; also Kourou 2003; and below pp. 113–14.

³⁹ For continuity and change in the use of these routes from the 2nd to the 1st millennium BC, see Eder and Jung 2005; Leighton 1999, 223–25; Matthäus 1998; 2000a–b; Hoffman 1997; Stampolidis 2003; Shaw 1998; Kourou 2003; Bartoloni 2003. Tsatskhladze (2006, xlix, n. 120) lists further literature. Tsatskhladze (2006, xliii–li) discusses Phoenician and Greek colonisation; cf. Malkin 2002a, 159–60; Osborne 1998.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ridgway 2004. Tsatskhladze (2006, li) sees parallels between Pithekoussai and Berezan.

⁴¹ Malkin 2002a. Wilson (2000, 37) adduces other examples of the same phenomenon.

Another phenomenon is closely related: groups of merchants sometimes spent significant amounts of time abroad ('trade diaspora').⁴² Resident craftsmen too formed enclaves in foreign territories (*enoikismos*). These craftsmen should be clearly distinguished from itinerant experts, though both groups chose to stay abroad for lengthy amounts of time rather than acting under compulsion (see below, pp. 100, 113). Mercenaries form yet another group associated with the formation of zones of intense contact. We have evidence of mercenaries working in the Near East and Egypt from the Neo-Assyrian period onward.⁴³ People returning home after spending a long time abroad help create similar zones of intense contact: this process can be traced archaeologically by looking at extant sculptures and architecture, or at dedications in sanctuaries.

Finally, we must mention so-called 'pre-colonial' settlements, i.e. settlements from the earliest phase of the process that has become known as 'colonisation'. On the basis of archaeological finds from the Greek settlements on the Black Sea coast, in Sicily, on the East coast of Italy and in Asia Minor, we can tell that many settlements started off when Greeks joined existing non-Greek communities. As the Greek settlers increased in number, their settlements acquired a hinterland (*chora*) at the expense of indigenous settlements. Indigenous settlers in turn often responded by forming more stable political and social units of their own.⁴⁴ In this connection it is worth mentioning the case of Massalia. Despite the fact that Massalia flourished as an independent town, the Greek settlement did not dominate its densely populated hinterland. Rather, the archaeological evidence points to 'consensus and coexistence' based on 'mutual economic interests'.⁴⁵ Similar arrangements will have obtained in the case of many of the Greek settlements founded in inner Sicily: witness the Greek imports discovered in non-Greek funerals at Morgantina.⁴⁶

Apart from the last-mentioned contact zones, which arise from the necessities of exchange, there are also spaces in which contact over a long period of time did not involve a strong element of trade. One example of this type of space is Cyprus, but even more instructive is the case of Miletus, which in the *Iliad* (2. 867–869) appears as a Carian city. Apart from their close relationship with Caria, Ionia is also closely related to Phrygia. Ionia, and especially the island of Lesbos, was also in contact with Lydians. In none of these cases do we have any strong evidence of the use of power, at least not for a considerable time. The indications are rather of a milieu in which

⁴² For the concept of a 'trade diaspora', see Stein 2002; Domínguez 2002, 73.

⁴³ Rollinger 2001; Haider 1996; 2001.

⁴⁴ Osborne 1998; Tsetskhladze 1998a, 45–50; 2006, liii, lxvi; 2007; Albanese Procelli 1996, 169–71; De Angelis 2003; Carter 2004, 39; Kerschner 2005, 114.

⁴⁵ Arafat and Morgan 1994, 126–28; for an overview see Dietler 1997, especially 317–18, 331.

⁴⁶ De Angelis 2003; Lyons 1996; Antonaccio 1997.

‘intermarriage, guest-friendship and gift exchange delineated class distinction rather than ethnic boundaries’.⁴⁷

The examples we have seen so far suggest that contact zones in which power is used sparingly tend to be unstable precisely because they are not policed with the help of coercive power. Even minor changes to the ways in which participants relate to one another can quickly alter the nature of their symbiotic relationship. Interested parties may precipitate change with their tendency to use power even in circumstances where force is not a significant factor. Thus, Malkin points out that Etruscan influence in Campania increased significantly in the course of the 6th century BC, affecting the nature of cultural interaction in the area.⁴⁸ Elsewhere, Greek settlements that integrated the hinterland into their sphere of influence had a similar effect – as did Assyrian expansion into southern Asia Minor and the Levant, and later the conquests of Lydians and Persians in Asia Minor.

The Middle Ground. Students of the ancient world have recently started using the term ‘middle ground’ when discussing zones of intense contact, without however defining it with sufficient clarity.⁴⁹ It is therefore necessary to reflect briefly on its background and meaning. R. White first used the term ‘middle ground’ as a way of characterising a specific type of contact zone in his study of contact between the French and the American Indian tribe of the Algonquin during the last decades of the 17th century BC.⁵⁰ In the area of the Great Lakes, the French and Algonquin developed shared forms of interaction as a result of the conflict between the French and British on the one hand, and the threat posed to the Algonquin by the Iroquois on the other. The French were militarily too weak to challenge the Iroquois who were supported by the British. They therefore supported the Algonquin, whom the Iroquois had pushed into the area of the Great Lakes, in a bid to safeguard their economic interests. The Algonquin in turn needed the French to fend off the Iroquois but sought to stay as independent of French colonial influence as possible.

The French and Algonquin came into contact both because they encountered each other in daily life but also through formal diplomacy. In this latter context they experienced each other as representatives of two clearly separate ethnic groups, and the differences between their interests came to the fore: the Algonquin were above all interested in their own security and in safeguarding access to their resources, whereas the French wanted to intensify the exchange of goods. There thus arose the necessity of finding a rapprochement between the two groups’ diverse interests both in formal negotiations and day-to-day life.

⁴⁷ J. Hall 2004a, 44; Kurke 1992. And see below pp. 111–16.

⁴⁸ Malkin 2002a, especially 159–61.

⁴⁹ Malkin 2002a; 2005; Antonaccio 2004. Cf. also Tsatskheladze 2006, lvi–lvii; Gosden 2004.

⁵⁰ White 1991.

Both the French and the Algonquin were interested in co-operating because neither side could achieve its aims by force. Yet the scope for co-operation was limited by the fact that the French were politically and militarily superior, and that their interests therefore dictated the agenda to a large extent. For illustration, let us look at one particular example. The Jesuit priests misunderstood the sexual freedom of young Indian women as prostitution. They therefore fought it with the limited power at their disposal. But some of the French merchants and hunters resisted the efforts of the Jesuits because it was through sexual intercourse with young Indian women that they were able to establish stable social relations with the Algonquins, at least for a limited amount of time. Some French commanders encouraged their soldiers to marry Indian women, but that too caused problems in that the French and Algonquin had a different understanding of the social bonds incurred by marriage – quite apart from the racist prejudices harboured by the French.

Still, the French did not have the institutional or military power to enforce their aims – though they did have what has been termed ‘reinforcement power’, i.e. the power to reward the Algonquin. They were therefore forced ‘to understand the world and the reasoning of others and to assimilate enough of that reasoning to put it to their own purposes’. As an example, White cites the attempt of a Huron Chief to persuade a French commander by putting his case in the mouth of a Christian-Indian prophet whom he invented for that specific purpose. The Huron leader even went so far as offering the French commander a gift from the fictitious prophet, which the commander rejected because – according to prevailing custom – that would have meant accepting the authority of the Indian prophet. Ironically, in rejecting the gift he also rejected the ‘prophet’s’ advice that the Indians should adopt French culture.

As each side adopted elements of the culturally specific behaviour and thinking of the other, new ways of communicating emerged. As a result, we can observe the formation of a culturally hybrid space which was never planned and which was based to a large part on ‘mutual creative misunderstanding’.⁵¹ However, the situation changed fundamentally as soon as the French were in a position to expand militarily. From then on, interactions characteristic of the ‘middle ground’ gave way to the overt use of force.

Interaction in the ‘middle ground’ tends to fluctuate between the use of force and an avoidance of force. Scholars have detected this quality in early Greek texts and especially the Homeric epics, sometimes interpreting it as a reflex of colonialism.⁵² Such assessments are in need of careful scrutiny, as recently attempted by a number

⁵¹ White 1991, 53–55.

⁵² Dougherty 2001; see also Malkin 1998; 2002a.

of archaeologists. Malkin has compared the situation in 8th- and 7th-century BC Campania very directly with the middle ground.⁵³ Yet, his work shows precisely that the element of a potentially uneven distribution of power which is characteristic of the middle ground, and which tends to result in a certain lack of stability, is not present in 8th- and 7th-century Campania.

By contrast, A. Domínguez has argued convincingly that the relationship between Greeks and indigenous populations in the area of modern Spain does show important characteristics of the middle ground.⁵⁴ Here, the Greeks could not (or perhaps did not want to) use force to impose their economic interests because they did not have any settlements of their own apart from Ampurias and Rhode. Instead, they accommodated the wishes of the local elites as far as possible – though they also brought to bear their specialised knowledge as a form of expert power; and created a value-laden map of the entire area, which under the name ‘Iberia’ they incorporated into their world view. Domínguez argues convincingly that indigenous populations experienced the Greek approach as a use of power. In response, they formed more clearly defined indigenous identities at the beginning of the 4th century BC, and destroyed or moved existing (funerary) sculptures that showed Greek stylistic influences. Likewise, the Greek-Iberian alphabet was replaced with the semi-syllabic South Iberian script in the 3rd century BC.⁵⁵ R. Albanese sees the relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks in Sicily as generally unstable and occasionally violent during the Protoarchaic period.⁵⁶ A similar situation is likely to have obtained between the Assyrians and the Phoenician cities, as long as the Assyrians did not employ violent force.

Open use of power. In this type of contact zone the exercise of power is always a factor, rather than being a mere possibility as it was in the ‘middle ground’. This includes in principle all means of exercising power, but especially the power of coercion. The dominant party need not use power directly but may resort to various forms of indirect rule. The costs that arise from exercising power are the only limiting factor. Depending on the level of force that is needed to sustain the exercise of power in its various manifestations we may distinguish several types of interaction. We may first consider the interaction between Greeks and indigenous populations in contexts where a hinterland (*chora*) settled by non-Greeks has been incorporated into Greek settlements. What had long been a zone of intense contact changed its character by virtue of the fact that one party now openly exercised power of the

⁵³ Malkin 2002a.

⁵⁴ Domínguez 2002.

⁵⁵ Other examples of the middle ground seem to have arisen from encounters between Greeks and indigenous populations in Sicily; cf. De Angelis 2003, especially 29–31; Antonaccio 2004.

⁵⁶ Albanese Procetti 1996, 170.

other.⁵⁷ There are many examples of this type of development. At Megara Hyblaia, for example, Greeks came into conflict with non-Greeks after an initial phase of peaceful coexistence. The same happened at Histria and Elea. At Metapontum, the Greek settlers laid claims to the territory of the indigenous settlement of Incoronata Graeca from the first half of the 6th century BC onward, i.e. approximately two generations after Metapontum was founded. Non-Greek populations responded to the challenge posed by the Greek settlements by forming their own power structures. We have already seen one example of this mechanism in Iberia at the turn of the 5th/4th centuries BC. Literary sources emphasise the use of military power when describing confrontations between Greek and indigenous settlers, and the Greeks' eventual conquest of non-Greek populations.⁵⁸

J. Luke distinguishes four different types of ports-of-trade, depending on who exercises political control. In the first category are settlements that are from the beginning under the control of established local rulers and must answer to them. An example of these are the so-called *enoikismoi* that were set up in the Assyrian-controlled territories of the eastern Mediterranean from the 7th century BC onwards. The Assyrians themselves encouraged these settlements as a way of conducting trade with the outside world. The trading settlements of Anatolia probably had a similar function,⁵⁹ as does the port of Al Mina – regardless of whether or not we choose to see it as a Greek settlement. The example *par excellence* of a port-of-trade continues to be Naukratis.⁶⁰

A third form of 'itinerant' experts, over and above the two already mentioned, represents a special case of this type of interaction. I am referring here to the speakers of Greek, Carian, Lydian and other languages who lived and worked at the heart of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian empires. Unless they had been deported as captives they had relative freedom of movement, though they were not fully integrated into their surrounding societies.⁶¹

Among the contact zones characterised by an open use of force are also those regions of the eastern Mediterranean which the Assyrians directly controlled as provinces of their empire. The expanding Greek 'colonies' too belong in this category: they developed from contact zones in which force was used indirectly, for

⁵⁷ Descœudres 1990, 6–7; J. Hall 2004b; Carter 2004; Tsatskheladze 1998a.

⁵⁸ Tsatskheladze 1998a, 46–48; 2006, liii–lvi; De Angelis 2003, 29; Domínguez 2002, 86–87; Carter 2004.

⁵⁹ Cf. Derksen 1996.

⁶⁰ Cf. Lanfranchi 2000. More recent discussions of Al Mina can be found in Luke 2003; Boardman 2005; Niemeyer 2005; Tsatskheladze 2006, xlix–l (with further literature); B. Schweizer 2007, especially 322–23. On Naukratis, see Möller 2000.

⁶¹ Rollinger 2001; 2009; Rollinger and Korenjak 2001; Haider 1996; 2001, especially 199.

example by threatening coercion and exacting tribute.⁶² Finally, every war involves close contact between different communities over a more or less extended period of time – or else it results in such contact, whatever the intentions of those involved. The Persian Wars with all their cultural repercussions are one of the best-known examples of this phenomenon.

Receptivity as a Means of Differentiating between Contact Zones

By looking at the structure of contact zones we begin to appreciate the diversity of contact situations. That is an important precondition for understanding specific processes of cultural exchange: culture is exchanged through the chain of producer, transmitter and recipient that I have already discussed, yet those involved in the chain of transmission do not merely pass on objects and ideas but also give them a new significance. Certainly, the meaning that the producer attached to them is not likely to persist unaltered.⁶³ In this section I aim to review in a fairly comprehensive manner some of the ways in which we may analyse the significance that recipients attach to imported objects or ideas.

Whether we look at small-scale phenomena or larger trends, our analysis must treat recipients as actively involved in the process of transmission. Since archaeological and historical data does not normally tell us anything very explicit about the views of individual recipients, we must resort to reconstructing their social and political context in order to gain some insight into their outlook and behaviour.⁶⁴

Identity and Networks

Identity is not just a familiar concept, but also a slippery one. We must therefore endeavour to use it with as much precision as we can.⁶⁵ In the context of the present argument identity is not likely to be useful as an analytic tool if it is taken to refer to an individual's innate sense of self. Yet, we can also understand identity as a social phenomenon without having to take recourse to an underlying essence, such as for example an *a priori* ethnic identity.⁶⁶ According to K.E. Müller, 'the magical

⁶² Cf. below pp. 120–21. For the Assyrian expansion into the Zagros Mountains, see Lanfranchi 2003; Radner 2003. It took a similar form, though there are some differences too.

⁶³ See Wesler 1983, 643; Appadurai 1986; Parry and Bloch 1989; Malkin 2002b; Tsatskheladze 2005. Antonaccio (2004, especially 69–73) discusses the dangers inherent in using an artefact style as an indicator of ethnicity. She points out that peoples on the Northwest coast of America and the Eskimos of Alaska no longer viewed European ceramics as commodities but rather treated them as prestige goods that could be used in religious, social or economic contexts. On Athens, see Miller 1997, 216–17.

⁶⁴ Cf. also Morris 2000, 3–33; Manning and Hulin 2005; Osborne 2006; van Dongen 2008.

⁶⁵ For discussion of the term, see Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Stachel 2005.

⁶⁶ J. Hall (1997, especially 17–33; 2004b) and Herring and Lomas (2000) argue that ethnic criteria are relatively unimportant in establishing the identity of groups or individuals in a Greek context.

universe of a person's identity' emerges from his or her place in spatial and social systems – and from an analogous set of interrelated ideas.⁶⁷ It follows that individuals have several identities at once, from their identity as the member of a family to the identity that comes with their place in wider society. The various identities coexist, intertwine and overlap. Their relationship with one another can be illustrated by using the image of a network: each of the identity networks to which an individual belongs has a specific structure that determines among other things how it relates to other such networks. Society can be seen as the only network that is linked up with all others; it alone suggests an overarching identity to which all other identities are tied to a greater or lesser extent.

The existence of a network cannot simply be deduced archaeologically from the fact that goods travel from one place or person to another. Nor are networks to be seen merely as systems of economic exchange. Rather, they are complex structures that may take many different forms. Every individual belongs to several networks, each of which – including the overarching network of society – represents a social space which may have a greater or lesser degree of social coherence, depending on the nature of the network. The extent of networks is hard to determine with any precision, though it may be possible to detect broad trends. Here we might start from Bourdieu's observation that individual habitus as reflected in social practice tends to be relatively uniform in non-complex societies. Uniformity is not enforced by the use of institutional power, which is little developed in such societies. Rather, it is the result of high levels of social pressure arising from frequent use of rewards and coercion. In the tendentially heterarchic societies under discussion here, social interaction tends to be frequent and thus to intensify the effects of coercive power.

Another way of determining and explaining the extent to which individuals identify with a network has been suggested by the sociologist M. Granovetter, whose work has inspired more recent research into networks. Looking at modern social groups, Granovetter has shown that networks in which individuals share close bonds tend to detach themselves from the outside world.⁶⁸ Moreover, they resist being subsumed into higher-level networks. Research in social psychology indirectly confirms that groups with a strong level of cohesion and a shared social identity tend to act in isolation.⁶⁹ By contrast, networks where some individuals share relatively weak bonds with one another show a greater willingness to assimilate new – i.e. externally generated – information; though weak relationships are only productive if they plug 'structural holes' in a network. A structural hole arises when existing strong

⁶⁷ Müller 1987; cf. Ulf 1997b.

⁶⁸ Granovetter 1973; Burt 1992; T. Schweizer 1996, 111–52. The idea of a network goes beyond that of mere group coherence: cf. Fischer and Wiswede 1997, 564–65. Bisang 2004, especially 13–18.

⁶⁹ Tajfel 1982; Turner *et al.* 1992; Brewer 2003, 125–26.

relationships do not produce all the information that is needed in a given situation. In such circumstances, weak relationships that provide the necessary information function as bridges to other networks – or parts of other networks – which the group may then tap as sources of additional information. ‘Outsiders’ without strong bonds to a given network are more than usually open to innovation: because they are not fully integrated into the social fabric of the group they are not under pressure to defend a specific position within it. At the same time, they also command information that is not shared by other members of the group.

We can further analyse different identities in the context of different forms of cultural contact by using M. Mann’s concept of an ‘interaction cleavage’; such gaps can be observed at the fringes of networks and may be more or less wide.⁷⁰ The stronger the bonds between individuals within networks, the fewer the ‘bridges’ between them, the wider the gap will be that prevents meaningful interaction.

Perceptions of Foreigners

When thinking about identity the fact has been emphasised that individuals belong to groups. Networks are a useful way of thinking about groups: as we have seen, we can distinguish several different ways in which networks may relate to each other. This last point, in conjunction with the concept of an ‘interaction gap’, helped us focus on the relationships between different groups of people, a vital aspect of cultural contact. We have thus made significant progress in our general understanding of how individuals and groups partake in cultural exchange. However, it remains to be seen what factors inform individual encounters. I cannot of course discuss possible constellations of networks in all their complexity here. Nor is it necessary to do so: if the purpose of the present paper was to study individual cases, an in-depth analysis would indeed be required, but the aim here is to understand better how the relationship between groups may unfold at a more general level.

Contact between different networks may be seen as part of a process whereby members of a group perceive people, ideas or objects as foreign. Historians and anthropologists have studied such processes in detail, often obtaining interesting results.⁷¹ Yet for our purposes their approach is not sufficiently wide-ranging to describe the entire spectrum of behavioural patterns displayed by groups and individuals. Students of history and anthropology tend to focus on specific situations and rarely venture conclusions of a more general kind. Social psychologists, by contrast, look at the perception of others in light of social cognition. As a result,

⁷⁰ Mann 1990, 13: ‘A society is a network of social interaction at the boundaries of which is a certain level of interaction cleavage between it and its environment.’

⁷¹ For example E. Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Schuster 1996; Timpe 2000.

they are able to identify general patterns of behaviour that can also be applied to the ancient world.⁷²

Research in the cognitive sciences has shown that we insert each new piece of information into the categories of a pre-existing mental system. The available categories allow a person 'to deal with incoming information quickly and automatically. Categorisation is a natural product of how the human mind operates and is fundamental to the study of intergroup relations in that it is the basis upon which groups are identified in the first place.'⁷³ If we accept that categorisation is of central importance to all forms of social perception, including our perception of foreigners, then we must ask how these categories come about.

It seems beyond doubt that our cognitive categories are designed to help us function within a group: they give us confidence, and enable us to negotiate our social position. Cognitive categories thus carry in themselves a clear in-group bias: in order to fulfil their purpose they must to a certain extent be ethnocentric, accentuating what binds the group together and marking as strange what does not – or does so to a lesser extent. Cognitive categorisation thus belongs to the broader realm of social comparison and in some circumstances goes hand in hand with competition. Specifically ethnic categories only come into play when a group acquires an ethnic identity as a specialised form of social identity.

Because human beings have a need to assimilate information efficiently and unambiguously, social categorisation tends to exaggerate the differences between groups. Stereotypes and various forms of prejudice arise as a consequence, though these do not lead to hostility towards others as long as the identity of the group is not under threat. Group members may feel more or less anxious about their group and experience varying levels of emotional strain as a result. High levels of stress and anxiety tend to re-enforce existing stereotypes and encourage prejudice ('affect priming'). Under such circumstances, members of the group may stop making use of available cognitive resources and rely increasingly on stereotypes and a sense of the group's moral superiority. As the group feels more and more threatened, 'affect priming' gathers momentum until 'ingroup love is converting into outgroup hate'.⁷⁴

This mechanism, which I have only sketched in broad outline, has often been described. When studying it in the context of the ancient world, we should not of course make the historically unacceptable assumption that it involves fixed and stable ethnic identities and/or cultures. Rather, the study of categorisation in the ancient world needs to be based on a more nuanced understanding of identity and network

⁷² For what follows I am indebted to Brewer 2003. Downs and Stea (1977) discuss similar concepts outside the context of social psychology.

⁷³ Brewer 2003, 4; 1999.

⁷⁴ Brewer 2003, 69–76, 83–87.

formation as developed above. Once that is granted, we can attempt to analyse further the various types of contact zone I have already outlined, and to understand better how, when and why individuals living in a given contact zone may receive imported objects or ideas.

Types of Contact Zones and Forms of Receptivity

Ancient historians have long regarded culture and ethnicity as self-evident realities, which is one likely reason why they do not tend to treat receptivity as an issue in its own right but often simply take it for granted. By contrast, archaeologists have frequently attempted to analyse the responses that outside influences elicit on the part of the recipient. Already A. Blakeway singled out various groups of pottery in an attempt to identify the different producers of ceramics. He suggested method of production and artistic style as criteria. R. Stucky posited three different ways in which indigenous producers respond to outside influence, in this case from the Near East. Only recently have scholars relinquished the assumption that the Greeks were superior to their neighbours. M. Miller, for instance, sees cultural contact broadly as a form of interaction that may involve many different groups of people.⁷⁵ Her study departs from those of earlier scholars in that she uses the concepts of imitation, adaptation and derivation to gain insight into the social practice of a given group or individual involved in cultural exchange: imitation and adaptation refer to forms of cultural transfer which are shaped by the participants' own social world, whereas derivation tends to change the recipients' world, whatever their intention.⁷⁶

We can add further nuances to the picture sketched so far on the basis of archaeological research by introducing a model from linguistics: code-copying may be described as a process whereby 'elements of a foreign code are copied into the code of the recipient language'.⁷⁷ The result is never a wholesale 'switching to the foreign code' or 'a fusion between the two codes'. The familiar code may, however, come to resemble the model closely (reproduction), and occasionally we may even see the old code as a whole being reshaped in a thoroughgoing and creative manner. Processes of code-copying may take on a more than usually creative thrust when convention does not determine the relationship between a signifier and its meaning beyond doubt: in such cases, meaning is generated contextually, through communication or other forms of social practice. Cultural contact strongly favours this latter

⁷⁵ Blakeway 1932–33; Stucky 1982; Arafat and Morgan 1994, especially 133, 124; Boardman 2004; Miller 1997.

⁷⁶ Based on recent work on Romanisation, Vorderstrasse (2005, 3–9) offers a similar analysis using the concepts of imitation, hybridisation and syncretism.

⁷⁷ Johanson 1992, 176; cf. Bisang 2004, 26–34. For criticism, see Hölscher 2000, 160–64.

form of creative code-copying, a fact that should warn us not to reduce the complexities of social practice that arise from it to one-dimensional needs or aspirations.⁷⁸

In the next section of this paper various types of receptivity are outlined. In order to do justice to the complexities of the issue, the following terms are used as analytical tools: identity, social networks and perceptions of the other, as well as imitation, adaptation and derivation. People's identities, networks and perceptions of the other can only be determined with any degree of precision if we take into account the society in which they live, its overall shape and cultural characteristics, the status of individuals in it, and their diverse needs and aspirations. To this end I shall draw on models of human society developed in anthropology (*cf.* Table on p. 87).⁷⁹ For practical reasons, I focus on the recipients of goods and ideas when describing different types of society, and look at their producers only insofar as they are relevant to our understanding of the recipients. Moreover, my discussion will concentrate on some basic types of society and leave composite or mixed societies to one side. In order to arrive at a more nuanced view – and so as to demonstrate the usefulness of my approach – I give examples of each type of society, along the lines of my earlier discussion of contact zones.

Two Types of Independent Receptivity in Open Contact Zones

The first type of contact zone to be discussed here occurs in societies that are characterised by *weak network ties and a relatively undeveloped social identity*. In its purest form it tends to be found only in social contexts studied by anthropologists and ethnologists. Nonetheless, it is worth discussing here, not least because it helps us understand the other types discussed below – and because in a modified form it is of importance to the study of antiquity.

Societies that are associated with this type of contact zone consist of a conglomerate of more or less clearly defined kinship groups, and in turn define themselves as an extended kinship group. They form coexisting networks of broadly equal standing and do not compete with one another. The social identity that unites them remains relatively weak and is not associated with specific institutions. These societies therefore do not normally exert societal pressure on their members.

The world beyond the immediate kinship group is perceived as 'foreign', and contacts with it as a form of 'foreign relations'. Such contacts are forged on the basis of transparent kinship networks and take the form of reciprocal gift-giving, without the

⁷⁸ For the importance of social practice, see Whitley 1994; Lyons 1996; van Dommelen 1997, 309; Flaig 1999; Helck 1995; Siapkis 2003.

⁷⁹ See the literature quoted above in connection with differentiating factors. Ulf 2006 discusses ways in which anthropological categories may be applied to the study of the ancient world. Van Wees 2002 expresses some important caveats.

participation of a third party. Under such circumstances, the out-group does not represent a threat; and the in-group does not normally collaborate with it in the interest of a common goal. External goods and ideas reach these groups only in small quantities. Items of foreign provenance are therefore perceived as exotic and may confer prestige. They are willingly received, yet they do not satisfy specific needs or aspirations. Semantically, they are completely assimilated into the world of the in-group.

Within open contact zones we may distinguish a second type of society that is characterised by *strong network ties but a weak social identity*. The networks that structure such societies exist at approximately the same level: they are organised as kinship groups under the leadership of Big Men or Chiefs of varying power. Strong ties within individual networks arise from a marked pressure to conform to social norms. Serious breaches of the norm lead to expulsion from the network. Individual networks fiercely compete with one another, though the principle of reciprocity ensures that competition remains within clearly defined limits. Important means of competing are the display of individual excellence, and of goods that are perceived as valuable. Big Men/Chiefs may also flaunt their generosity in the context of material exchanges between groups. If they succeed in establishing a more or less long-lived system of 'negative reciprocity', a hitherto balanced relationship between individual networks may temporarily turn into a hierarchical one.

Social competition has the effect of encouraging relationships that go beyond the immediate circle of interlocking networks. Members of a group may win an advantage by obtaining foreign goods as well as producing their own: both may be used to enhance an individual's status within his or her group. It is therefore attractive to acquire foreign goods. Within existing networks, reciprocal relationships may be used to that end. The leaders of networks (Big Men, Chiefs) uphold such relationships and act as representatives of their groups. Outside existing networks, goods that are deemed necessary for the display of one's status or that of one's network may be acquired by force, through raids or piracy. If merchants are available, members of a group may also purchase their goods.⁸⁰

Foreign merchants are not integrated into existing networks because they threaten the current social order, which, from the perspective of the group, appears as stable. Attitudes towards merchants therefore tend to be ambivalent, since their goods are not regarded as vital for one's own identity. Here we discern the in-group bias that underpins all perceptions of outside goods and ideas: their usefulness in the internal competition among the networks is paramount.

Imported goods are only one aspect of the symbolic capital that is important for entire networks. External goods and ideas, while appearing intrinsically desirable,

⁸⁰ Compare the overview in Möller 2000, 48–54.

only acquire a specific significance by being incorporated into a code that is determined by the social framework of the recipient(s). As long as the network in question remains stable, imported goods do not substantially alter the existing code. The examples from ethnology, cited above, suggest that imported goods almost entirely change their significance. Research in social psychology helps us further specify this point: 'When status differentials are secure and legitimate, high-status groups show most in-group bias on status-relevant measures and less in-group preference – and sometimes out-group favouritism – on irrelevant dimensions.' Only when the current social order undergoes drastic changes – a situation that is always experienced as one of crisis – can foreign goods become a means of gaining an advantage by changing one's own cultural code.⁸¹ That is the reason why the need for external contacts cannot simply be explained as an economic need to acquire luxury goods, much as analogous phenomena in the modern world might tempt us to do so.⁸²

During the process of reception described in the last paragraphs, foreign goods remain recognisable as such, yet their significance changes in accordance with the recipient's own cultural code. There are many examples of this phenomenon, some of which I cite here in order to illustrate the range of possible responses to this type of cultural exchange on the part of the recipient.

It is now widely accepted that the Greek Dark Age and the Early Archaic period saw a large number of small-scale societies existing side by side. Against this background I have already sketched the various dining rituals of the Chief of Lefkandi and the Big Men of Athens: as we have seen, their external relationships were part of an economy of gift-exchange. Moving on to the issue of receptivity, research in ethnology and social psychology suggests that long-distance relationships of the sort discussed above did not have any strong impact on the cultural codes that obtained in the various small-scale societies at the time. Thus, J. Whitley points out that neither Euboea nor Attica has yielded local copies of imported ware in any significant number; and that here and even in Crete, which shows stronger signs of Eastern 'influence', metal vessels imported from the East did not inspire significant changes in the local production.⁸³ It would appear that the same applies more generally to the types of open contact zone under discussion. Thus, Morgan has made similar observations in connection with Otranto, where objects imported during the 'pre-colonial' phase of the 8th century BC (amphorae and drinking vessels) 'enhance activities but do not automatically transform them by their presence'. It is

⁸¹ Brewer 2003, 59; Sewell 1999a, especially 48.

⁸² Compare the debate between Arafat and Morgan 1994; 1995; and A. Sherratt 1995. See also Foxhall 1998; Tsatskheladze 1998a, 51–67; 1998b; Boardman 2004.

⁸³ Whitley 2001, 115–24.

possible that we see here a more general characteristic of the relationship between Greek settlers and indigenous populations in so-called 'pre-colonial' settlements.⁸⁴

We may further study attitudes toward reception in open contact zones by looking at the case of seals from Mesopotamia and Egypt. As these seals gradually spread westwards, Greeks first used them as jewellery or amulets from the 9th century on. Subsequently, they inspired the local production of cameos, but it is only much later that Greeks used them to identify property or as a means of conveying authority.⁸⁵

Within the framework of open contact zones, ancient recipients of foreign goods or ideas strongly resisted changes to their existing cultural codes. We may see the full extent of their resistance from the fact that some goods were exclusively produced for export; the production of goods for local use remained unaffected. J. Boardman once famously remarked apropos of pottery that had evidently been produced in Euboea, although it was found elsewhere: 'pots are for people'. Boardman draws attention to dishes or plates from Euboea that were found not in Euboea itself but rather in the Levant and Cyprus. These objects faithfully copy Cypriot forms, while the suspended semi-circles used as decoration are Euboean. Likewise, Late Geometric *skyphoi* found in Cyprus, Cilicia and on parts of the Levantine coast are painted in the Cypriot style but display unmistakable signs of Greek production. Moreover, they are equipped with handles, a characteristic of objects destined for the Greek market.⁸⁶

The examples cited above show that open contact zones do not mark a phase in a larger history of cultural exchange and should not be associated with a specific historical period. Rather, we may describe them typologically, as a form of relationship between exponents of different cultures that may arise in a variety of different historical contexts. For illustration, I cite the following two examples, chosen more or less at random.

In the first half of the 6th century BC, the well-known workshop of the Attic potter Nicosthenes specialised in producing ceramics for the Etruscan market. Yet the customary style of Athenian pottery remained entirely unaffected. Looking at a radically different historical context, C. Giardino argues that during the post-Mycenaean period individual metalworkers travelled from region to region in the western Mediterranean, offering their technological expertise rather than finished products within the context of shrinking commercial networks.⁸⁷ It seems likely that

⁸⁴ Morgan 1999, 122–23. Dietler (1997, 331) discusses the hinterland of Massalia.

⁸⁵ See Boardman 2003.

⁸⁶ Boardman 2004, 150–53. Cf. Miller 1997.

⁸⁷ For Nicosthenes, see Osborne 1996; Möller 2000, 46. McGrail (1989) and Giardino (1995, 340–41) argue that decorated pottery was not merely carried as ballast. For networks and their impact on economic production, see van Dommelen 1997, 309–10; Dietler 1997, 299, 303; also van Wees 2002.

the technology they offered was applied locally, within the norms dictated by the relevant cultural code.

These examples strongly suggest that existing codes determine the significance of imported goods or ideas in open contact zones. Bearing in mind the large number of small-scale societies that existed during the Greek Dark Age we would expect to see a variety of cultural codes. It is possible that these were in many respects similar, but they were certainly not identical. Moreover, in such small-scale societies, local elites exist only in a fairly rudimentary form and are closely integrated into society as a whole: they can only emancipate themselves from the rest of society after extended periods of economic prosperity. We must therefore reject the commonly held opinion that the spread of precious imported goods during the Greek Dark Age prove the existence of an 'international aristocracy'.⁸⁸

High Degrees of Receptivity in Zones of Intense Contact: Sporadic Use of Power

A third type of receptivity can be observed in zones of intense cultural contact, where groups with *strong network ties clash with an increasingly marked but as yet emerging social identity*. In such societies, networks coexist at the same social level, yet overarching political and social institutions control and ultimately reduce the competition between networks that characterised type 2. Increasingly, the overarching network of society as a whole becomes a point of reference that all groups share in common. The diverse 'states' that gradually emerge in a Greek context form the political and social backdrop to these processes. Early Greek states may take the form of a *polis* or a so-called *ethnos*: as with open contact zones, the preconditions for zones of intense contact cannot be linked to specific phases in the historical or cultural development of a society. In political units with a marked social identity, those wishing to improve their social status can no longer do so exclusively by strengthening their own group. Rather, they must occupy a prominent position within the overarching network of society as a whole. However, as long as social identity remains relatively weak, individual networks may attempt to opt out of this process by increasing their own strength as much as possible.

In contact zones where cultural exchange is intense but none of the parties dominates or aims to do so, the relevant political and social units do not act to establish and uphold contact with the outside world any more than they did in types 1 and 2. However, such contacts are no longer primarily based on the principle of reciprocity, as was the case with types 1 and 2. Contact with the outside world may take the form of direct personal contact, or it may come about with the help of merchants. Foreign people, ideas or objects are generally perceived as neutral or

⁸⁸ Whitley 1994, 57–62; Ulf 2001; 2007.

positive in such circumstances, since the in-group does not feel threatened. Merchants too are viewed in a positive light, and members of out-groups are perceived as 'neighbours'.⁸⁹

As social identity becomes more and more prominent, individuals can no longer acquire and enhance their status through the competitive display of prestige goods and individual excellence alone. For that reason, foreign luxury goods start to acquire a new significance and are now valued for their own sake. Foreign goods and their significance may now influence the cultural codes of individual networks or groups. As pointed out already, members of this type of contact zone take a generally positive view of foreign goods and ideas, and often attempt to strengthen their own network in competition with an emerging wider social identity. These views and aspirations correlate with barter as the preferred form of exchange, and with imitation and adaptation as the preferred response to foreign goods.

The practice of barter may be defined as two parties exchanging goods that are not obviously comparable. Their motive for doing so lies in the fact that they have a strong interest in acquiring a specific 'good'. The exchange that results is an isolated event and is neither part of a reciprocal relationship nor does it depend on any 'objective' evaluation of the goods in question. Any exchange may therefore remain unique, though it may also be repeated with fresh goods.⁹⁰ Imitating goods points in a similar direction as barter, for the impulse to do so arises from an unfulfilled ambition to acquire a specific good: the good in question is imitated precisely because it is not available. Adaptation too is born of the desire to own a certain good for its own sake. In the context of adaptation we can clearly see a characteristic that is equally relevant to barter and imitation: imported goods serve to enhance the status of individuals or their networks within an overall social and cultural framework that they experience as unstable.

The contacts discussed in this section are such that the recipients of cultural exchange do not incur any social costs *vis-à-vis* the outside world. However, they do enter into a form of social contact which social psychologists call a 'superordinate category' linking the two sides. As a result, the barriers between in-group and out-group are reduced, resulting in increased levels of 'inter-group interactions'.⁹¹ In contact zones of this type we observe high levels of knowledge about the significance and function of foreign goods and ideas. Yet, since there is no dominant social identity, participants are given the opportunity to adapt the goods in question, as well as their significance, according to their own needs and aspirations. By inserting

⁸⁹ Timpe 2000.

⁹⁰ Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992; Smith 1999.

⁹¹ Brewer 2003, 101.

imported objects and ideas into their own world in this way, they create hybrid forms, as may be seen clearly in the context of adaptation.

Within the framework of the contact zones under discussion we find several different ways in which social identity may manifest itself. These allow us to distinguish three forms of receptivity:

First, one might mention comparatively short-lived settlements, such as Pithekoussai, which emerge near major trade routes. Settlements of this kind foster strategies of receptivity that are relatively similar to those which we find in open contact zones. They do not have a strong social identity, thus allowing various culturally distinct groups to coexist. I have already pointed out the multicultural character of such settlements. Mixed marriages are one of their likely features. More generally, we expect to see a high degree of receptivity on the part of those involved in cultural contact. On closer inspection we ought to be able to identify other settlements of this kind in the archaeological record. G. Tsatskheladze has added Berezan as another example, and S. Owen has recently drawn attention to settlements of the same or similar type in Thrace. Kommos in southern Crete looks as though it may have featured the same type of receptivity. All these settlements are short lived, probably as a result of a relatively fragile social identity. In time, the more robust Greek settlement of Cyme replaced Pithekoussai, while Berezan came under the control of Olbia.⁹²

Also relevant in this context are those Greek settlements on foreign territory that have a more marked identity than Pithekoussai without however controlling the surrounding countryside. One such example is Massalia, where between the 6th and 4th centuries BC monochrome grey pottery was produced for the 'surrounding villages' using Greek techniques but indigenous forms. Such an approach suggests a positive mutual perception that is characteristic of the type of contact zone under discussion.⁹³ Phanagoria on the northern coast of the Black Sea is a similar case. Founded in the 6th century BC, the Greek settlement has yielded Attic imports that can be dated from the mid-6th century BC onward. From the end of the 5th century BC, Attic imports suddenly start appearing also in indigenous burials that are found in the hinterland of the settlement. These latter finds include new dining shapes, perfume containers, baby feeders and small bowls that had not hitherto been used by indigenous settlers. Morgan therefore suggests that their cultural code must have changed to a certain extent.⁹⁴

⁹² Coldstream 1993; Albanese Procelli 1996, 171–73; Hodos 1999. For Berezan, see Solovyov 1999; Tsatskheladze 2006, li. For Kommos, see Shaw 1998.

⁹³ Dietler 1997, 303; Morgan 1999, 125. Albanese Procelli (1996, 172) points to the similar case of the Ionian B2 kylixes: these were produced by Greek workshops specifically for exchange with the Sicilian hinterland.

⁹⁴ Morgan 1999, 124; cf. Tsatskheladze 2002. For the comparable introduction of *symposia* at Morgantina, see Lyons 1996, 182–87.

Another form of contact zone with an even greater tendency toward receiving imported goods and ideas occurs in contexts where stronger social identities are in the process of being formed. We may think for example of the case of foreign craftsmen who became respected members of emerging political and social units, without however losing their own cultural identity for one or two generations. J.N. Coldstream may well be correct in suggesting that Semitic-speaking immigrants who lived in these types of emerging societies, or their Greek-speaking counterparts in southern Italy, helped adapt not just technological know-how but also cultural techniques such as the alphabet into the Greek, Etruscan and Siceliote cultural spheres.⁹⁵

An even greater degree of receptivity can be observed when members of a given political or social unit return home after an extended stay abroad. These men often tried to enhance their status through their familiarity with foreign goods and ideas. Thus, they deposited foreign goods – or objects modelled on foreign prototypes – in sanctuaries that were important to their society's continued sense of social identity. Pedon, who returned from Egypt to Priene, is a good example of this phenomenon.⁹⁶ There are two reasons why individuals like Pedon increase a group's level of receptivity. From the point of view of social psychology they have several identities that are nearly equivalent ('cross-cutting identities'). On that basis, they 'can be simultaneously categorised as in-group or out-group members' from different points of view. A second point is closely related: whenever such individuals occupy positions in a social network that are 'structural holes' – rather like the bilingual speakers whom I mentioned above when discussing open contact zones – they act as bridges between networks, enabling the transfer of innovative ideas, technologies, etc. The knowledge they have acquired abroad is experienced as an expertise that renders these individuals 'critical to the group's success'. Herein lies the reason for the high levels of receptivity they help to promote, which in turn result in a preponderance of hybrid forms.⁹⁷

In contexts where social identity was more pronounced, the custom of depositing foreign goods in Greek sanctuaries of regional or supra-regional importance

⁹⁵ Resident craftsmen are attested in a growing number of locations: Afrati, Idaean Cave, Teke/Knossos, Eleutherna (Niemeyer 1998; Markoe 2003, 211–12; Stampolidis 2003), Ialysos (Kourou 2003, 252–53), Campania and Etruria (von Hase 1995, 254–78; Malkin 2002a, 161–68). For further discussion, see Papadopoulos 1997; Lemos 2003; Ridgway 2004; Raaflaub 2004; Rollinger 2001. For the epigraphical evidence, see Amadasi Guzzo 1987; Jeffrey 1990; Coldstream 1993, 99–101; Albanese Procelli 1996, 173; Johnston 2003. Bisang (2004, 43–44) discusses the place of bilingual speakers in local networks.

⁹⁶ Haider 2001, 200; 1996, 100–02. We may usefully compare the role of these individuals with that of African Americans who, after the abolition of slavery, returned to their old homes, i.e. to Africa, and changed them more profoundly than the 'colonisers' had done; cf. Kelly 2002.

⁹⁷ Brewer 2003, 96, 104; Bisang 2004, 43–44.

acquired greater significance than in open contact zones. Whether it was Greeks or non-Greeks who deposited such foreign goods does not matter much. Thus, during the 7th and 6th centuries BC we find votive statuettes from Cyprus in the Athena sanctuaries on Rhodes, the sanctuary of Hera on Samos and also in Naukratis. They represent *kouroi*, the lord of the lion or musicians. Leaving aside stylistic differences, those statuettes that were found in the Aegean as opposed to Cyprus or the Levant are all naked. N. Kourou is probably right in suggesting that the reason behind the naked statuettes is an adaptation of the form to the dominant cultural code in this area.⁹⁸

If a zone of intense contact involves close and lasting personal contact between the parties, we can begin to imagine a transfer of motifs and ideas not only from 'the East' to 'the Greeks', but also via 'the Greeks' – or from 'the Greeks' – to 'the Etruscans'. For the latter process, Campania must surely count as the most important contact zone. Scholars who have studied the Aristonothos Krater discovered in Cerveteri generally agree that the Etruscan elites of the 7th century BC used and adapted Greek myths in order to legitimise their position.⁹⁹ We may also assume that foreign dedications in Greek sanctuaries that acted as zones of intense contact could, in the longer term, not only affect aesthetic tastes but also suggest that new ideas be incorporated into the recipients' own world view, for example in the form of myths or religious practices.¹⁰⁰

It has always been known that such contact zones did exist in the eastern Aegean during the 7th and early 6th centuries BC; for during that period, strong social identities did indeed emerge in the area. As an example, we may consider the relationship between Phrygia and the Greeks of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. In Homer, the Phrygians appear as allies of the Trojans, probably because of their expansion not only towards the Assyrian province of Que (Cilicia) to the south-east but also into western Asia Minor during the late 8th century (*Iliad* 3. 184–187; 16. 718; 18. 288–292; 24. 545).¹⁰¹ Archaeological research has shown contact with Phrygian culture in Ionia, which adopted Phrygian metal ware according to the rules of imitation and adaptation: Ionians imported Phrygian belts and imitated Phrygian pins, which spread as far as the Greek mainland. Yet in Ionia only women wore Phrygian belts – though they were originally meant for men. The Phrygian pins

⁹⁸ Kourou 2003, 253; Möller 2000, 154–61. For literary sources mentioning dedications by foreign rulers, see Matthäus 1993, 173–74; Haider 2001; Rosenberger 2003; Kerschner 2005, 116–21; 2006, 254–65; Ebbinghaus 2006, 189–202.

⁹⁹ Coldstream 1993, 101–03; Malkin 2002a, 161–68; Dougherty 2003b, 40–56; Smith 1999, 186–96; Izzet 2004; see also von Hase 1995, 257–58.

¹⁰⁰ Matthäus 1993, 174–75; Ebbinghaus 2006.

¹⁰¹ Bagg 2008, 144–50; Lanfranchi 2000, 11–14; Ehrhardt 2005, 96–101.

were modified and continued to be used even after the decline and eventual collapse of Phrygian power.¹⁰²

At Miletus, cultural hybridity of this sort is reflected in the fact that later lyric poets could call the city 'Carian' despite the fact that they clearly regarded it as Greek. Likewise, the mercenaries that served in Egypt called themselves Carians and Ionians.¹⁰³ The *Iliad* hints at a similar scenario when it mentions, without passing judgment, the many different languages of the Trojan allies (*Iliad* 2. 803–805), or when it describes the much-discussed guest-friendship between the Lycian prince, Glaucus, and his Argive counterpart, Diomedes (*Iliad* 6. 119–236).¹⁰⁴

A third form of receptivity associated with zones of heightened cultural contact presupposes a clear social identity. Paradoxically, it comes into its own when that identity is challenged, as was the case in many of the major Greek *poleis* of the late 7th and 6th centuries BC. Aristocratic elites increasingly distanced themselves from the *demos*, and in the course of this process developed a new identity. Among other things, the emerging value system of the aristocratic elites incorporated elements that enabled them to make an ostentatious display of their new claim to status. In this connection, we might consider the rise of the *symposion* in its classic form (i.e. lying down on *klinai*), as a way of adapting the conventions of feasting that I mentioned above in connection with Big Men and Chiefs.¹⁰⁵ Levels of receptivity rose even further as other social groups responded to the pretences of the aristocratic elites. Not only do we see the *symposion* spread to non-aristocratic layers of society; from the end of the 6th century BC onward, and even before the Persian Wars, we encounter local imitations and adaptations of Persian metal vessels ('black gloss ware') that were used for drinking. Miller links them with the social ambition of Athenian hoplites eager to assert their status *vis-à-vis* the aristocrats: Persian-style drinking vessels conveyed that ambition, while still being affordable.¹⁰⁶

A heightened sense of social identity directly affects receptivity. The situation on Lesbos as described by Sappho and Alcaeus may serve as an even clearer illustration of the point than the examples we have seen thus far: behind the conflicts described in the poetry we recognise an emerging social identity that clashes with contacts sustained by individual networks. That is certainly one possible way of reading the conflicts between aristocratic networks on Lesbos, from which Pittakos emerges as leader of his community. As a sense of social identity becomes more pronounced in

¹⁰² Matthäus 1993, 171, 176–77; Ebbinghaus 2006, 206–09; Lanfranchi 2000. For further literature, see Miller 1997, 70–71; Kerschner 2005, 115–29.

¹⁰³ Coldstream 1993, 97–98; Haider 2001, 206; Greaves 2002, 77, 122.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Coldstream 1993; Patzek 1996b; Timpe 2000, 207–08.

¹⁰⁵ Matthäus 1999–2000; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, 112–16.

¹⁰⁶ Miller 1997, 135–52.

and around Lesbos, the outside world is viewed in an ever less sympathetic light: this applies to the Lydians who had been expanding since the 7th century BC, but also to individuals whose behaviour is disparaged as Lydian in the poetry of Xenophanes of Colophon. A similar shift in receptivity becomes apparent when Phocylides accuses the Lydians of decadence. What appears as a mere tendency to keep one's distance in Archilochus and other early authors turns into a negative stereotype of 'the other'.¹⁰⁷ As the Persians expand, forcing the cultural changes that occur in the wake of the Persian Wars, the trend gathers pace even further, though now in the context of a different type of contact zone.

Mutual Misunderstanding in the Middle Ground

A fourth type of receptivity is associated with the middle ground. In such contexts one or both of the parties involved in cultural exchange have a clearly defined social identity which they may actively express and sustain through various means of exercising power. Yet, *the dominant social group may assert its power only within certain limits*, lest it do damage to its own interests. Since it is obliged to show a degree of restraint in the exercise of power, the dominant group must – consciously or unconsciously – play down the significance of its own identity, at least to the extent that the gap that separates it from other groups becomes somewhat less pronounced.

According to research in social psychology, such a need to co-operate does not result in heightened receptivity but reinforces negative perceptions of the out-group.¹⁰⁸ In a similar vein, R. White has argued that the permanent presence of foreign individuals, objects or ideas does not instil sympathy for the other but creates 'new meanings by misunderstanding': 'people try to persuade others who are different from themselves by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those they deal with'. Although the in-group's own interests are paramount in such situations, the misunderstandings that arise from its attempt to pursue them unintentionally result in 'new meanings and through them new practices – the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground'.¹⁰⁹ In order to describe this phenomenon, White prefers using the concept of 'accommodation' to the potentially more problematic one of 'acculturation'.

Greek settlements that were developing their own, clearly defined social and political identity without yet having incorporated the *chora* directly into their territory belong in this category. As the territory becomes increasingly 'Hellenised', there arises the danger of the indigenous populations forming definite political and social

¹⁰⁷ Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, 104–07; Kurke 1992; Tausend 2006; Kerschner 2005, 140–41; 2006, 277–80. For a slightly different view, see Ehrhardt 2005, 102–07; also Bichler 1996, 63–69.

¹⁰⁸ Brewer 2003, 102.

¹⁰⁹ White 1991, x.

'counter-identities' once they have been pushed out of the *chora*. We may think here of the ways in which the relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks developed in Spain, as already discussed above. Other examples include the relationship between Greek settlements and indigenous populations on the northern coast of the Black Sea; or the relationship between Phoenicians and indigenous settlers in Sardinia, as discussed by P. van Dommelen.¹¹⁰

We have a number of well-known texts from antiquity that comment on foreigners and things foreign, telling us a great deal about the nature of receptivity in circumstances that resemble the middle ground. In such contexts, foreigners are no longer seen as neighbours. Rather, they and their cultural codes are perceived as ambivalent, at the same time attractive and dangerous. The images on the Aristonothos Krater from the middle of the 7th century BC may be viewed in this light, reflecting the tension between attractiveness and rejection, peaceful coexistence and violent confrontation. In literature, we encounter these two basic patterns of 'colonial' encounter in the shape of the Odyssean Phaeacians and Cyclopes. The same ambivalence may also be seen at work when Hesiod warns against seafaring. Herodotus goes some way toward a systematic description of such attitudes when he claims that the Scythians do not adopt any foreign customs at all, and that the customs and behaviour of the Egyptians are in every way different from those of other people. The same ideas can be found in much of the later ethnographic and historical literature.¹¹¹

In an Egyptian context, we must also reckon with Egyptian views of the Ionian and Carian mercenaries. The mercenaries were clearly to some extent integrated into Egyptian society, as we can gather among other things from the fact that their leaders were able to 'immortalise' themselves by writing graffiti on the important temple at Abu Simbel. On the other hand, it was precisely Greeks living in Egypt who erected a 'Hellenion' at Naukratis. It is also clear that the mercenaries were only tolerated in Egypt because they were needed: there are signs that Egyptian elites resisted their cultural integration, equating them with the rabble of society.¹¹²

The example of the middle ground strongly suggests that the sheer extent of contact over time is not a sufficient criterion for determining the degree of receptivity in a group or individual. Rather, we must look at the nature of that receptivity, and the factors that inform it, above all the type of contact zone.

¹¹⁰ Domínguez 2002; Tsatskheladze 2006, liii; van Dommelen 1997; 2002.

¹¹¹ Dougherty 2003b; 2001, 127–42; Bichler 1995, 27–30; Patzek 1996a, 9–13; Timpe 2000; Raaflaub 2004, 199–204.

¹¹² Haider 2001, 202–07. Amasis appears to have exploited hostility towards the Greeks when he rebelled against Apries (see Möller 2000, 36–38). The Phoenician temples at Kommos probably had a similar function to the Hellenion in that they likewise helped the Phoenicians create a sense of home abroad. If so, they would be a telling sign of a middle ground situation.

Unsuccessful Resistance against Receptivity: Zones of Intense Contact, with Power as an Important Factor

The fifth and last type of receptivity I want to discuss is characterised by a situation in which *a dominant social identity eclipses all other network ties*. In other words, various networks of more or less equal standing are subordinated to the networks of society and the state. Society as an institution monopolises the right of interpretation (*Deutungshoheit*) in all questions that concern society as a whole. In order for society to claim this right, its identity must be grounded in ethics. The aim is to give the overall network of society a clearer outline than it has had before, i.e. on the basis of existing genealogical approaches (society as an extended kinship group).¹¹³ In order to establish society's newly defined identity, it increasingly aims at monopolising power. To that end, it consciously and strategically employs the various available means of exercising power that I have discussed above.

Society suppresses competition between individual networks wherever such competition comes into conflict with its own claims to social and cultural hegemony. As a consequence, competition between society and other networks becomes a defining characteristic of all state structure. In response to these developments, we see the rise of subgroups with a tendency toward diverging from the social norm. Such groups may take the shape of existing or newly formed networks.¹¹⁴

Once defined in ethical terms, the state enforces segregation from other political units, employing explicit and verifiable tokens of belonging as a means of policing membership to the group. As a clear symptom of this process of segregation, borders are now envisaged as linear and consistent.¹¹⁵ From the point of view of the ethically grounded state, the outside world becomes a threat insofar as it challenges the state's definition of itself. Social cognition too undergoes significant changes: the members of one's own society now appear as individuals, whereas outsiders are objectified.¹¹⁶ Foreigners become culturally inferior barbarians. By contrast, networks and subgroups that compete with the overall network of society and state may not only accept foreign individuals, practices, ideas or objects but may even instrumentalise them for their own purposes, as part of a 'counter culture'.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ J. Hall 1997; 2002; Funke and Luraghi 2009; Herring and Lomas 2000.

¹¹⁴ Ober 2003 discusses the phenomenon well in the context of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

¹¹⁵ Stazio and Ceccoli 1999; Curta 2005; Pohl *et al.* 2001; Gehrke 1999; Schmitz-Emans 2006.

¹¹⁶ Deschamps 1987. For examples drawn from contemporary politics, see Maddens, Billiet and Beerten 2000; Billiet, Maddens and Beerten 2003.

¹¹⁷ Brewer 2003, 58–59; Yinger 1960. For the complexity of Athenian social life, see Cohen 2000. Kistler 2006 suggests a model of encoding and decoding, in conjunction with the instrumentalisation of all things foreign. His model can also be applied to cultural contact.

True to its nature, the state seeks to monopolise relationships with the outside world. Yet, networks based on reciprocity continue to foster contacts with the outside world, despite the fact that state diplomacy becomes increasingly important. Merchants too continue to operate as a natural part of society's economic relations. Just as the network of state and society competes internally with a variety of other networks, there is competition between the state and individuals and their networks when it comes to contacts with the outside world. Because subgroups may resist the tendency of the state to demarcate itself from the outside world, there opens up space for a broad spectrum of different forms of receptivity. Here I can only offer a few select examples of subtypes whose main difference lies in the degree to which one group exercises power over another.

A first subtype includes settlements that have a strong sense of their own identity while at the same time being engaged in expanding their sphere of power. Among them are settlements that have the identity of a Greek 'colony' and, in an attempt to tighten their grip on the surrounding hinterland, come into conflict with indigenous populations. Looking at Metapontum and the indigenous settlement of Incoronata Graeca, J. Carter has discussed the impact this process had on the receptivity of those involved. Between the 8th and 6th centuries BC Incoronata Graeca developed from an exclusively indigenous settlement into a mixed one. Eventually, it was transformed into one of several rural sanctuaries, 'an outpost of the Achaean colony in a territory firmly under its control'. Metapontum in turn only acquired its 'Greek' identity in the course of this transformation. The decisive change is reflected in a variant of the foundation myth that duly gives the 'colony' an ethnic Greek identity, declaring it an Achaean settlement. On the basis of its newly discovered ethnic identity, Metapontum justified its claim to the territory between Siris and Metapontum *vis-à-vis* the 'Doric' Taras and the 'Aeolic' Siris. Eventually, it conquered Siris.¹¹⁸

Looking at the other side of this process, I would next like to illustrate the perspective of indigenous populations that come under pressure from outside settlers. When Phoenician settlers expanded into inner Sardinia in the 4th century BC, a culturally hybrid settlement sprung up that was distinct from the old Phoenician town of Tharros. Daily life in Neapolis, as the settlement is called, appears to have been assimilated to Punic culture, judging by the pottery that has been found on the site. Yet, a Neapolitan sanctuary associated with healing and fertility, as well as several sanctuaries outside the settlement, tell a different story: here we find handmade figurines produced for local use in a local style combined with some Italian elements. Van Dommelen sees these finds as evidence of an ambiguous identity; and points

¹¹⁸ Carter 2004.

out that Neapolis was situated in close proximity to disused *nuraghe*. He compares this type of ambiguous identity with the mixed identity of the so-called *évolués* that emerged in the aftermath of modern colonialism.¹¹⁹

Domínguez has studied the more extreme reactions of indigenous populations in Iberia as they faced a form of cultural contact that was largely based on power. Iberian elites first reacted to Greek pressure by forming their own, ethnically based identity. From the beginning of the 4th century BC onward they became more hostile to the idea of cultural contact, destroying their own funerary monuments in the hybrid style that had hitherto been in general use; and creating a new type of sculpture (with the help of Greek technology). Domínguez interprets these developments as examples of 'indigenous resistance', as also the fact that the Greek-Iberian alphabet lost ground to the semi-syllabic South Iberian script in the 3rd century BC.¹²⁰

A second subtype of the type of receptivity under discussion arises in the context of the ancient empires and the extreme levels of power they could bring to bear. Some of the mechanisms we have studied in connection with our first subtype resurface in a more extreme form in the context of imperial rule, especially when looking at the Assyrian domination and conquest of the Levant between the 9th and 7th centuries BC, in many ways a brutal affair.¹²¹ We have no written sources to tell us how recipients reacted to cultural contact that involved such extreme use of power, though Patzek's study of Israelite-Phoenician relations may provide a starting point: Israelite elites used the cultural goods that came to them from the powerful Phoenician and Aramaic cities in order to display their social status. Due to social and economic tensions within Israel these foreign goods were not only denounced as luxuries but also seen as infringing the prevailing norms of society. The prophets Amos and Isaiah fought the perceived act of transgression with images of disaster, which they directed at their own elites and foreigners alike. In this context, the Assyrians could play the role of an avenging power. Yet, as soon as they directly impinged on Israelite society, they were cast in the very role that the powerful city-states had previously occupied.¹²²

The Assyrians, on the other hand, were in a position to determine how to use power – and what forms of power – in situations of cultural contact. They certainly had no qualms about using foreign goods and ideas as far as was opportune. Yet they also insisted on integrating and assimilating the conquered ethnic groups.

¹¹⁹ van Dommelen 1997, especially 310–20; 2002, 130–42. For *évolués* cf. especially Bhabha 1995; Genova 2004.

¹²⁰ Domínguez 2002.

¹²¹ For the westward expansion of Assyria, see Bagg 2008; Machinist 1993; Gitin 1997; Rupp 1998, 216–18.

¹²² Patzek 1996a, especially 6–9.

The result was a 'multi-ethnic' and 'multi-lingual society', in which the foreigners could even become Assyrian citizens.¹²³

Athenian society during the 6th and 5th centuries BC moved between two extremes: before the Persian Wars, Athens received Persian goods and ideas without having to fear Persian use of power. After the violent clashes of the Persian Wars, the Athenians themselves were in a position to use power in order to shape their contact with Persia. Here as elsewhere, I must limit myself to a few select observations. Towards the end of the 6th century BC, Athenians still used Persian products – both imported goods and imitations – as an effective means of enhancing their status within Athenian society. In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, the relationship between Athens and Persia changed dramatically, as did that between Athens and the other Greek states. Earlier perceptions of the Persians as largely neutral gave way to hostility. The new situation could be used for political mileage, especially by accusing others of Medism, a slur that could be directed against internal as well as external enemies. As it transformed the Greek alliance into the Delian League, Athens increasingly pursued an imperial policy of its own which was directed against Sparta. Adopting the role of a champion against Persia, it justified its hegemonic position both in cultural and in ethnic terms. The ground was prepared not only for a disparaging view of Persia but for the much more general stereotype of 'the barbarian', which included the Persians. It appears fully formed by the end of the 5th century BC.¹²⁴

These developments at the level of ideology have no direct counterpart at the level of social practice: while Athenian society as a whole aimed to strengthen its identity by reducing levels of receptivity, observable forms of receptivity suggest a different picture. Miller has argued in detail that the relationship between Athens and Persia, or more generally 'the barbarians' as construed at an ideological level, was consciously or unconsciously ignored as Athenians adapted Persian products in the course of the 5th century BC. Greeks producing Persian-derived products in the 5th and 4th centuries BC likewise went against the ever more extreme official rhetoric of a dichotomy of Greeks and barbarians. Apparently, none noticed the contradiction.¹²⁵

In light of these processes, we must slightly modify Miller's view of derivation: for derivation to occur, a sustained period of contact is not sufficient. Rather, the power relationship between the parties also has to change: Athens and the Greeks went from a situation of inferiority to one of perceived superiority *vis-à-vis*

¹²³ Parpola 2004; Radner 2004.

¹²⁴ Cf., for example, Hutzfeldt 1999.

¹²⁵ Miller 1997. We may compare the sudden interest in local styles that can be observed at Metapontum between 460 and 380 BC. For a discussion, see Morgan 1999, 134.

the Persians. The military conflict continued regardless, yet the shift in power that had occurred crucially informed the forms of receptivity sketched above.

A Brief Résumé

In formulating a new model of cultural contact the starting point has been that the context of cultural exchange determines the significance of the object or idea that is being transferred. Essentialising views of culture are inadequate when it comes to analysing that context. On closer inspection, we have seen that it is important to know how any given process of transfer or exchange happened in detail; and that it is even more important to have some knowledge of who receives the product in question and under what circumstances. By making careful use of the concept of contact zones we are in a position to understand better the relevant forms of receptivity, at least in broad outline. However, we can only make more precise statements about the processes that unfold within the various contact zones once we have understood the identity of those involved and the networks to which they belong. Only then can we determine how members of a given network perceived foreign individuals, groups, objects or ideas, and hence how they received them. The examples I have adduced for the various types of contact zone show that this model can be applied even where our sources are scanty: it includes some of the most important factors that produce social practice, enabling us to analyse the relationship between them, and helping us combine them to form a larger picture.

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HECATAEUS OF MILETUS AND THE GREEK ENCOUNTER WITH EGYPT

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Abstract

Interaction between Greece and Egypt began in the 2nd millennium BC and extended until the late 4th century BC when Alexander Macedonian rule in Egypt. Relations were particularly close during the 7th and 6th centuries BC when trade between Egypt and the Aegean revived and significant numbers of Greeks not only visited but also settled in Egypt for the first time. Scholarship has mostly focused on possible Egyptian influence on Archaic Greek culture rather Greek reactions to Egypt. This paper will examine the views of Hecataeus of Miletus, the author of the first Greek account of Egypt, concerning Egypt and its relation to Greece.

A milestone passed in late 2006 with almost no comment. The third and final volume of M. Bernal's monumental *Black Athena*¹ was published. This is not the place to consider again his claims for the decisive nature of Egyptian influence on the formation of Greek culture or the controversy they generated a decade ago.² I would only note that central to Bernal's thesis is the claim that Greek saga and historiography agreed that Egyptian invaders in the 2nd millennium BC were the true founders of Greek civilisation. Curiously, however, in the roughly two thousand pages of his monumental opus there is hardly any mention of the Greek writer who began the ancient discussion of the relationship between Greece and Egypt: Hecataeus of Miletus.³

Hecataeus of Miletus

Hecataeus of Miletus is, in fact, a figure to conjure with. S. West⁴ observed that:

The shadow of Hecataeus, *magni nominis umbra* if ever there was one, constantly obstructs our attempts to assess and understand Herodotus' principles, objectives and achievements. Perplexing and elusive as the details of Hecataeus' work may be, no-one

¹ Bernal 2006.

² For a brief overview of the controversy, see Burstein 1996a. The fullest review is Berlinerblau 1999. For a selection of important articles, see Lefkowitz and Rogers 1996.

³ Only four passing references in the indexes to volumes 2 and 3.

⁴ S. West 1991, 144. Cf. Moyer 2002 for a more nuanced interpretation.

disputes his importance as an intermediary between catalogue-poetry such as we associate with Hesiod, with its clear subordination of geography to genealogy, and the more sophisticated method of synthesizing knowledge about the *oikoumene* demonstrated by Herodotus; some have even argued that the great Milesian has a better claim than Herodotus to the title of *pater historiae*.

West is a charter member of what the late W.K. Pritchett angrily dubbed 'The Liar School of Herodotus',⁵ and, indeed, her article attempts to show that Herodotus invented the most famous event in Hecataeus' life: his momentous meeting with Egyptian priests in the temple of Zeus – Karnak – in Thebes. While no scholar has fully followed her lead, she is certainly right that Herodotus' account has serious problems and, more important, that speculative theories about Hecataeus' works have obscured more than they have clarified our understanding of the development of Greek historiography. Reconsidering Hecataeus' place in Greek historiography would require a book. This paper has more modest goals: to place Hecataeus' account of Egypt in the context of Greek knowledge of Egypt in the Late Archaic period and to examine the evidence for his view of the relationship of Greece and Egypt.

Unfortunately, about all that can be said about Hecataeus' life is that he was a prominent Milesian aristocrat and intellectual who may have visited Egypt during the reign of Darius I. The first question to be answered, therefore, is: what could Hecataeus know about Egypt and how could he know it? One thing is clear: by the time Hecataeus wrote in the last decades of the 6th century BC or the early years of the 5th century BC, Greeks knew a considerable amount about Egypt. There is, however, less agreement about the sources of that knowledge. Bernal is one of a number of scholars who believe that a substantial portion of that knowledge dated back to the 2nd millennium BC and that such information was transmitted to historical Greece via Greek legend. One part of this thesis is not in dispute: there was significant Greek contact with and knowledge of Egypt in the Bronze Age.

Greece and Egypt in the Bronze Age

A significant and growing body of archaeological and textual evidence – both Greek and Egyptian – documents relations between Egypt and the Aegean in the Bronze Age, indicating that they reached a peak during the reign of Amenhotep III in the late 15th and early 14th centuries BC and declined thereafter.⁶ Pride of place among this evidence belongs to the Aegean toponym list from the funerary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan⁷ and various Egyptian objects inscribed with the

⁵ Pritchett 1993.

⁶ The evidence is collected in Cline 1994.

⁷ Cf. Astour 1966; Kitchen 1966; Faure 1968.

cartouches of Amenhotep III and his chief queen, Tiye, discovered at Mycenae and other sites, which have been plausibly connected with a diplomatic embassy dispatched by that Egyptian king to the Aegean. Furthermore, portrayals of Mycenaean 'tribute bearers' in 18th-Dynasty tombs and the recent publication of a papyrus from Armarna apparently containing illustrations of Aegean soldiers⁸ point to at least the occasional presence of Greeks in Egypt at about the same time. Moreover, a number of mythical themes and figures seem to have originated in the Bronze Age including Danaus, the sphinx and the bow test in the *Odyssey*. Finally, onomastic evidence in Linear B – specifically the personal name A^h-ku-pi-ti-jo (-*Aigyptios*-the Memphite)⁹ – implies the existence that the later Greek term for Egypt, *Aigyptos*, already existed in the 2nd millennium BC.

The same evidence, however, also indicates that Mycenaean ideas about Egypt did not survive the collapse of the Bronze Age kingdoms in a coherent form. Danaus, for example, seems to be a late reflex of the Egyptian term for the Aegean area, *Tanaja*. Similarly, the female sphinx and the bow test in the *Odyssey*,¹⁰ both of which originated in Egyptian royal ideology, survived but in radically reinterpreted forms, the former being transformed from its origin as a protective manifestation of the Egyptian king¹¹ to the familiar cruel and treacherous female monster of Archaic Greek myth while the latter lost all trace of its origin in royal ceremonial display. Finally, the existence in Linear B of the personal name *Mi-si-ra-jo* (*Misraio*-the Egyptian) indicates that, unlike later Greek, Mycenaean Greek differentiated between the city of Memphis and its Lower Egyptian hinterland and Egypt as a whole, using *Aigyptos* for the former and a form of the common West Semitic name for Egypt, *Misr* (Hebrew *Mizraim*), for the latter.¹²

None of this is surprising. Relations between the Aegean and Egypt in the mid-2nd millennium BC were relatively close, but all the evidence indicates that they occurred primarily at the state level and involved relatively few people. The collapse of Mycenaean civilisation at the end of the 2nd millennium BC, therefore, severed both relations between Greece and Egypt and the memory of those relations. Thereafter, except for possible allusions to Aegean groups among the so-called Sea Peoples, who attacked Egypt in the early 1100s BC, Egyptian sources are silent about the Aegean for almost five centuries. Likewise, on the Greek side the evidence for

⁸ Schofield and Parkinson 1994.

⁹ Cline 1994, 128. The Greek term 'Aigyptos' is derived from the Egyptian name for the temple of Ptah at Memphis, *Hwt-k3-ptḥ*, 'House of the Ka of Ptah' (cf. Jeffreys 2001, 2, 373).

¹⁰ Burkert 1973.

¹¹ Egyptian queens were occasionally also portrayed as sphinxes, beginning in the Middle Kingdom (Stadelmann 2001, 3, 310).

¹² Cline 1994, 128.

contact with Egypt during the Dark Age is limited to a thin scatter of portable faience objects such as beads, scarabs, Bes figurines and small vases, many of which are Phoenician 'knock-offs', suggesting that relations with Egypt was limited to trade conducted through Near Eastern intermediaries such as the Phoenicians.¹³

Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Period

The first hint of renewed Greek contact with and knowledge of Egypt comes in the 8th century BC, specifically in Hesiod, who knew of a great Egyptian river, but not its name, since he mistook an Egyptian descriptive term for the river, Neilos, that is, *n-jrw-c3*. 'the great Streams',¹⁴ for its name. In the course of the next century, however, Greek contact with and knowledge of Egypt expanded significantly. The clearest indication of the change is the *Odyssey's* account of the open sea route from Crete to the Western Delta in Odysseus' lying tale of an unsuccessful pirate raid on the Delta (*Odyssey* 14, ll. 252–258; trans. Lattimore):

On the seventh day we went aboard and from wide Crete sailed on a North Wind that was favorable and fair. It was easy, like sailing downstream, so that never a single one of my ships was hurt, and we, unharmed, without sickness, sat still, and let the wind and the steersmen hold them steady. On the fifth day we reached the abundant stream Aigyptos and I stayed my oar-swept ships inside the Aigyptos river.

While the singer of the *Odyssey* apparently did not know Hesiod's new name for Egypt's great river, Egypt itself was clearly familiar to him and his audience. As he said, getting there 'was easy, like sailing downstream'. The wretched fate of the hapless Cretan raiders of Odysseus' tale, however, and the later popularity of the story of the evil king Busiris – significantly a ruler in the Western Delta – who sacrificed all foreigners who entered his territory, suggest that Greek visitors to Egypt could not always expect a warm welcome. By the mid-7th century BC, however, Egyptian attitudes toward Greeks and their presence in Egypt had changed dramatically thanks to the political upheavals of the 660s and 650s BC.

This is not the place to recount in detail the story of relations between Greece and Egypt during the 26th Dynasty, especially since our general understanding of the history of this period has not changed materially, and that was to be expected.¹⁵ The principal features of that history – the decisive contribution made by Greek and Carian mercenaries to the liberation of Egypt from Assyrian rule in the 650s BC, the establishment of a Greek diaspora in Egypt in the 7th and

¹³ The fullest survey of the evidence is Skon-Jedele 1994.

¹⁴ Luft 1992.

¹⁵ Cf. Haider 1988; James 1991; Burstein 1996b; Boardman 1999; Vittmann, 2003.

6th centuries BC,¹⁶ the important role played by the city of Naukratis as the centre of Greek life in Egypt,¹⁷ and the development of a virtual Egyptomania in Late Archaic Greece – were all well known from Greek literature. Nevertheless, while the main outlines of the story have remained largely unchanged, it has received some unexpected nuances.

Until recently, historians have assumed that the Greeks who settled in Egypt during this period lived in virtual ghettos with little contact with Egyptian society or culture. One scholar even asserted that ‘we have no Egyptian evidence that a pre-Ptolemaic priest of any description ever met a Greek’,¹⁸ despite the fact that Greek mercenaries and their officers such as the flotilla commander, Psamettichos, son of Theokles,¹⁹ settled in Saite Egypt and served under the command of Egyptian officers who were also priests, such as Potasimto²⁰ who commanded the foreign troops in Psamtek II’s Nubian expedition in 593 BC. Two recently published documents suggest a more expansive view of the possibilities open to ambitious Greeks in 7th- and 6th-century BC Egypt.

The first is a Demotic papyrus from Hermopolis dated to the year 507 BCⁱ and containing a petition from a priest of Thoth to an Egyptian district official named Ariston, that is, a Greek in Egyptian service, requesting that the latter assist a group of priests who were bringing a dead sacred Ibis to the Fayum for burial.²¹ The second is an Egyptian block statue discovered at Priene in western Turkey and published by Olivier Masson and Jean Yoyotte, and containing the following inscription:²²

Pedon, the son of Amphinoos, dedicated me, having brought me from Egypt. The Egyptian king Psammetichus gave him a gold arm-band as a reward for bravery and a city because of his excellence.

Ariston and Pedon clearly were not marginalised individuals but government officials, who were fully integrated into Egyptian society and culture. Ariston, at least, was presumably literate in Egyptian while Pedon was sufficiently Egyptianised to choose for his monument in his home town a block statue, the sculptural form traditionally used in Egypt to commemorate the achievements of a successful government official.²³

¹⁶ Cf. Kaplan 2003; Luraghi 2006.

¹⁷ Cf. Möller 2000.

¹⁸ Armayor 1978, 65.

¹⁹ Hauben 2001, 69–71.

²⁰ Jean Yoyotte 1953, 104; Hauben 2001, 61–65.

²¹ Zaghoul 1985. For the date, see Thissen 1991, 112.

²² Masson and Yoyotte 1988.

²³ For a similar statue found at Camirus on Rhodes, see Boardman 1999, 142.

Similarly, Egyptian style funerary paraphernalia for Carians²⁴ and Greeks²⁵ found in Egypt and the many fine Egyptian objects discovered in the precinct of Hera on Samos²⁶ and other Greek sanctuaries together with the *Book of the Dead* the Arkesilas painter used as a model for the painting on his name cup²⁷ allow no doubt that Ariston and Pedon were not isolated figures, but typical of many east Greeks who made their fortunes in Egypt. Further, the appropriateness to the honoured deities of many of the dedicated Egyptian objects,²⁸ the soundness of the identifications of Greek and Egyptian gods in classical literature,²⁹ and the ethnographic accuracy of representations of Egyptian themes in Archaic Greek art³⁰ together indicate that Greeks, who had lived in Egypt and then returned to Greece 'to retire' like Pedon, had more than a superficial understanding of Egyptian religion and culture. For his account of Late Archaic Egypt, therefore, Hecataeus potentially could draw on a wealth of well-informed informants, who – unlike those available to Herodotus later in the 5th century BC – could have had direct experience of Pharaonic Egypt and how it worked. The question is: how did Hecataeus use this opportunity? The answer is not simple.

Hecataeus' Account of Egypt

The evidence for reconstructing Hecataeus' ideas concerning Egypt is meagre. Although fragments dealing with Egypt survive from both his major works – the *Periodos Ges* and *Genealogiai* – the majority are bare names of peoples and places quoted without any indication of their original context in the *Ethnika* of the 6th-century AD grammarian Stephanus of Byzantium (Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 Ff 19–20, 300–328). At best, therefore, the fragments afford only an incomplete idea of Hecataeus' account of Egypt. For a fuller picture, their evidence must be supplemented with the indirect evidence of Herodotus, whose extensive use of the *Periodos Ges* in

²⁴ Boardman 1999, 135–37; Vittmann 2003, 154–79, 281.

²⁵ Cf. Boardman 1999, 136–37; Vittmann 2003, 203–04, 229–31. Particularly noteworthy is a late 7th-century BC coffin in Leiden for a Greek with the Egyptian name Wahibre-em-achet, but whose parents bore the Greek names Alexikles and Zenodote. A canopic chest in Stockholm has also been ascribed to this same individual and suggests that he was a royal official like Ariston and Pedon (Vittmann 2003, 203).

²⁶ They are published in Jantzen 1972.

²⁷ Miller 2000, 419 n. 26.

²⁸ Particularly interesting are the Egyptian statuettes of cats dedicated at Samos (Jantzen 1972, 21–22) since the cat was the sacred animal of Bastet who was identified with Hera.

²⁹ For example, the identification of Zeus with Amon in the Archaic period is implied by a 6th-century BC dedication to Theban Zeus (Vittmann 2003, 230–31). The knowledge of Egyptian religion behind such identifications is particularly clear in the case of that of the Memphite creator god Ptah with Hephaestus (cf. Morenz 1954).

³⁰ Miller 2000, 417–30.

his Egyptian *logos* was already recognised in antiquity. The method for doing so was clearly and succinctly described by W.A. Heidel: 'read Herodotus and ask yourself, What does this presuppose?'³¹

The method is simple in concept but difficult to apply. The arbitrariness of Heidel's own analysis in which large sections of Herodotus' second book were assigned to Hecataeus on the flimsiest of grounds well illustrates the pitfalls,³² especially when a moment's reflection makes clear that Hecataeus' description of Egypt, which formed part of the second book of the *Periodos Ges*, can have been only a fraction of the size of Herodotus' Egyptian *logos*. Still, three facts clearly emerge concerning the character of Hecataeus' description of Egypt in the *Periodos Ges* when all the evidence is considered.

First, the organisation of the *Periodos Ges* itself indicates that the description of Egypt occupied a place in the overall economy of the *Periodos Ges* comparable in prominence, if not scale, to that of Herodotus' Egyptian *logos*. Hellenistic scholars divided the *Periodos Ges* into two books, *Europe* and *Asia*. Stephanus of Byzantium preserves, however, traces of another organisation of the work that most likely derives from Hecataeus himself. *Lemmata* in his quotations of Hecataeus' work suggest that originally the *Periodos Ges* was not divided into books but into descriptions of major land-masses called *Periegeses*. Four *Periegeses* are attested in the fragments. Three dealt with the continents recognised by Ionian geographers: Europe, Asia and Libya. The fourth, however, was the description of Egypt, a '*Periegesis Aigyptou*' (FGH 1 Ff 305, 321, 327). Herodotus was not far wrong, therefore, when he claimed that Ionian geographers such as Hecataeus treated Egypt as though it were a fourth continent (Herodotus 2. 16).

Second, despite its limited size, the *Periegesis Aigyptou* contained an account of Egypt that was both detailed and wide-ranging. The clearest evidence of this is the fact that the names of 24 Egyptian towns can still be identified in the fragments of the *Periegesis Aigyptou* as compared with only 44 city names in the whole of Herodotus' Egyptian *logos*. Moreover, since the names of only two major Egyptian cities, Buto and Thebes, occur in the fragments (Hecataeus, FGH 1 Ff 300, 305), the preserved names can only represent only a small fraction of the names that were to be found in Hecataeus' complete text.

Third, although the fragments indicate that the *Periegesis Aigyptou* dealt with the whole Nile valley from 'Aithiopia' to the Mediterranean as well as the oases in the western desert, Hecataeus followed East Greek tradition and restricted the term 'Egypt' itself to the Delta. This is clear both from Hecataeus' famous characterisation

³¹ Quoted by Pearson 1987, vii.

³² Heidel 1935.

of Egypt as 'the gift of the Nile' and his practice of describing places in Middle and Upper Egypt as being in Libya or Arabia depending on whether they were located west or east of the Nile, nor is the reason in doubt. Hecataeus' geography was based on the division of the *oecumene* into three continents, Europe, Asia and Libya, bounded by two great rivers, the Tanais and the Nile³³ – a scheme in which the Nile valley south of the Delta had to be divided between the two continents of Libya and Asia. Inevitably, however, as Herodotus recognised, it also meant that there was an unresolved tension in the *Periodos Ges* between Hecataeus' narrow definition of Egypt and the reality that Egyptian civilisation extended far beyond the confines of the Delta. While these general aspects of the *Periegesis Aigyptou* are clear, the fragments reveal little of its detail, although they do contain significant hints.

The *Periodos Ges* as a whole was organised as a coastal description of the Mediterranean with the account of its hinterlands being structured around the ascent of great rivers. Traces of such a procedure exist in the fragments of the *Periegesis Aigyptou*. Thus, the phrase 'Atharambite nomos and Atharambe polis' in F 304, the references to temples at Buto and Neilos in Ff 305 and 319 and a god in a recently discovered fragment³⁴ – Aphthos: a god among the Egyptians like Isis and Typhon – indicate that Hecataeus noted each *nome* and its principal city together with the city's most prominent religious monuments and gods as his description reached it in the course of following the Nile into the interior of Egypt. Similarly, treatment of Egyptian daily life is implied by the allusion to barley beer in F 323a, the characterisation of the Egyptians as eaters of wheaten bread in F 323b, and description of crocodile hunting in F 324. Finally, fragments dealing with the hippopotamus and the Phoenix (Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 324) indicate that Hecataeus also dealt with both the fauna of Egypt and its marvels. The *Periegesis Aigyptou*, therefore, contained a full description of Egypt during the late 6th century BC in which four of the five standard topics of later Greek ethnographies of Egypt – geography, religion, customs and natural history – were treated. But what about the fifth topic: the history of Egypt?

Most scholars believe that Hecataeus ignored Egyptian history entirely on the ground that none of the fragments of his works deals with Egyptian history.³⁵ What is clear, however, is that Hecataeus could have written an account of Egyptian history based on well-informed sources – Egyptians or Greeks with Egyptian experience – if he had wished. The numerous Egyptian toponyms and the general soundness of the equations of Greek and Egyptian gods in the fragments indicate

³³ Thomson 1948, 59, 66.

³⁴ Theodoridis 1982, 306, *s.v.* 3352 'Aphthos'.

³⁵ For example *FGH* 1a, 366 note *ad* Hecataeus F 300; and Drews 1973, 13–14.

that he had access to good sources, while a possible reference to the identification of Hittite sculptures in Anatolia in a fragment of Hipponax raises the possibility that early versions of the Sesostris story may have been already in circulation in Ionia (Hipponax F 7 Degani).³⁶ The real question, therefore, is not whether Hecataeus could have written an account of Egyptian history similar to that of Herodotus, but did he? The answer, I believe, is that he did not, or, rather, that Hecataeus wrote about Egyptian history, but that the Egyptian history that interested him was not the history of Pharaonic Egypt, but the history of Greek heroes and their adventures in Egypt as recorded in works such as the Ps.-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and the *Heraclea* of Panyassis.³⁷

The establishment of a sharp division between history and myth and the consequent devaluation of legends as historical sources is one of the defining characteristics of modern Greek historiography. Indeed, it is precisely the question of the historical value of legends that forms the core of Bernal's critique of contemporary classical scholarship in *Black Athena*. The distinction between history and myth was much less clear, however, in antiquity. Historians and chronographers such as Ephorus and Eratosthenes might express doubts about the possibility of attaining exact knowledge about the history of the heroic age, but they did not question the historicity of the Greek heroes themselves or the existence of a kernel of truth in the legends concerning them.³⁸ Hecataeus, as the preface of the *Genealogiai* – 'Hecataeus the Milesian writes these things as seem to me to be true. For the tales of Greeks are many and ridiculous in my opinion' (Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 1a) – and his practice make clear, shared this view and attempted to recover that 'kernel of truth' by eliminating the 'ridiculous' in the multitude of conflicting Greek stories concerning the heroes.

Clear evidence of Hecataeus' efforts to recover the history of Greek contact with Egypt in the Heroic Age survives in the fragments of both the *Periegesis Aigyptou* and the *Genealogiai* and Herodotus' Egyptian logos. Thus, Egyptian toponyms allegedly named after members of Menelaus' crew provided evidence of his visit to Egypt (Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 Ff 307, 308). Euthymenes of Massilia's (*FGH* 647. 5) theory that the Nile originated in Ocean helped resolve the puzzle of how the Argonauts returned to the Mediterranean after escaping from Colchis by sailing up the Phasis river into Ocean and then back to the Mediterranean via the Nile.

The central thread of Egyptian history in Greek saga, however, was provided by the story of the Inachids, the legendary rulers of Argos, in which the origins of

³⁶ But the fragment is heavily emended (*cf.* the *apparatus ad loc.*).

³⁷ I have discussed this more fully in Burstein 1995a.

³⁸ As indicated by their excluding the period before the Trojan War from their historical and chronographic works (*cf.* Forsdyke 1964, 28 and 144).

important aspects of Egyptian civilisation were credited to various heroes whose ultimate roots were in Argos:³⁹ the Egyptian monarchy and the foundation of numerous cities including Memphis to Epaphos, the son of Io;⁴⁰ the name Egypt to Aigyptos; and the laws of Egypt to Busiris (Isocrates *Busiris* 15–16). Connected accounts of the Inachids and their role as founders of Egypt survive only in late sources such as the *Library* of Ps. Apollodorus (*Library* 2. 1. 3–4).⁴¹ References in Herodotus to Io's connection to Egypt (Herodotus 1. 1. 3–22), Epaphos (Herodotus 2. 38, 153; 3. 27–28), Aigyptos (Herodotus 2. 182), Danaus (Herodotus 2. 91, 98, 171, 182; 7. 94), Busiris (Herodotus 2. 45),⁴² and the Egyptian origin of the Dorian royal families (Herodotus 6. 53–54) combined with allusions to the sons of Aigyptos and to Danaus and his introduction of the alphabet to Greece in Fragments 20 and 21 leave no doubt that Hecataeus treated the story, most likely, in the *Genealogiai*. In other words, to the extent Hecataeus dealt with Egyptian history, he focused on Egyptian history as recorded in Greek saga and emphasised in his account the ultimately Greek roots of Egyptian civilisation, revealing that key figures in the foundation of Egypt were Greek heroes or the descendants of Greek heroes whose exploits were still commemorated in the names of various Egyptian cities. Even when an 'Egyptian' was credited with introducing some aspect of Greek culture such as Danaus who supposedly brought the alphabet to Greece, that 'Egyptian' turned out to be of 'Greek decent'. Hecataeus, in short, sought in Egypt evidence of the Greek past and, of course, he found it.

Hecataeus Hellenised more than Egypt's ancient history. So, besides citing legendary origins for Egyptian toponyms, Hecataeus also transferred contemporary Greek toponyms to Egypt, claiming that there were islands in the Nile with Greek names including Ephesos, Chios, Samos, Lesbos and Kypros (Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 310).⁴³ More subtle, however, because it was unconscious – he was probably reflecting the usage of his informants – was the Hellenisation of contemporary Egypt in the *Periegesis Aigyptou* caused by his application of Greek terms and concepts to Egyptian realities. Good examples are provided by Fragments 304 and 305.

Fragment 304 is one of the few in which Hecataeus' original words are preserved: 'Atharambites *nomos* and Atharambe *polis*'. Its implications for the organisation of the

³⁹ For the heroic history of Argos, see Pierart 1985. For the oriental connections of the Inachids, see M. West 1985, 149–50.

⁴⁰ Supposedly named after his wife Memphis (Ps. Apollodorus *Library* 2. 1. 4). Epaphos' role as a founder of numerous cities in Egypt was already known to Pindar (*Nemean Odes* 10. 5, ll. 5–6) in the 5th century BC.

⁴¹ For convenient surveys of the tradition, cf. Linforth 1910, 83; M. West 1985, 144–54.

⁴² Without naming him explicitly.

⁴³ The list is not exhaustive as Stephanus claims there were 'others (*allai*)'.

Periegesis Aigyptou have already been discussed. Important in the present connection, however, is the fact that it also reveals that Hecataeus not only knew of the millennia old division of Egypt into a number of administrative districts – usually 42 – called *sepat* (*sp̄t*), but that knowledge was subtly distorted by the use of Greek terminology. While the choice of the word *nomos* ‘pasture’ to render Egyptian *sepat* implies recognition of the agricultural basis of the *nome* system, the use of an adjectival form of the name of the *nome*’s principal urban centre to designate the *nome* is a Greek innovation with no basis in Egyptian tradition in which *nomes* were named after their standards,⁴⁴ and suggests that Hecataeus used the model of a Greek *polis* and its *chora* as the framework for understanding the *nome* system, thereby, ascribing a political significance to Egyptian towns which they did not, in fact, possess.

Similar distortion is evident in Hecataeus’ treatment of the Egyptian myth of Horus’ birth in Fragment 305:

In Buto, near the shrine of Leto there is an island named Chembis, sacred to Apollo. The island floats and sails around and moves upon the water.

The basis of the identifications in this fragment – Wadjet = Leto, Horus = Apollo and Chembis = Delos – was the similarity between the Greek myth of the birth of Apollo on the island of Delos and the ancient Egyptian story that Isis hid the newborn Horus from his uncle Seth in the marsh island, the *ꜥḥ bit(y)* or Chemmis, at Buto. The close fit between the two myths is clear evidence that Hecataeus had access to sources that were well informed about Egyptian religion. The two myths were not, however, completely congruent, and in the process of equating the Greek and Egyptian myths the latter was altered under the influence of the Greek story. Those alterations were twofold. First, Wadjet, the chief deity of Buto, has displaced Isis as the mother of Horus-Apollo as a result of her identification with Leto; and second, the identification of Chembis with Delos has resulted in the idea, unattested in Egyptian sources, that the *ꜥḥ bit(y)* could float.⁴⁵

Conclusion

Hecataeus, of course, was not the first nor would he be the last to write history this way. A little over half a century ago E.J. Bickerman⁴⁶ wrote a classic article, ‘*Origines Gentium*’, in which he persuasively argued that what he called ‘the “pan-Hellenic” primeval theory’ – the idea that the founders of all peoples known to the

⁴⁴ For a full list of *nomes* and their Egyptian names, see Helck 1976.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lloyd 1988, 143–46 *ad* Herodotus 2. 156.

⁴⁶ Bickerman 1952.

Greeks were Greek heroes – dominated Greek accounts of the early history of non-Greek peoples and was ‘the necessary result of the belief in the historicity of the Greek saga’.⁴⁷ Hecataeus’ account of the Egyptian past, in so far as we can reconstruct it, fits this pattern. Like the founder traditions studied by Bickerman, Hecataeus’ view of the Egyptian past was literally Hellenocentric in that it reflected a view of Egyptian history in which Greece and not Egypt occupied the centre or, to put it more succinctly, Egyptian history was Greek history. If Hecataeus’ interview with the Theban priests did take place, it only would have confirmed his belief in the rightness of his practice of removing the ‘ridiculous’ from stories of Greek heroes as, for example, his reducing the number of Danaus’ sons from 50 to less than 20 (Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 19).

What did set Hecataeus apart was that he was the first and last Greek writer to produce a comprehensive account of the Egyptian past based on these principles. A little over a half century after he published his works, Herodotus offered in his Egyptian *logos* a radically different vision of the Egyptian past based to the extent possible on Egyptian sources⁴⁸ and characterised by the erasure of almost all traces of Greek saga from the map of Egypt and the theory that the Greeks received much of their culture including their gods from Egypt instead of vice versa as Hecataeus believed.

Herodotus’ new vision of Egyptian history initially met fierce resistance. Plato even created in the *Timaeus* and *Critias* an alternative history in which he turned Herodotus’ theory on its head, citing bogus Egyptian documents to prove that pre-deluvian Athens saved Egypt and founded Sais; while the middle comedy playwright Anaxandrides had a character significantly named Demos rant that Athenians had nothing in common with Egyptians.⁴⁹ Only in the late 4th century BC when Hecataeus of Abdera,⁵⁰ writing at the court of Ptolemy I, provided a revised and greatly expanded version of Herodotus’ history of Egypt in his *Aigyptiaka* – a work that quickly became the standard Greek account of Egypt – did Herodotus’ new approach finally take hold. By the 2nd century AD when Plutarch accused Herodotus of being a philo-barbarian for his treatment of Egypt, it was too late; he was protesting against a *fait accompli*.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Bickerman 1952, 71.

⁴⁸ On Herodotus’ Egyptian sources, see Lloyd 1975, 89–97.

⁴⁹ From the *Poleis* produced ca. 377 BC (Anaxandrides F 39 Edmonds = Athenaeus 7.299f). Isocrates’ praise of Busiris in the *Busiris* is deliberately paradoxical (Isocrates *Busiris* 4–5; cf. Livingstone 2001, 73–77).

⁵⁰ Burstein 1995b.

⁵¹ For an overview of the development of Greek historiography concerning Egypt, see Burstein 1996c.

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BARBARIANS AND GREEKS IN THE NORTHERN PONTUS IN THE ROMAN PERIOD: DIO CHRYSOSTOM'S ACCOUNT OF OLBIA, AND ARCHAEOLOGY*

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Abstract

Over many centuries we can observe in the Black Sea region the interaction of Greeks with the barbarian world. The most important evidence about the situation here in the Roman period is the *Oratio Borysthenitica* of Dio Chrysostom in which he describes his visit to the Greek city of Olbia in the late 1st century AD. Comparative analysis of this speech with the epigraphic and archaeological evidence casts light on the problem of the barbarisation of Greeks in Roman times and lets us draw some conclusions about the validity of Dio as an historical source.

The Eyewitness as Historical Source

The Black Sea region is one of the most interesting of those parts of the ancient world where one can observe the interaction of Greeks and barbarians over many centuries: the process of Hellenisation of the barbarians and its converse, the barbarisation of the Greeks.¹ Our main sources of knowledge about these processes are archaeology, epigraphy and the writings of ancient authors. However, the information from different kinds of evidence seldom coincides: for instance, the majority of ancient authors writing on the North Pontic area obtained their information at second hand, often from sources predating them by decades or centuries. This is why it is often impossible to correlate the realities described by Pliny the Elder, for example, with archaeological material dating to his time.² Much more interesting is the evidence of a few eyewitnesses who not only visited the Pontic region but also wrote

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¹ For the Roman period, see Podossinov 1996; for earlier times, Tsetsckhladze 2002, 81–96.

² Skrzhinskaya 1977, 55.

down their impressions. Some consider this type of evidence to be the most authentic: it must have described the real situation and, correspondingly, can be compared directly with the archaeological and epigraphic data.

In the whole of ancient (Graeco-Roman) literature we can find only four texts written by such eyewitnesses: by the historian Herodotus, who in the 5th century BC apparently visited Olbia, a Greek city in the northern Black Sea; by the Roman poet Ovid, who was exiled to the western shore of the Black Sea in the early 1st century AD; by the Greek rhetorician and philosopher Dio Chrysostom, who visited Olbia at the end of the 1st century AD; and finally by the Roman politician and writer Arrian, who, as governor of Cappadocia, made a journey from Trapezus to Sebastopolis (modern Sukhum[i] in Abkhazia) and, in AD 130 or 131, compiled an account of his travels (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*) addressed to the emperor Hadrian. Comparison of the information they give with the archaeological evidence is not an easy task.

As to Herodotus, the matter of correlating his evidence with archaeological data is crucial for 'Scythology' and the Greek history of this region, as well as for estimating the authenticity and validity of his information. The example of Herodotus' *Logos Scythicos* and of its interpretations demonstrates how far narrative information (even that of an eyewitness) can differ from archaeological reality.³ Even his stay in Olbia has been doubted.⁴

As a rule, Ovid's Pontic elegies do not permit us to see the realities of local life in Tomi because of the poetic embellishments and the tendentiousness of his descriptions.⁵ The picture of a totally barbarised Greek city contradicts the archaeological and epigraphic evidence to such a degree that a theory emerged that Ovid had never even visited Tomi.⁶

Arrian's account of his trips mixed the impressions of an eyewitness with a large amount of material culled from the various literary *periploi* which date back to the distant past and contain traditional information about the Black Sea shore.⁷

Dio's Account of Olbia

I would like to discuss the problems of correlating literary and archaeological evidence in the case of Dio Chrysostom (*ca.* AD 45–115) who visited Olbia probably

³ For details, see Dovatur *et al.* 1982. Cf. Heinen 2001, 7: 'The information of Herodotus and the archaeological material do not always lend themselves to simple and direct comparison.'

⁴ See, for example, Armayor 1978; cf. Bury 1897; Noonan 1973; Kocybala 1978; Georges 1987; Nowak 1988.

⁵ For details, see Podossinov 1987.

⁶ Fitton Brown 1985, 19–22.

⁷ See Silberman 1995, x, xv–xvi.

in AD 97. His so-called *Oratio Borysthenitica* (no. 36)⁸ is considered to be the most important account of the situation in the northern Black Sea region. From the many problems connected with its evaluation I choose only one – the barbarisation of the Greeks and the Greek city in Roman times, how this was seen by an eyewitness, and what the archaeological and epigraphic sources say about it.

In his speech, Dio, after recalling an occasion at Olbia when he was walking outside the city by the banks of the Hypanis (the modern Bug), tells his audience in Prusa all about this isolated Greek outpost, which he calls by its old name Borysthenes, about its geographical position, its trade, its decline under successive barbarian attacks, and its present limited extent (far less than the traces of its ancient grandeur) (1–6). The last and the greatest barbarian assault was 150 years earlier, when the Getae occupied Olbia and other cities on the north-western shore of the Pontus (4), thereby occasioning the decay of the local Greeks and their cities. Olbia was reconstructed on the initiative of the Scythians who needed a trading place (5). But the town was now small, the walls low and unstable. No statue in its temples and cemeteries remained un mutilated (6). The Olbiopolitans (Dio calls them Borysthenites) honoured Achilles and Homer, and although they no longer spoke Greek clearly, the majority of them still knew the *Iliad* by heart (9). Then Dio met some of his friends, including the handsome young Callistratus, who rode up in full Scythian gear (7) and spoke to him about poetry (10–15). There had been a Scythian raid the day before, and the town was on alert (15–16). That is why they all went into the city to the temple of Zeus where many citizens were ready to listen to Dio (16–17). Dio was gratified by his bearded audience – only one man was clean-shaven, and he was unpopular as a collaborator with the Romans (17). There followed a discussion about the *polis* (18–23), interrupted by an elderly listener named Hieroson (Ἱερόσων), who asked him to change the topic of discussion and to speak about the cosmos and the gods (24–27). Dio willingly complied (28–61).⁹

A Strongly Barbarised City?

Based upon Dio's information, many present-day scholars (mostly Russian and Ukrainian archaeologists and historians of the Black Sea region) assert that in Olbia he faced a strongly barbarised Greek city, thanks supposedly to the conquest of the cities of the northern and western Pontus by Getic tribes under the leadership of Burebistas (*ca.* 50 BC) – mentioned by Dio and known from some other sources¹⁰ –

⁸ See the edition of the speech in Russell 1992, 89–107. In this article quotations are taken from the Loeb translation of Dio.

⁹ This summary draws extensively on D.A. Russell's 'Introduction' to his edition of Dio's *Orations* (Russell 1992, 20–21).

¹⁰ Blavatskaya 1952; Daicoviciu 1972.

which, it is generally agreed, opened a new period in their history: 'like Olbia they had to lose their mainly Greek character and to become Graeco-Thracian centres'.¹¹ According to this theory, Dio's description (like Ovid's lamentations about the barbarians surrounding him) is to be viewed as an illustration of the barbarian character of the Greek city.

What information can be obtained from Dio's description? First of all, the anxiety of living encircled by hostile tribes: Dio pays special attention to defensive installations (walls, towers, gates), to the organisation of patrols and protection of the city gates, to the continuous menace from martial nomads (4–6, 8, 15–16). But none of this says anything about the barbarisation inside the walls of the city.

Meanwhile, Dio (like Ovid) notices the 'barbarian' outward appearance of the city's inhabitants: their long hair and beards, the 'Scythian' character of their dress (including Persian baggy trousers), and finally the barbarisation of their language. Therein historians usually see the main features of the barbarisation of Tomi and Olbia. In the case of Ovid they sometimes speak about a real Geto-Greek symbiosis.¹² According to M.L. Gasparov: 'In Tomi nobody spoke Latin: the majority of the inhabitants consisted of the pugnacious and ferocious Getae and Sarmatians; the minority of Greeks, who had long since adopted the barbarian dialect and barbarian clothes...'¹³ Dio's description is considered to be an 'obvious illustration of the strong barbarisation of the Olbian population at the end of the 1st century AD',¹⁴ as 'a very vivid picture of the barbarisation of the Greek city',¹⁵ where Dio 'could, with his own eyes, see the generous admixture of a barbarian element into the structure of the city's population'.¹⁶

Nevertheless, careful study of Dio's account casts doubt upon the accuracy of this interpretation of both Dio's evidence and the real situation in Olbia.

What words of Dio about the costume, the hairstyle and language of the Borys-thenites attest their barbarisation?¹⁷

¹¹ Blavatskaya 1952, 177.

¹² See, for example, Lambrino 1958, 379–90.

¹³ Gasparov 1978, 201. Cf. almost word-for-word repetition of this passage in Rusyaeva and Rusyaeva 2004, 153.

¹⁴ Blavatskii 1949, 57.

¹⁵ Shelov 1975, 126.

¹⁶ Latyshev 1887, 173; cf. Knipovich 1956, 135; Treu 1961, 141; Burakov 1976, 143–45; Koshe-lenko *et al.* 1984, 38.

¹⁷ These features are usually considered as indicators of the barbarisation of the Greeks; see, for example, Shelov 1975, 126: 'Dio Chrysostom paints a very vivid picture of the barbarisation of a Greek city. He said that the Olbiopolitans wore Scythian dress, had long hair and beards in contrast to the Romans, who shaved themselves, were always armed and spoke Greek indistinctly.'

Barbarian Clothes

Only once does Dio mention the barbarian dress of the inhabitants of Olbia. The young man Callistratus has just returned to Olbia after patrolling outside the city. Naturally, he was in full equipment and on horseback. Dio writes (7): ‘Suspended from his girdle he had a great cavalry sabre, and he was wearing trousers and all the rest of the Scythian costume [ἀναξυρίδες εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στολὴν Σκυθικήν], and from his shoulders there hung a small black cape of thin material.’ Such special attention to the unusual dress of a horseman shows that it was not typical and normal for the inhabitants of Olbia and thus does not relate to all of them.

Of course, the ‘Scythian’ clothes worn by the Greeks of the northern Pontus are not just a mere literary fiction. Greek funeral reliefs portraying Bosporans also attest the spread of nomadic dress, including baggy trousers, among Greeks (mostly armed horsemen).¹⁸ It is wrong to think of such clothing as everyday dress, as some scholars do. Judging by these reliefs and the words of Dio, this garment was used mainly in the winter and only by cavalry. Indeed, the Greek cavalry adopted not just the clothing but many of the fighting tactics and types of armament of the more developed cavalry of local nomadic tribes.¹⁹ Taking up local forms of arms and dress, more suited to the local climate and to the prosecution of war against nomadic cavalry, is typical of many remote Greek cities situated in unusual climatic conditions and encircled by local tribes. Therefore it cannot serve as an indication of the barbarisation of the Greek city.²⁰ Furthermore, trousers as Scythian dress were mentioned by Herodotus (1. 71) and Ps.-Hippocrates (*De aera, aquis, locis* 22) and are associated with riding.

Long Hair and Beards

These features are often considered as a barbarisation of the appearance of the Olbian Greeks, but they were an ancient Greek tradition. Dio speaks about it at length when describing the crowd that gathered around him (17): ‘A philosopher would have been vastly pleased at that sight: because all were like the ancient Greeks described by Homer long-haired and with flowing beards.’ He continues tellingly:

¹⁸ See, for example, Blavatskii 1947, 44, pls. 18, 20, 62, 63; Davydova 1990, pls. 43, 45–52; Sokolov 1999, 375, 435 and pls. 265, 266, 268, 270, 312.

¹⁹ See, for example, Goroncharovskii 2003, 32–47.

²⁰ See Latyshev 1887, 185: ‘The adoption of Scythian dress was undoubtedly caused by the peculiarities of the local climate which did not suit Greek dress.’ The same view in Koshelenko *et al.* 1984, 236; Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 525 (Krapivina and Skrzhinskaya). Kryzhitskii and Leipunskaya (1997, 37) see in the Scythian dress noted by Dio, ‘an increase of the influence of surrounding tribes, particularly in the material culture’. An historical-ethnographical parallel is provided by the Don Cossacks (former Rjazan’ peasants) who after colonisation of the foothills of the Caucasus adopted the arms and dress of the local Caucasian inhabitants, remaining Russians in all other spheres of life.

‘Only one among them was shaven, and he was subjected to the ridicule and resentment of them all. And it was said that he practised shaving, not as an idle fancy, but out of flattery of the Romans and to show his friendship toward them.’ Thus, long hair and beards are not evidence of the barbarisation of the local Greeks, but a development of an ancient Greek fashion, which seemed to the Romans to be a sympathetic anachronism, as attested by Dio – he meant the appearance of Homer’s Achaeans who had been long-haired (*Iliad* 3. 43: *κάρη κομύωντες*).

Barbarisation of Language

Dio writes (9) that the Borysthenites, ‘in general no longer speak Greek distinctly, because they live in the midst of barbarians’ (*οὐκέτι σαφῶς ἐλληνίζοντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μέσοις οἰκεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις*). However, it was noted long ago that the inscriptions of Olbia and of other northern and western Pontic cities give no grounds to conclude that there was any ‘incorrectness’ in the Greek language of their inhabitants. The dialectal character of the Greek pronunciation and, very likely, of some lexical and grammatical elements of the spoken language, caused by the long isolation of the Pontic colonies from the cultural and political centre, might have irritated the ear of such an educated person as Dio. The context of barbarisation used by Dio in describing life in Olbia gives a credible enough explanation of such ‘incorrectness’ of language. Many scholars have noted the absence of any traces of barbarian influence in the language of Olbian inscriptions.²¹

The Presence of Barbarians Inside the City

In Dio’s description of life in Olbia we find no mention of a barbarian inside the city. The Scythians or Sarmatians (Dio calls them both) play no part in the internal life of Olbia, apart from the permanent threat of invasion. It is unlikely that Dio would have failed to describe a Scythian, or at least to mention his presence in the city, if he had seen one with his own eyes in the streets and squares of Olbia, or among his audience²² (he gave speeches there): it would have added an exotic flavour and plausibility to his narration about the striking (from the point of view of a metropolitan Greek) ‘barbarisation’ of the Olbiopolitans.

²¹ Latyshev 1887, 177. See also Dovatur 1965, 797: ‘The investigation of Olbian inscriptions does not help us to interpret the information of Dio Chrysostom about the “unclear” Greek language of the Olbiopolitans at the end of the 1st century AD... Probably both the peculiarities of the Ionian dialect and some “incorrectness” of speech of the inhabitants of Olbia were manifested in some special features of pronunciation, in some phonetic deviations that could not be identified in written forms of the language’; Rusyaeva and Rusyaeva 2004, 154, 180. About western Pontic inscriptions, see Stoian 1962; Doruțiu Boilă 1975.

²² So Rusyaeva and Rusyaeva 2004, 165.

But the whole context of Dio's narrative testifies to the purity of the ethnic, social and cultural appearance of Olbia, and to the consolidation of the Borysthenites within Greek traditions of language, literature, cults, architecture and political institutions.²³ Dio even calls Olbiopolitans 'inhabitants of an old Hellenic polis' – πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ἀρχαίαν καὶ Ἑλληνίδα (18). There is a characteristic illustration: the Olbian youth Callistratus had studied rhetoric and philosophy, which is why he had a good reputation among his compatriots. Almost all the Borysthenites read Homer avidly and knew the *Iliad* by heart; some inhabitants of Olbia knew Plato and esteemed him highly. Dio underlines their purely Greek inquisitiveness (τῷ τρόπῳ Ἑλλήνεσς), when almost all the inhabitants of Olbia gathered at the temple of Zeus in order to listen to the speech of a newly arrived rhetorician.²⁴ The merchants, dealers who came to Olbia from other cities of the Black Sea, were, in the opinion of the Borysthenites, Greeks in name only (ὀνόματι Ἑλλήνεσς), actually they were more 'barbarous' (τῇ δὲ ἀλείᾳ βαρβαρώτεροι) than the Borysthenites themselves (25). These self-deprecating words belong to Hieroson, one of the most authoritative citizens of Olbia, who calls himself βαρβαρίζων ('speaking as a barbarian'), which means 'speaking poor Greek' by contrast with the speech of the highly educated Greek 'from the centre', whom Hieroson calls 'most Greek and most wise' (ἐλληνικώτατος καὶ σοφώτατος) (26). It is clear that the opposition 'Greeks – barbarians' has, after Dio, a cultural-ethnic rather than social-ethnic flavour.

The following words of Dio have usually been considered evidence of a barbarian presence in Olbia (4–5):

The Getae... seized not only Borysthenes but also the other cities along the left shore of Pontus as far as Apollonia. For that reason the fortunes of the Greeks in that region reached a very low ebb indeed, some of them being no longer united to form cities, while others enjoyed but a wretched existence as communities, and it was mostly barbarians who flocked to them.²⁵

The words 'the fortunes of the Greeks in that region' (τῶν ταύτης Ἑλλήνων – precisely 'of the Greeks from those places') most likely stand for the inhabitants of 'the other cities along the left shore of Pontus as far as Apollonia', not of Olbia, as many believe.²⁶

²³ See Trofimova 1959, 160 about 'the generalised literary and philosophical image of the ideal citizens' painted by Dio; see also Treu 1961, 141–43.

²⁴ Cf. A. Rusyaeva 1986, 21.

²⁵ See, for example, Koshelenko *et al.* 1984, 38: 'Judging from Dio's evidence..., a great number of non-Greek inhabitants settled in the city, and that influenced Olbian culture very much.' Cf. Krapivina 1994, 123–24.

²⁶ Latyshev 1887, 173, 146. Of the same opinion are Gaidukevich and Kaposhina 1951, 168; Blavatskaya 1952, 176–77; Gaidukevich 1955, 57; Blavatskii 1959, 31; and others.

Thus, it would be a mistake to speak of the mixed population of Olbia after the Getic conquest on the basis of just the evidence of Dio. What does the archaeological and epigraphic material suggest?

Archaeology and Epigraphy

One of the most important signs of the barbarisation of a city, its *conditio sine qua non*, is the presence of a local ethnic element in its population. This element could be insignificant both in number and in social status. Sometimes it played an important role in the political life of the city taking root in the Greek elite. Barbarians might live together in particular parts of the city or be intermixed with the Greeks. Permanent barbarian settlement within a city is usually marked by the existence of archaeological complexes that contain features of local, non-Greek culture (for example handmade pottery, cult objects, burial rites, etc.).²⁷

As far as I know, no such archaeological traces have been found of the presence of a Getic (or Sarmatian) population inside Olbia in the 1st century AD,²⁸ and this confirms our understanding of Dio's description. Olbia, even after the Getic conquest, continued to function as a typical Greek *polis*, with all the characteristic attributes of democratic organisation, economics, religious cults and culture,²⁹ in spite of the difficulties of reconstructing the city after its 'second foundation'.

At the same time, many scholars note a drastic increase in the number of non-Greek personal names in Olbian epigraphy in the first centuries AD, wherein some see confirmation of Dio's words about the considerable barbarian infiltration into Greek cities.³⁰ Indeed, the process of 'barbarisation' of Olbian personal names develops from a complete absence of non-Greek names in the 1st century BC to an abundance of Iranian names in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.³¹ The precise dating of

²⁷ For a possible classification of these processes, see Podossinov 1996, 415–25. Cf. Tsetskhladze 2006, lxi–lxii.

²⁸ See, for example, Kozub 1984, 171: 'In the necropolis of Olbia there are no traces of the non-Greek element'; Krapivina (1993, 143), analysing the pottery, came to the same conclusion; Simonenko 2001, 123: 'Historians deny the fact of the Sarmatisation of Olbia.'

²⁹ Ehrhardt 1988, 78; Molev 2003, 269–75.

³⁰ Latyshev 1887, 176; Knipovich 1956, 135: 'The study of Olbian inscriptions from the first centuries AD demonstrates a great quantity of non-Greek names, and this forces us to remember Dio's evidence of the "crowds of barbarians" which fill the cities reconstructed after the Getic conquest'; cf. Karyshkovskii 1993, 86–95; Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 145; Kryzhitskii and Leipunskaya 1997, 33, 37.

³¹ Fewer than 20 'barbarian' names occur in the whole of Olbian epigraphy (including the Olbian *chora*) from the 5th to the 1st century BC. See Knipovich 1956, especially 134: 'There is no doubt that the non-Greek stratum in the Olbian population before the Getic conquest formed no part at all of the social elite of the city'; cf. Vinogradov 1981; 1997; Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 398–99, 408–09 (A. Rusyaeva). About the prosopography of Olbian magistrates in the first centuries AD, see Treshcheva 1977.

the majority of inscriptions is often problematic: only a few inscriptions that bear non-Greek names could have originated in the 1st century AD, and even these usually have a broader dating (for example, 'from the end of the 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century', or, as often occurs in the corpus of inscriptions by V.V. Latyshev, a rather vague formulation: *Romana aetas* or *imperatorum Romanorum aetas* or *aetas Romana posterior*³²). Thus, we can ascertain that most barbarian personal names relate to the late inscriptions – of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.³³

Still, the appearance of barbarian names in late inscriptions is not easy to interpret. The merely Greek character of different sides of *polis* life, preserved also in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, allows us to consider the increase of barbarian names at this time to be a result of intensive Hellenisation of the local people rather than as the barbarisation of the Greeks.³⁴ It is also possible that the Greeks simply took 'local' names.³⁵ For comparison, analysis of Roman names in Olbian epigraphy of the 1st and the 2nd centuries AD also suggests that there is no reason to see in the bearers of such names real Romans.³⁶

Does Epigraphy Contradict Dio's Evidence?

Some contradiction between the epigraphic data and Dio's evidence could exist if the inscriptions with non-Greek names were dated precisely to the 1st century AD. In this connection, one particular Olbian inscription is of great interest, as its publishers date it to the end of the 1st–the beginning of the 2nd century AD, which is approximately the time of Dio's visit.³⁷ It is devoted to a noble Olbian youth who,

³² *IOSPE I*², nos. 39, 42, 52, 80, 82–86, 89, 93, 96, 103, 135, 144, 150, 162, 174, 184, 185, 192, 202–204, etc.

³³ Of the same opinion are Ehrhardt (1983, 78) and A. Rusaeva (Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 441).

³⁴ Gaidukevich and Kaposhina 1951, 162–79; Kozub 1984, 171; Krapivina 1993, 143–44; Rusaeva and Rusaeva 2004, 166: 'According to inscriptions from the 2nd century to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD, bearers of Iranian names more often gave a Greek name to their sons than *vice versa*; this demonstrates the process of Hellenisation and not of barbarisation of Olbian society.'

³⁵ Solomonik 1973, 261: 'It is impossible to identify the linguistic and ethnic provenance of names; some of them probably belonged to foreigners, some were only adopted by the Greeks from Thracians, Scythians, Sarmatians and other tribes of the Black Sea area and Asia Minor'. See also Kadeev 1974 about the name 'Scythes' in Tauric Chersonesus; Cecchladze [Tsetschladze] 1990 about the name 'Colchos' in the ancient world; Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 399, 423 (A. Rusaeva) (*cf.* Rusaeva and Rusaeva 2004, 156) about a noble Olbian citizen who bore the Persian name Orontes (documented in Olbian inscriptions from the beginning of the 1st century AD), which might have been a reflection of close relations between an Olbian family and the representatives of the ramified clan of Mithridates VI Eupator in the period of Olbian entry into the Pontic kingdom.

³⁶ Knipovich 1968, 192–93.

³⁷ Knipovich and Levi 1968, no. 42 on pp. 44–46 (= *SEG* III, no. 583.4). The inscription in this edition was published by T.N. Knipovich. The first publisher of the inscription, O.O. Kryuger, thought that it must be dated to the beginning of the 3rd century AD (Kryuger 1925). Knipovich insists on its earlier dating because the character of the letters belongs to the early Roman period.

regarding his qualities, might well have been Dio's acquaintance, the above-mentioned Callistratus:

Under the archons headed by Antiphon, the son of Anaximenes, in the month of Cyanep-sion, the archon Antiphon, the son of Anaximenes, proposed: since Dadagos, the son of Padagos, a youth who is descended from worthy parents, has proved his high qualities in many things, has lived his life both decently and beautifully, following everything that was fair and just, and has been honoured with a post and by this post has received a high appraisal, has taken part in an embassy to the hegemon and has brought a great benefit to the city at the time when the city was threatened with great and heavy danger..., it is necessary to honour and to praise such citizens in order that they themselves may receive deserved honours and impel others to similar feats

The name of this young noble Olbiopolitan 'descended from worthy parents' (γενόμενος [προγόνων ἀγαθῶν) is Dadagos, the son of Padagos (Δάδαγος Παδάγου); this name occurs in other Olbian inscriptions³⁸ too, and is defined as Iranian (as is the name of his father, Padagos).³⁹

From numismatic evidence we also know that a certain Olbian *archon*, Peisistratos, the son of Dadakos (a graphic variant of Dadagos⁴⁰), from AD 81 to 98 (just the time of Dio's visit to Olbia) minted new copper coins with the head of Apollo on the obverse and an eagle on the reverse, followed by his name.⁴¹ It is interesting that another inscription of this time mentions a certain Dadakos, a son of Hieroson.⁴² As we already saw, Dio tells of his conversation with an old man, who was highly respected in Olbia (πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ μέγιστον ἄξιωμα ἔχων) and who appealed to Dio on behalf of the Olbiopolitans gathered near the temple of Zeus to hear Dio's speech. This man's name was also Hieroson, and he was a representative of the high authority in Olbia. This is why the supposition that Dio had a conversation with just that Hieroson who might have been the father of Dadakos is not unlikely.⁴³

³⁸ *IOSPE* I², nos. 137, 139.

³⁹ Zgusta 1955, 81, 92.

⁴⁰ In Olbian inscriptions we can find many variants of the same name (particularly among the 'barbarian' names), see, for example, Pharnagos-Pharnakos, Abnagos-Abnakos, Phlimanagos-Phlimanakos, Padagos-Padakos-Badagos-Batagos-Batakos (*IOSPE* I², *passim*).

⁴¹ Karyshkovskii 2003, 291; Frolova and Abramzon 2005, 32, 200–01, 230–31. It is possible that the same Π[ευσίστρ]ατος Δαδαγού is mentioned in an Olbian dedication to Achilles from the end of the 1st century-middle of the 2nd century AD (Dzikowski 1939).

⁴² Knipovich and Levi 1968, no. 87: Δάδακος Ἱ[ε]ροσώντος. This inscription, now lost, is attributed to the 'Roman period' without further specification (Karyshkovskii 1959, 127–28).

⁴³ This is the supposition of A. Rusaeva (1986, 21). Both Olbian names, mentioned by Dio, Hieroson and Callistratus, are represented in the Olbian epigraphic repertoire – Callistratus in *IOSPE* I², nos. 97, 201 A, 19; Knipovich and Levi 1968, no. 83; Karyshkovskii 1993, 73–77, no 1; and Hieroson in *IOSPE* I², nos. 134, 332; Knipovich and Levi 1968, no. 87 (in *IOSPE* I², no. 2 this name is

We can suppose that Dio, drawing the ideal image of an old-fashioned Greek city, had no wish to take notice of people with strange names that did not blend into the general picture of such a city.⁴⁴ Thus, if the dating of the inscriptions is reliable and the Iranian names are not simply a tribute to fashion, we are compelled to doubt the exactness and accuracy of Dio's evidence. In any case, if analysis of the epigraphy leads to the conclusion that, 'in the first centuries AD the non-Greek elements become participants in the city administration together with descendants of the Greeks, and not in smaller number than the Greeks; they are members of the most rich and influential group of Olbian citizens,'⁴⁵ Dio, in his turn, saw among his audience near the temple of Zeus only Greeks. This audience consisted just of 'the most rich and influential group of the Olbian citizens' (οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ γνωριμώτατοι καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς – 'the eldest and the most distinguished and the officials') (17).

Lately, those historians who recognise this fact have sought other explanations, in particular to relate the barbarian infiltration into the Greek community of Olbia to the time after Dio's visit. Here is an example of how this problem was solved by A.S. and M.V. Rusyaeva:

In order to increase the defensive capacity and accelerate the economic upturn, a small group of the military elite of Sarmatian or Graeco-Scythian-Sarmatian origin was incorporated into the citizenship of Olbia, as it was during the siege of Zopyrion in 330 BC. It happened approximately at the turn of the 1st century AD – soon after the departure of Dio... From this time such Iranian names along with pure Greek names and those of mixed origin occur regularly in Olbian inscriptions in the lists of Olbian archons, *strategoi*, *agoranomoi* and ambassadors.⁴⁶

This version of historical events can be helpful for 'saving' Dio's image as a trustworthy eyewitness whose every word must be true.

Other Approaches to Evaluating the Historicity of Dio's Account

Alongside the works of archaeologists directly involved in the study of Olbia, who naturally have an Olbian focus, the problem of the accuracy and historicity of Dio's

present on an inscription from Tyras, dated to AD 181). The name 'Ἐρροσῶν in Dio's text is a very plausible emendation of the manuscript word ῥοσων, made by August Boeckh (*CIG* 2, 115) and based on a common Olbian name. About the significance of this name and person in Dio's text, see Treu 1961, 147, 153; Hupe 2005, 34–35.

⁴⁴ See Hupe 2005, 34: 'Angesichts der literarischen Konzeption der Rede überrascht es nicht, daß in Dions Werk keine Reflexe eines indigenen Einflusses in der olbischen Onomastik spürbar sind, wie er sich aus dem epigraphischen Befund ergibt.'

⁴⁵ Knipovich 1956, 135.

⁴⁶ Rusyaeva and Rusyaeva 2004, 165; cf. Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 444–45, 455–56 (A. Rusyaeva).

evidence has been discussed extensively in recent decades by historians of Greek literature and culture who have another perspective: that of Dio's outlook, ideas and concepts. These works help us to understand the mechanism for transforming personal impressions of reality into literary narrative form; they often change the emphasis in evaluating Dio's account and sometimes contradict the literal interpretation of Dio's words by archaeologists.⁴⁷ I will examine the most important of them touching the matter of the barbarisation of Olbia.

As far as I now, the problem of the historical validity of Dio's speech was first raised and examined in 1959 by M. Trofimova, who tried to put Dio's information into the general context of his speech and, more broadly, into that of his social, ethical and political views. Trofimova reasonably protested against the interpretation of Dio's speech as 'the detached narration of an eyewitness'.⁴⁸

In contrast with her predecessors, she notes the absence in the 'picture of the ideal city' of those features that demonstrate the 'social results of barbarisation', which should be 'full of struggle and deep internal movements and upheavals'.⁴⁹ This important conclusion confirms our thesis about the absence in Dio's description of any signs of that strong barbarisation which is considered by the majority of historians of the Black Sea area as a real fact.

However, it should be noted that Trofimova ascribes this to a deliberate idealising tendency on the part of Dio; she herself considers the barbarisation of Olbia as a reality⁵⁰ and seems not to recognise the circularity of her argument – that it was the evidence of Dio which had served as a basis for such conclusions.

Recently, the reliability of Dio's Olbian evidence has become the subject of examination by some Western scholars as well. On the whole, they continue the line initiated by Trofimova, which analyses the historical information of Dio within the broad context of his speech and of his work as a whole.⁵¹ For Western classicists the most authoritative work is that of C.P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*

⁴⁷ E.H. Minns had already written of Dio's evidence: 'His picture is probably true in outline though no doubt the light and shade are exaggerated. We must not forget that we are dealing with a professional rhetorician who wishes to lay stress on the isolation of Olbia, the calamities it had suffered in the past, the hourly dangers from foes outside, the meagerness of the intellectual fare within the citizens' reach, in order to throw up the survival among them of the true Hellenic spirit, of martial courage, proud independence, love of the old national poet and eagerness for any chance of culture' (1913, 466). Unfortunately these words found no response among the later historians of Olbia quoted above.

⁴⁸ Trofimova 1959, 161. A few years later K. Treu (1961) also noted the literary character of some features in Dio's account.

⁴⁹ Trofimova 1959, 161.

⁵⁰ Here Trofimova refers to the evidence of Ovid who, in her opinion, has described a similar situation in Tomi.

⁵¹ For general studies of Dio's life and works, see von Armin 1891; 1898; François 1922; Jones 1978; Desideri 1978; Salmeri 1982; Brancacci 1985; Swain 2000.

(1978).⁵² Discussing the main features of the *Oratio Borysthenica*, Jones notes that in Dio's description of Olbia 'the romantic exaggeration is palpable', although 'there can be no doubt that Dio's description of the city derives from his experience'.⁵³ In his opinion, 'although Dio's description of the city appears to be accurate, his picture of the inhabitants seems to exaggerate their distance from the modern world';⁵⁴ Jones remarks that the language of public pronouncements 'is that of the average Greek city of the period'.⁵⁵ He explains Dio's exaggerations as fitting his 'purpose of making the Olbians a community of ideal virtue and self-sufficiency'.⁵⁶ Among the merits of this book is Jones's familiarity with Olbian inscriptions and with works on Olbian history published in Western European languages (E.H. Minns, M.I. Rostovtzeff, E. Belin de Ballu and A. Wąsowicz).

In the introduction and commentary to his edition of Dio's *Oratio Borysthenica*,⁵⁷ D. Russell discusses expressly the problem of Dio's historicity and poses the question of how far his description of Olbia should be believed.⁵⁸ In particular, he notes that the general trend of his speech, its philosophical and religious content, and that it was addressing the citizens of Prusa, Dio's native city, do not permit us to believe its every word. Thus, Russell does not think that the picture of the Borysthenites has been idealised, and finds a number of Dio's observations devoid of any such treatment and even strange for a Prusan audience (he means their 'Ionian' predilections, tastes and customs, and especially their adoration of Homer and Achilles).⁵⁹ Nevertheless, he does not see much discrepancy between most of Dio's evidence and historical reality: 'Dio's description broadly corresponds with what is known from excavations, but the details are naturally hard to confirm, and allowance has to be made for some conventional elements.'⁶⁰

In his papers from 1997 and 1999,⁶¹ D. Braund, developing the ideas of Jones and Russell, sought to dethrone the practice prevalent among historians and

⁵² Jones 1978.

⁵³ Jones 1978, 61.

⁵⁴ Jones 1978, 63.

⁵⁵ Jones 1978, 63.

⁵⁶ Jones 1978, 63. J. Moles (1995, 184) sees in the Dio's description of Olbia 'the mixture of the realistic and the literary, the serious and the humorous' and agrees with Jones about some exaggerations here.

⁵⁷ Russell 1992.

⁵⁸ Russell 1992, 22: 'How far is his description of Olbia to be believed? It is perhaps the most vivid account of such a city that we have, and the details... look like the genuine observations of an eyewitness. Archaeologists have generally trusted it, even when they are unable (as with the site of the temple of Zeus) to confirm it on the ground.'

⁵⁹ Russell 1992, 23.

⁶⁰ Russell 1992, 214.

⁶¹ Braund 1997; about Dio's evidence, see especially 126–31. An extended and revised version of this part of the paper was published in Russian translation (see Braund 1999).

archaeologists of using this narration as 'a precise description of contemporary Olbia, derived from personal autopsy'.⁶² The narration about Olbia is an introduction to an account of Dio's philosophical outlook and had to affirm his philosophical arguments. Therefore, it could not be an artless narrative of an eyewitness. Braund uncovers some traces of literary influences on Dio's account from his predecessors – Homer, Herodotus, Plato,⁶³ Xenophon, probably even Ovid and other authors. A wish to show to the citizens of Prusa and to the whole Greek world the condition of a Greek city situated at the margins of the Hellenic *oecumene* in a hostile barbarian neighbourhood⁶⁴ and in cultural isolation led Dio to some exaggerations and distortions in the description of local life. Thus, Braund (here following Jones) does not believe Dio when he represents Olbia as a culturally isolated city with meagre Hellenic culture. He points to the recently discovered inscription of a hymn honouring the island of Berezan and Achilles, which was written at the very time when Dio visited Olbia and which demonstrates the highly developed poetic art of local Greeks.⁶⁵ Dio's explanation of the 'incorrectness' of the Greek language of the Borysthenites through barbarian influence seems to Braund to be a usual tendency of the Hellenic *Weltanschauung* 'to bemoan the deleterious effects of local barbarians upon the Greek language of a city'.⁶⁶ At the same time, Braund himself has no doubts as to 'a substantial "barbarian" presence within the population of the city'; this is why Dio's silence on this matter he considers to be 'at best an over-simplification'.⁶⁷

But what is Braund's explanation for a barbarian presence in Olbia? He quotes only a work of K.K. Marchenko that deals with the period from the 7th to the middle of the 1st century BC and does not relate to the period with which we are concerned.⁶⁸ Marchenko had analysed the handmade pottery that might have been produced by 'barbarian' inhabitants of Olbia (Thracians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Celts, etc.) and which forms only 3% of the whole of Olbian pottery in the 7th–3rd centuries BC and 8–10% in the 3rd–1st centuries BC.⁶⁹ His own conclusion is that

⁶² Braund 1997, 126.

⁶³ As to Plato's reminiscences in Dio's speeches, 'in no other oration do we find Plato as both topic and model, both named and assessed, and made the object of literary mimesis' (Trapp 2000, 219).

⁶⁴ Cf. Braund 1997, 127: 'Depicting Olbia as a community united by the enemies who beset it in real warfare, Dio draws attention by implication to self-indulgent futility both of Prusa's version of hostilities with neighbours and of the internal dissensions within the city that the lack of a real external enemy permits.'

⁶⁵ Braund 1997, 128; see also p. 130 about the connections of Olbia with the other Greek cities of the Black Sea and even with the Prusa.

⁶⁶ Braund 1997, 129. Braund refers here to Arrian *PPE* 1 and Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* 1. 24.

⁶⁷ Braund 1997, 129.

⁶⁸ Marchenko 1988.

⁶⁹ Marchenko 1988, 124.

‘it did not lead to any obvious barbarisation of the population of the city’,⁷⁰ and that this pottery could have belonged to segments of the population dependent on the Greeks, state slaves, the poorest semi-dependent or free barbarians, as well as less well-to-do Greek citizens.⁷¹ Not all archaeologists share Marchenko’s thesis about the presence of barbarians in Olbia on the basis of handmade pottery alone.⁷² However, after publication of Braund’s paper, some scholars believe that Dio tends ‘to pass over the barbarian presence within (*sc.* in Olbia), now revealed by archaeological investigation’.⁷³

There are no more linkings of Dio’s evidence with archaeological and historical evidence in Braund’s paper, therefore his final conclusion – that Dio’s description ‘does not correlate with the picture of Olbia known from the other sources, including the archaeological ones’⁷⁴ – is somewhat unexpected (although his other conclusions, showing the broader context in which Dio’s data are included, are quite reasonable and persuasive).

In 2003 a German edition of the *Oratio Borysthenitica* appeared.⁷⁵ Among the essays accompanying the text, one by B. Bäbler, dedicated to Graeco-barbarian relations, is of particular interest.⁷⁶ Bäbler, like Russell and Braund, whom she often quotes, poses questions concerning Dio’s description: ‘wie glaubhaft ist sie?’ and ‘was Dion *nicht* beschreibt’.⁷⁷ She quite rightly points out that Dio himself forms the image of Olbia based on real phenomena and that we must not take his description as a *Reisebericht*, ignoring its literary stylisation. Bäbler mentions as contradictions between the historical and archaeological realities, on the one hand, and Dio’s account on the other: 1) the names Borysthenes and Borysthenitai that Dio takes from the literary tradition and uses instead of Olbia and Olbiopolitai, which were actually current in the city; 2) Dio’s evidence of the total destruction of all the statues in the city (she thinks that in the 150 years after the Getic invasion new statues should have been produced); 3) his information about the weakness of the city

⁷⁰ Marchenko 1988, 131.

⁷¹ Marchenko 1988, 134. The same proportion of handmade pottery to the wheel-made pottery in the first centuries AD (10.77%; see Krapivina 1993, 125) attests that in 1st century AD there was no drastic increase of the ‘barbarian’ element, if we want to see ‘barbarians’ behind handmade pottery. It is interesting that most types of Olbian handmade pottery have their closest analogies in the Cimmerian Bosphorus and not in the barbarian surroundings of Olbia (Krapivina 1993, 105–07).

⁷² See, for example, the criticism in Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 396–97, 410–11, 420 (A. Rusyaeva). Cf. also Krapivina 1993, 126 about Olbian pottery of the first centuries AD: ‘Handmade pottery from Olbia does not have a pronounced ethnic significance.’

⁷³ Salmeri 2000, 85, n. 158, with a quotation from Braund 1997, 129.

⁷⁴ Braund 1999, 281.

⁷⁵ Nesselrath *et al.* 2003.

⁷⁶ Bäbler 2003.

⁷⁷ Bäbler 2003, 113.

walls, which, according to the archaeological evidence, were quite substantial; 4) the description of the temple of Zeus, near which Dio's meeting with the Olbian citizenry supposedly took place – the remnants of this temple have still not been discovered.⁷⁸ After such 'contradictions' between Dio's account and the archaeological evidence, Bähler turns to the problem that interests us now, namely that of relations between the Greeks and barbarians in Olbia.

As for the 'Scythian' dress of the Borysthenites, Bähler rightly explains it as an adaptation by the Greeks to the conditions of their new homeland in response to the climate, the environment and the necessity to make frequent use of horses.⁷⁹ Concerning the 'incorrectness' of the Greek language of the Olbiopolitans, she remarks that the language of Olbian inscriptions gives us no reason to speak about it, although some differences between written and spoken Greek could have existed.⁸⁰ At the end of her essay Bähler provides a very simple solution to the difficult and important question of the physical presence of barbarians inside the city (not mentioned by Dio): according to her, the epigraphy of the 1st century AD mentions numerous Sarmatian names belonging to *archons*, *strategoi* and priests and which were borne by the *Mixhellenes* ('mixed Greeks').⁸¹ Unfortunately, she does not indicate which inscriptions she means, since, as I have shown above, the dating of the inscriptions of Roman times is not easy and the majority of them belong to the 2nd and the 3rd centuries AD. She concludes her essay with the words that we have to deal with 'the description of a Greek community, which, although itself "barbarised" under permanent outside pressure, at the same time conserved its traditions and to a certain extent Hellenised its surroundings'.⁸² I am not convinced that her arguments support this conclusion about the barbarisation of Olbia.

By the way, although the remnants of the temple of Zeus have still not been discovered, there is no doubt that it existed.⁸³ It is believed that the first temple of Zeus was situated in the eastern *temenos* near the temple of Apollo Delphinios.⁸⁴ After the Getic conquest a new temple of Zeus was built in the northern part of the Low Town.⁸⁵ Beginning in the 4th century BC, and for some centuries thereafter, members of the Heuresibiad family (Heuresibios himself and his descendents) were priests

⁷⁸ Bähler 2003, 114–21.

⁷⁹ Bähler 2003, 121.

⁸⁰ Bähler 2003, 122–23.

⁸¹ Bähler 2003, 123–24.

⁸² Bähler 2003, 127.

⁸³ See Minns 1913, 476.

⁸⁴ Latyshev 1887, 168; Levi 1986, 78–81; Molev 2003, 80.

⁸⁵ Kryzhitskii 1985, 137; Kryzhitskii *et al.* 1999, 233 (Krapivina); Rusaeva and Rusaeva 2004, 153, 175.

of Zeus Eleutherios⁸⁶ (Zeus had in Olbia other names as well – Soter, Poliarches, Basileus, Theon basileus, Olympios).⁸⁷ From Roman times comes an inscription with a mention of the priest of Zeus Olbios.⁸⁸ Another Olbian inscription from the 2nd or 3rd century AD (a decree honouring a certain Agathokles) orders that the stele with this decree be placed in the temple of Zeus (στῆσαι [ε]ἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διός).⁸⁹ This is why to accuse Dio of a fiction in the question of the temple of Zeus (as Russell and Bähler do) is incorrect.⁹⁰

An Attempt at a Synthesis

In publications in 2005⁹¹ and 2006,⁹² J. Hupe tried to bring together the two approaches to the interpretation of Dio. Hupe, who is very well acquainted with Ukrainian and Russian academic literature, both archaeological and epigraphic, was practically the first person to attempt a combination and reconciliation of the conclusions reached in such works with the ‘philological’ tradition from Trofimova to Bähler.⁹³ Using onomastic evidence from about 40 1st–3rd-century dedicatory inscriptions to Achilles Pontarchos by Olbian magistrates and priests (in which more than 200 personal names were contained – 54% Greek and 39% ‘barbarian’), he sought to identify the ethnic composition of the population of Olbia and investigate the processes of acculturation within the city, comparing this information directly with that provided by Dio. In the contradiction between Dio’s account and the epigraphical evidence, he saw the consequences of the literary and idealising character of his speech established by the philological tradition.⁹⁴ Hupe believes that Dio’s dualistic model of Greeks within and barbarians without the city does not accord with the reality of post-Getic Olbia,⁹⁵ and that from epigraphical material one can discern local influences on Olbian onomastics that find no reflection in Dio’s speech due to the specific literary conception of it.⁹⁶ At the same time, he is

⁸⁶ Knipovich and Levi 1968, no. 71.

⁸⁷ Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 112, 120–21.

⁸⁸ *IOSPE* I², 42.18.

⁸⁹ Knipovich and Levi 1968, no. 45.

⁹⁰ C.P. Jones (1978, 63) has quoted the last inscription, seeing in it evidence of the existence of the temple of Zeus in Olbia.

⁹¹ Hupe 2005.

⁹² Hupe 2006.

⁹³ Summarising the ‘philological’ tradition, Hupe states that ‘die Borysthenitische Rede nicht als historischer Tatsachenbericht aufzufassen ist, dessen Angaben jeweils vorbehaltlos für die Rekonstruktion der Lebensverhältnisse in Olbia an der Wende vom 1. zum 2. Jh. n. Chr. herangezogen werden könnten’ (2006, 166).

⁹⁴ Hupe 2005, 27, 34–35.

⁹⁵ Hupe 2005, 28.

⁹⁶ Hupe 2005, 34.

convinced that the linguistic affinity of any personal name should not be considered as identical with its bearer's ethnic identity,⁹⁷ i.e. he accords primacy to the epigraphical evidence.

One of the principal stumbling blocks to drawing conclusions about the barbarisation of Olbia in the time of Dio has been the chronology of these votive inscriptions. Hupe's is the first attempt at dating them precisely.⁹⁸ He does so using the criteria formulated by T.N. Knipovich and O.P. Karyshkovskii, dividing the inscriptions into several groups based on palaeographical considerations. The first of these he dates to the last quarter of the 1st–middle of the 2nd century AD, to which he assigns 17 examples (for reasons unknown he omits inscription no. 22, which he also dates to precisely this period). Eight of the 18 can be dated more exactly by prosopographical evidence and other criteria to the first half or to the middle of the 2nd century AD. This leaves 10 of broad date (nos. 4, 6, 15, 19, 22, 26a, 28a, 31, 33 and 36), which could be dated to the 'last quarter of the 1st century', wherein are 30 Greek names, about 20 Iranian and about 10 unknown (but non-Greek). On this basis one might wonder whether Dio was indulging in a tendentious silence about the existence of barbarians in Olbia! But nothing is certain: as Hupe admits, neither the beginning nor the end of the series of inscriptions assigned to AD 76–150 can be dated precisely.⁹⁹ Hence, it is unclear whether the information Dio gives contradicts the epigraphic evidence or not.

And we need to explain the appearance of so many Iranian names. Even if not by the very end of the 1st century AD, over a third of the highest social stratum of Olbian society – archons, priests, *strategoi* and *agoranomoi* – have names of Iranian origin.¹⁰⁰ It cannot be supposed that barbarians would be immediately accepted as citizens of the *polis*, nor that upon becoming citizens they would rapidly become high officials (even priests!), having immediately accepted Hellenic values (as supposed by Rusyaeva and Rusyaeva – see above); rather, it was a drawn out process of adaptation and acculturation by members of the barbarian population in Olbia. In this regard, we should consider the reason for the appearance of barbarian names suggested by V.V. Krapivina (see above): that Olbia was re-established, after its destruction by the Getae, by a mixture of Greeks and parts of the Hellenised population of the Lower Dnieper settlements.¹⁰¹ It is possible to conclude, therefore, that after a minimum of a century of cohabitation with the Greeks in Olbia, and previously

⁹⁷ Hupe 2005, 30.

⁹⁸ Hupe 2006, 176–86.

⁹⁹ Hupe 2005, 32. About the difficulties of dating the inscriptions, see Hupe 2006, 176.

¹⁰⁰ Hupe states that people with a 'barbarian' name were more likely to be *agoranomoi* than they were archons or priests, who were more commonly Greek by name (2006, 208, 234).

¹⁰¹ Krapivina 1993, 297–98, 301. See also Krapivina 1994.

in nearby settlements, the barbarians were so Hellenised¹⁰² that Dio was unable to distinguish anything ‘barbarian’ in them. In these circumstances, was Dio much misrepresenting things when he described his audience near the temple of Zeus as Greeks?

Conclusions

After this survey of the recent historiography, I would like to conclude with the following comments on the validity of Dio as an historical source: real or would-be contradictions between the account of an eyewitness and archaeological and historical evidence can be explained in three ways. First, a defective and restricted interpretation of a literary source (in our case the quasi-‘barbarisation’ of Olbia, after Dio) – the thorough analysis of all aspects of a literary source may reconcile apparent contradictions. Second, a misinterpretation of the epigraphic sources: for example, who were the bearers of the Iranian names? – the barbarians themselves or Greeks taking their names (the dating of these inscriptions is also a weak point in the elucidation of the question); answers may eliminate or confirm discrepancies between two kinds of sources. Third, we must take into consideration the intentional or unintentional distortion of reality caused by the author’s outlook and/or purpose, which might produce a text composed to rules quite different from those for a simple travel account. These questions have yet to be answered with sufficient fullness. I am convinced that by taking all these aspects into account we can understand better both our sources and the historical processes they describe.

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¹⁰² Hupe correctly underlines that ‘wir es hier nicht mit einer bloßen “äußeren” Anpassung im Sinne einer Akkomodation zu tun haben, sondern im kaiserlichen Olbia einen echten Akkulturationsprozeß greifbar machen können, der den gesamten kulturellen Habitus dieser Gruppe (Sprache, Religion und Brauchtum) umfaßte. Der Befund spricht gegen Multikulturalität, vielmehr für sarmatischstämmigen Polibürger in die soziale und geistige Sphäre der Griechen einbezog’ (Hupe 2006, 239).

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MILITARY AND MILITIA IN THE URARTIAN STATE¹

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Abstract

Just like other states in the 9th century BC, the most crucial institution for the Urartians was the existence of a vigorous army. Despite a lack of data directly relating to the Urartian army, one may easily see the overriding role of arms and armed men in Urartian culture. It is not only the repertory of weapons in the Urartian assemblage; an unarmed figure is hard to find in Urartian art. This paper aims to shed a modest light on the worldly and unworldly role of these armed men, with the help of the written and material evidence.

State of War and God of the State

The majority of Urartian inscriptions tell us about military operations and their successful outcomes. They do not give detailed information on the different classes forming the army or on its battle order, unlike their Assyrian counterparts; but they provide some data on numbers of soldiers and booty, the reliability of which will be discussed below, and they are generally concise: in response to rebellion, estrangement, discontent or the will of a god, the army marches upon the enemy, defeats it and returns to the homeland.

What is beyond doubt is the predominant role of one god, Haldi, who is not only the celebrated warrior leading the army with his weapon but also the main character, overshadowing the king and the entire army, in the success of any campaign. The success of the fighting depends mainly on the action of Haldi, rarely on that of something or someone else. The god attacking the enemy with his own weapon, the *šuri*, is mentioned not just in written sources, it can be traced in both iconographical and archaeological data. There is little doubt that the sparkling god with the glinting weapon on the shield from Upper Anzaf (Fig. 1) is Haldi,² and a brief look at the ruined enemy obviously proves the power of the thrown *šuri* to both Urartian and modern observers (Fig. 2). Haldi's weapon can now be identified with a tangible example from Ayanis (Fig. 3), bearing a plain inscription:

¹ We would like to thank Altan Çilingiroğlu, Director of the Ayanis excavations, for his advice and guidance with this paper, and for his generous access to the Ayanis excavation archive; and the anonymous referees for their detailed comments and helpful suggestions. The Editor-in-Chief would like to thank Charles Burney for reading this paper and improving the English.

² Belli 1998, 40, fig. 18.

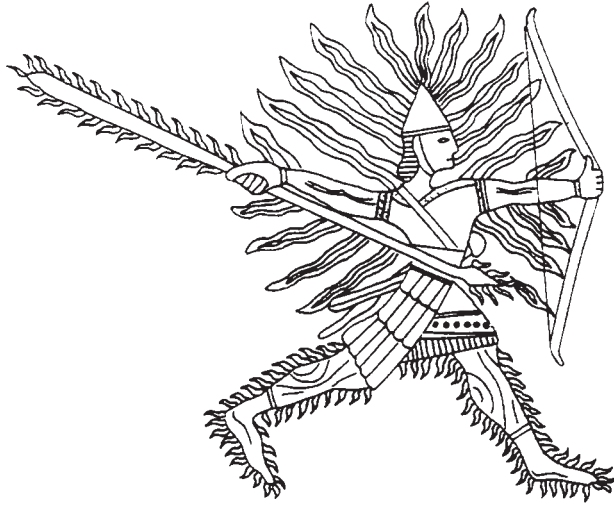


Fig. 1: The god Haldi with *šuri* on the bronze shield from Upper Anzaf (after Belli 1998, 40; detail from drawing 18).

‘To Haldi his lord, Rusa, son of Argišti, made and dedicated this lance/sword (*šuri*) for his life.’³

The relation between the chief god and weaponry is not limited to his *šuri*; plentiful evidence from different excavations illuminates this connection. On the rock inscription of Meher Kapısı,⁴ the renowned manifestation of the Urartian god-list, Haldi was not only honoured by the sacrifices dedicated to his personage, his weapons, belligerence and power were severally revered through a series of animal offerings. When one considers hundreds of arrows and spearheads, shields, quivers and helmets dedicated to the god in his temples (the major group of finds in the Urartian repository), the combatant persona of Haldi indisputably comes into prominence.

It may not be surprising to see the main deity of an Iron Age theocratic monarchy as a great warrior. However, this vital role of Haldi is in some degree shared by the other divinities. Teišeba, the second god in the Urartian pantheon, also appears to be a warrior god. Like his Hurrian image Tešup, the god’s name is written by the same ideogram used for Enlil and Adad,⁵ the ancient storm and war gods of Mesopotamia,⁶ not only because Teišeba is the only Urartian god whose divine warlike

³ For *šuri* = lance, see Çilingiroğlu 1997, 142. For details, see Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 1999.

⁴ Melikishvili 1960, 27.

⁵ Piotrovskii 1966, 43.

⁶ Kendall 1977, 43.

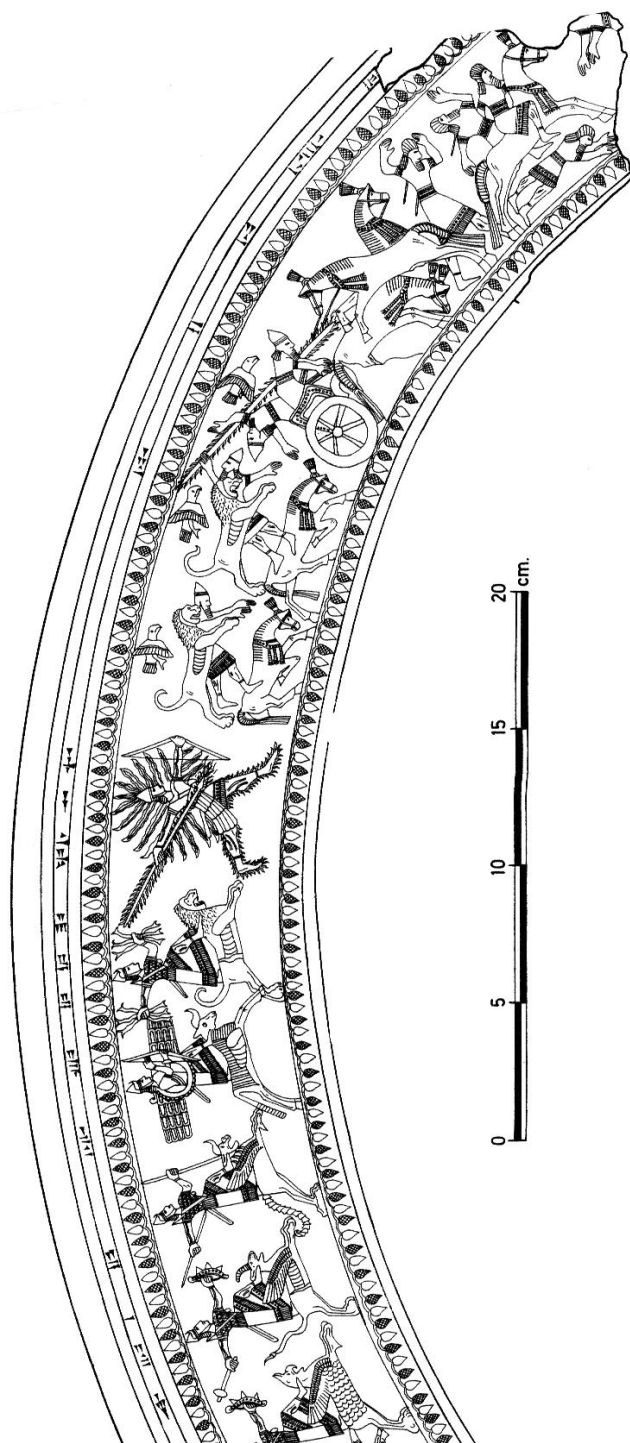


Fig. 2: Gods on the march and the ruined enemy. Bronze shield from Upper Anzaf
(after Belli 1998, 105; detail from drawing 17).

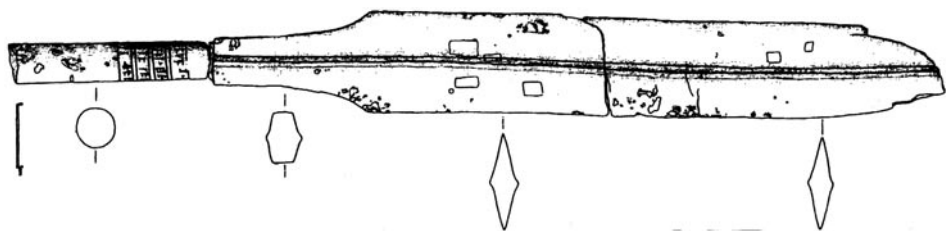


Fig. 3: *Šuri* from Ayanis. Van Museum, Ayanis section (after Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 173; drawing 25).

character was canonised after Haldi,⁷ but because he had the power to destroy by fire enemies fleeing before the blade of the Urartian king.⁸ We are not told of such an idiosyncrasy for the Urartian sun god, Šiuini (Hurrian Šimigi); it is clear, however, that he was one of the three major divinities, along with Haldi and Teišeba, whom the Urartian king had to invoke for strength in battle.⁹

This situation is reasonable for the Urartian heavenly triad, but it is more interesting to hear of divinities from lower ranks, even local ones, directly in relation to regal campaigns. Hutuni, the name for the local god of the Karahan region,¹⁰ literally means ‘the power of victory’ or something similar,¹¹ which evokes the consideration that he is – or once had been – a god of battle. Although Hutuni’s name is not given in campaign records, his place in the ritual lists can point to his character: He was enrolled as the fourth divinity in Meherkapısı¹² and, in the Ayanis inscription, he was cited alongside superior divinities.¹³ Apparently, a god from the same region, Ura, seems to have shared the same features, since a temple was dedicated to his lance.¹⁴ Evidence for two other gods is much more palpable. Although he was a local divinity in the Urmia region,¹⁵ Šebuti had the honour of his own *susi* temple, and a king planning battle had to perform a ritual before him: ‘Rusa, son of Sarduri says: I have erected this inscription: When kings plan campaigns, a bull and a sheep to Šebuti, a sheep to Artuarasau and a sheep to the gates of Šebuti have to be slaughtered...’¹⁶

⁷ Melikishvili 1960, 27.

⁸ Melikishvili 1960, 155 F.

⁹ For sample inscriptions, see Melikishvili 1960, 127, 130, 155.

¹⁰ Salvini 1993, 547.

¹¹ Salvini 1994, 206.

¹² Melikishvili 1960, 27.

¹³ Salvini 2001, 259.

¹⁴ Dinçol and Kavaklı 1978, 8–14, no. 1.

¹⁵ Salvini 1994, 206.

¹⁶ For details of the whole inscription and comments, see Salvini 1977.

Furthermore, considering the relation between the main god and weapons, an unarmed god is hard to imagine in Urartian descriptive culture. Although there are sufficient clues to regard Haldi as a god of both crops and fertility, not just purely a god of war,¹⁷ the entire repertory of Urartian art makes us envisage the Urartian divinities as a troop of warriors commanded by Haldi, instead of a solemn pantheon. The imaginary portrait of a band of divinities armed from head to toe to strengthen the power and resolve of the army in battle leads us to attempt an understanding of the 'profane' mirror of this picture, the actual military texture of the Urartian state.

Military Structure and Organisation

The shortcomings of inscriptions about military structure were mentioned above, and particulars of the Urartian chain of command are no exception. The Urartian monarch is described as commander-in-chief in nearly all Urartian inscriptions. Like his coequals, a reigning monarch had to conduct at least one campaign annually in order to solidify his sovereignty, and had to lead his army. Assyrian sources yield similar information, and a series of Assyrian documents demonstrate this difficult mission of the Urartian king. In one example, Arame, the first king of Urartu, could barely save his life on the battlefield after climbing a mountain peak.¹⁸ In Ulluba, during the retreat before the Assyrian monarch, the whole camp of Sarduri, including the king's own tent – even his bed, his royal seal and his rings – was sacked.¹⁹ Rusa I also had to face the sword, not only against his sworn enemy, the Assyrians,²⁰ but against the Cimmerians as well.²¹

Moreover, in some unclear circumstances (see below), generals participated in supreme command. For now, we can accept that the highest rank, that of commander-in-chief, was occupied by the king and his deputy/deputies, who are attested in such texts as: 'Argišti, son of Menua speaks: Haldi is mighty; the weapons of Haldi are mighty. Through the greatness of Haldi, I have sent out military commanders on campaign...'.²²

The vicegerents and generals of the armies were generally and naturally the rulers of provinces: 'Sarduri speaks: ...Three provincial governors were called out. In three places I carried out a campaign...'.²³ The sub-commanders could have been appointed from among the chiefs or the heads of tribes faithful to the kingdom:

¹⁷ For the relationship of Haldi with fertility, see Çilingiroğlu 2005; 2004; Taffet and Yakar 1998; Taffet 1999.

¹⁸ Luckenbill 1926, 605.

¹⁹ Luckenbill 1926, 769.

²⁰ Luckenbill 1927, 154.

²¹ Parpola 1987, no. 31.

²² Melikishvili 1960, 127, column III.

²³ Melikishvili 1960, 55 E.

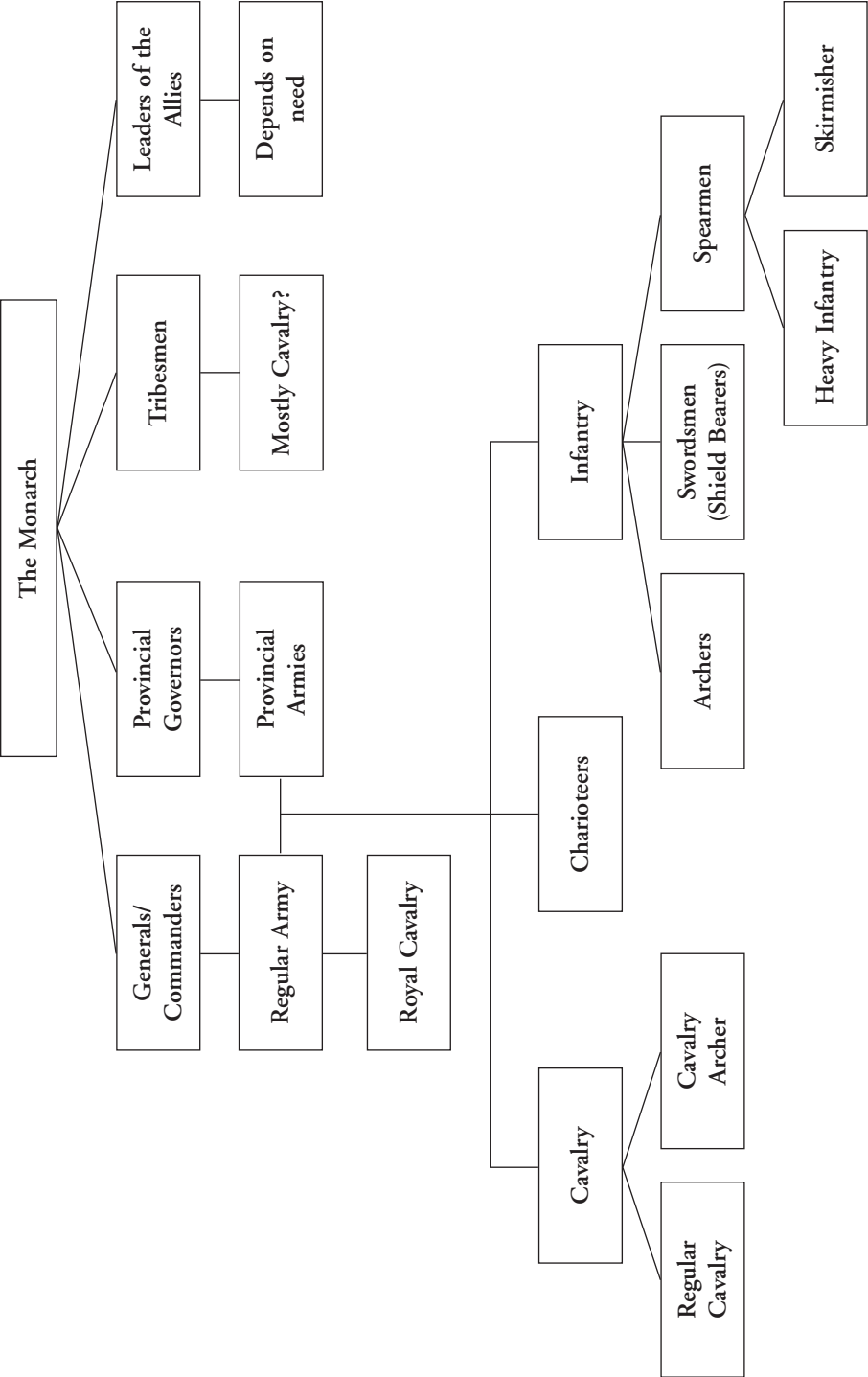


Fig. 4: Military organisation in the Urartian Army.

‘a commander, from the Dada tribe of mine’.²⁴ Certainly, the military support of allies was also gladly accepted: ‘Urzana rendered (to me) auxiliary armies... I took the auxiliary armies, by command of Haldi, I, Rusa, came against the cities of Assyria. I enacted carnage there...’.²⁵

Thus, the primary constituents of the Urartian forces appear to have been: 1) the regular army loyal to the monarch; 2) auxiliary armies of the states/provinces called up in time of war, commanded by feudatories;²⁶ 3) warriors from different tribes within the kingdom, commanded by their chief or lord; and 4) auxiliary troops sent by allies, probably commanded by their officers (see Fig. 4). It was noted that the whole army was led by the king. The army was arranged hierarchically from the lowest to the uppermost. We know of the existence of corporals, literally ‘decurions’ (LU.10-li), in military service;²⁷ the other ranks in the Urartian army cannot be determined, but there are sufficient clues in Assyrian sources to indicate some senior and junior officers. These officers had real power in the army, even for dealing with a treason promoted by a cavalry captain.²⁸

Military Classes

Despite the uncertainty about ranks, we have some definite archaeological and philological evidence about the classes forming the army, although it is scarce and does not enable us to evaluate developments or changes according to reign. Images provide certain details²⁹ about the different military classes and, thanks to Urartian inscriptions, we know that the army was composed of three main bodies: chariotry, cavalry and the infantry: ‘Išpuini was mighty, Menua was mighty; in the army (there numbered): 106 chariots, 9174 horsemen, 2704 foot soldiers...’;³⁰ ‘Išpuini was mighty, Menua was mighty; in the army (there numbered): 66 chariots, 460 horsemen, 15,760 foot soldiers’.³¹

Chariotry. As in other military forces of the era, charioteers were an important unit. Although wheeled vehicles had been used for military purposes conceivably since the

²⁴ Melikishvili 1960, 27, column III.

²⁵ Melikishvili 1960, 264.

²⁶ This term does not equate directly to its mediaeval European equivalent. It is reminiscent rather of the *timar* and *zeamet* systems of Ottoman Anatolia.

²⁷ Belli and Salvini 2003, 150–51. See also ‘infantry’ here.

²⁸ Waterman 1936, no. 144.

²⁹ The authors are aware of the unsoundness of material such as belts and helmets on which the depictions occur. The pieces chosen for this study were selected amongst artefacts which can be accepted as ‘Urartian’ from both the iconographical and stylistic point of view. For a recent discussion of the reliability of Urartian metal artefacts, see Muscarella 2006; see also Muscarella 2000, 146–55.

³⁰ Melikishvili 1960, 24.

³¹ Melikishvili 1960, 21.

4th millennium BC, the emergence of the true chariot seems to have occurred at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC.³² Chariotry in Urartu displayed no differences from other 1st-millennium cultures in the Near East, especially those of Assyria and northern Syria.

Evidence about Urartian chariots rests on two main groups: depictions and actual finds of bronze chariot fittings. The early Urartian chariot was typified by relatively small wheels structured with thickened projections that formed part of the hub into which the spokes were inserted.³³ The earlier rims seem to have been composed of three to six portions, and although the transition from six to eight spokes reflects what was taking place in Assyria,³⁴ it is hard to prove this from depictions, where wheels with six spokes were sometimes still found on bronze artefacts.³⁵ However, there are sufficient clues to assume a distinction between the earlier (9th-century BC) and the later (8th-century BC) chariots,³⁶ especially in terms of the wheel and the yoke. The later wheels are larger, structured with eight instead of six spokes that were inserted directly into the hub. At the centre of the wheel, there is a relatively large roundel. The rim is composed of two concentric rings (the outer being wider). In the later phase, pole terminals curving upwards but otherwise plain replace the earlier type shaped like animal heads.³⁷ The axle-caps of earlier Urartian chariots were cylinders fitted with two opposed openings for the linchpin; later ones were formed of three parts: a large hemispherical boss protecting the axle end, a narrow intermediary section through which the linchpin passed, and a wider cylindrical part which sheathed the outer end of the hub.³⁸ The horses were reined by bits composed of two pieces: cheekpieces usually made of bronze, and mouthpieces of bronze or iron.³⁹ The differences between Urartian and Assyrian chariotry were in minor details: the Assyrian wheel had four clamps, the Urartians just two.⁴⁰

According to Urartian texts, charioteers never formed more than 1% of the whole army,⁴¹ with either two or three persons per chariot. Chariot warfare was based on the use of projectiles, generally arrows (Fig. 5), but we can also see javelins placed

³² See Littauer and Crouwel 1979: for the emergence of the wheeled vehicles and their development, 13–36; for chariots, 50–56, 74–81, 101–10.

³³ Merhav 1991b, 54.

³⁴ For chariotry in Assyria, see Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 101–10.

³⁵ Gündüz 2002, 801.

³⁶ For the development of Urartian chariots and technical information, see Merhav and Seidl 1991, 50–96. For the relation between Urartian and Assyrian chariotry, and interactions between Urartu and northern Syria, see Çilingiroğlu 1984, 50–60.

³⁷ Merhav 1991b, 58–59.

³⁸ Merhav 1991b, 60–61.

³⁹ Seidl 1991, 79.

⁴⁰ Seidl 1991, 59.

⁴¹ For discussion, see Zimansky 1985, 53–60, especially table 7.

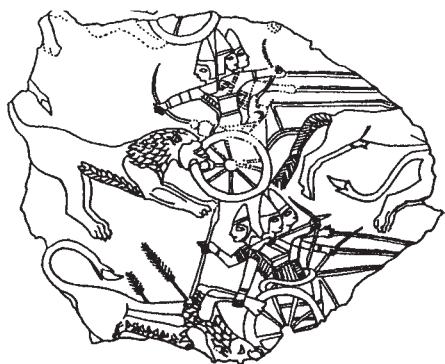


Fig. 5: Charioteers on bronze belt. From Kayalidere (after Burney 1966, 78; detail from fig. 10).

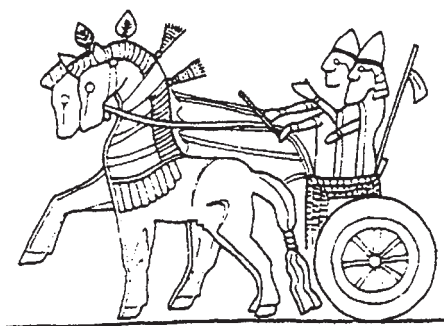


Fig. 6: Charioteers on bronze quiver. From Karmir-Blur. Yerevan Historical Museum, inv. no. 2303/7 (after Seidl 2004, 90; detail from fig. 56).

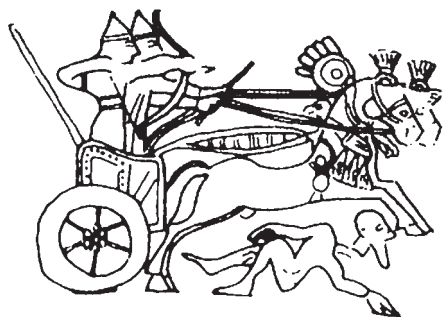


Fig. 7: Charioteers on bronze disc. Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum (after Calmayer and Seidl 1983, 105; detail from fig. 1).

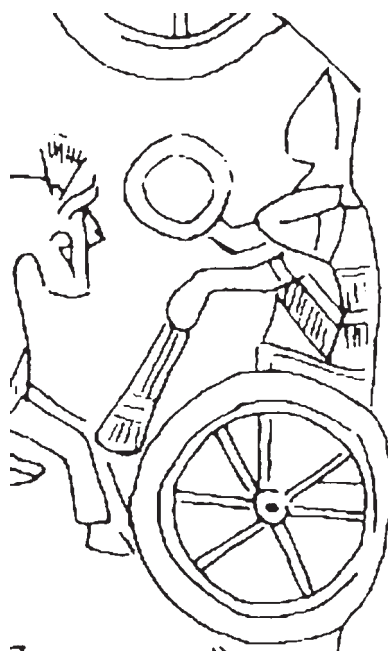


Fig. 8: Charioteer on bronze belt. Private collection, Akron, Ohio (after Seidl 2004, 153; detail from fig. 107).

at the back of the vehicles (Figs. 6–7). These depictions look quite similar to their Assyrian counterparts, and the Urartian charioteers carrying these weapons mostly looking upwards or downwards. In some examples, an obscure object is held by the warrior (Fig. 8); we interpret this as a sling. Unfortunately, no examples of baked or shaped sling-stones have been found in the excavations. The warriors were protected by a shield, generally carried by one of the soldiers in the chariot,⁴² and sometimes hung on the rear end.

Chariotry was not an ordinary branch in the army; it had always been the preserve of the aristocracy.⁴³ The tablet from Toprakkale,⁴⁴ on which different categories of person in the Urartian palace were enrolled, lists first the 1113 *mare*-men, then 104 *tardaše*-men and 1009 *kiri*-men. The second written source is the Karmir-Blur inscription, where the *mare*-men are mentioned as the owners of the *serhane*-house, and a class powerful enough to take part in sacrifices.⁴⁵ I.M. Diakonoff correlated them with the *marianna*-men in the Mitannian kingdom, and inferred that the *mare*-men were charioteers, members of one of the aristocratic warrior-classes in the Urartian palace.⁴⁶ This seems quite plausible, and the percentages related to this class support the idea: just 1% of the force in battle but nearly 20% of palace staff – a fair proportion for the nobility.

Cavalry. Horsemen form the principal military group depicted, not just because of the splendid appearance of the mounted image but on account of numerical preponderance, sometimes nearly triple the entire infantry, thanks to the attendance of auxiliary cavalry troops called up for battle from different tribes of the highlands. Such an organisation would provide a prompt military force at the least cost.

Bronze or iron bits were used to rein the horses as mentioned above. Horses, mounted or yoked to a chariot, were furnished with discs, blinkers, frontlets, breast-plates and collars, not only for protection but also for their charm (Fig. 9). Bells and some shoulder ornaments were sometimes added.⁴⁷ No depictions or finds indicate a saddle, pack or anything to perform this function, not even a blanket. Most

⁴² The circular object seen on some depictions above one of the three charioteers is clearly a shield carried by the royal guard in the chariot, probably not a 'halo' (for the second interpretation, see Sevin 2007).

⁴³ See Moorey 1986, especially 205–08.

⁴⁴ Melikishvili 1960, 286.

⁴⁵ Melikishvili 1971, 448. The inscription very likely belongs to the frontage of the undetermined temple in Karmir-Blur. This part of the inscription is lacking in Melikishvili 1971, and Payne translates *šurale* as 'Šurale Land' (see Payne 2006: 12.2.6). We follow Diakonoff 1991 for the translation and interpretation of the inscription.

⁴⁶ For the entire inscription and comments, see Diakonoff 1991.

⁴⁷ For details, see Seidl 1991.

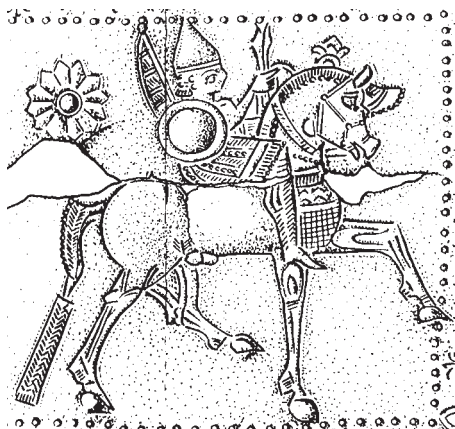


Fig. 9: Royal cavalry on bronze belt.
Munich, Prähistorische Staatsammlung
Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte,
inv. no. 1984.3579 (after Seidl 2004;
detail from pl. C1).



Fig. 10: Regular cavalry on bronze belt.
From Nor Areš (after Seidl 2004, 152;
detail from fig. 106).



Fig. 11: Regular cavalry on bronze quiver
from Karmir Blur. Yerevan Historical
Museum, inv. no. 2303/7
(after Seidl 2004, 90; detail from fig. 56).



Fig. 12: Regular cavalry on bronze belt.
Private collection, Akron, Ohio
(after Seidl 2004, 153; detail from fig. 107).



Fig. 13: Cavalry archer on bronze belt. Munich, Prähistorische Staatsammlung Museum für Vor -und Frühgeschichte, inv. no. 1985.522 (after Kellner 1991a, pl. 46; detail from fig. 182).



Fig. 14: Cavalry archers on bronze belt. Private collection, Akron, Ohio (after Seidl 2004, 153; detail from fig. 107).

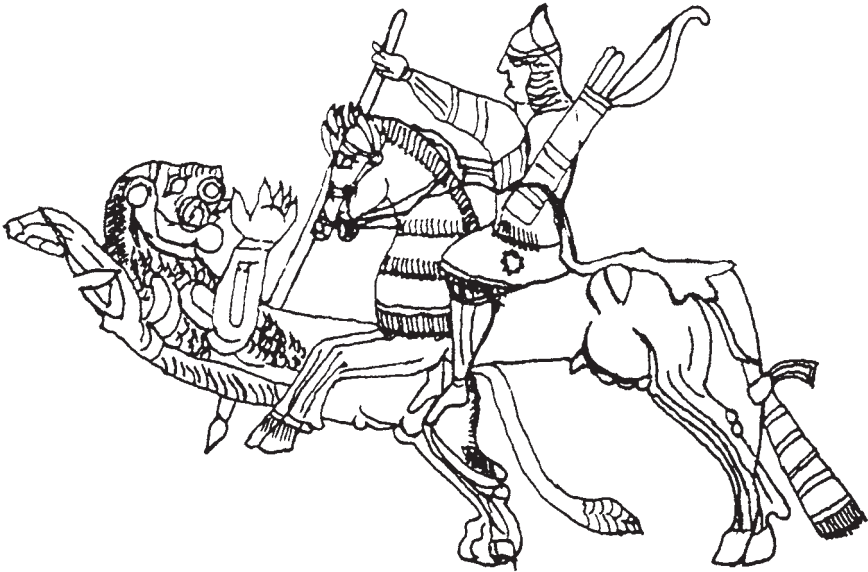


Fig. 15: Royal cavalry on bronze belt. Diyarbakır Museum (after Çavuşoğlu 2003, 23; detail from fig. 3).

probably on this account, the soldiers seem to be gripping the horses with their thighs on the shoulder of their mounts (compare Figs. 9–15).

Based on depictions, mounted troops can be divided into two sub-groups: regular cavalry and the cavalry-archers. In the main, the former carry long spears, usually more than one. Cavalcades portray these men with one or two lances in one hand and a shield on their shoulder (Figs. 10–11). In representations of combat, the warriors use their arms as javelins, sometimes throwing their weapons on horseback, with javelins in each hand (Fig. 12). It is surprising that there are no depictions of cavalymen jousting with lances.

The cavalry archers are rarely depicted. Attack scenes display the mounted bowmen in action, both in frontal and Parthian shots (Fig. 13). Very occasionally, there are two men on a horse, the one carrying the quiver and probably riding it, the other shooting (Fig. 14). Urartian cavalry of both types seems to have been used to fire projectiles rather than engage in close combat. Indeed, all evidence shows that the mounted units of the Urartian army, cavalry and chariotry, were deployed as mobile launching platforms.

A battle scene involving these units would probably look like a javelin competition (*cirit*) of a sort still encountered in eastern Anatolia, rather than the hand-to-hand scrimmage of the Middle Ages. The lines in the battle order must have varied, of course, according to the range of the units: while the shifting cavalry archer was harassing the enemy from a longer range, chariots could hunt the enemy from a safe distance; finally, mounted javelin-throwers would break the enemy lines with brisk hit-and-run raids. Certainly, conditions could change during the heat of battle, and the warriors, like their modern counterparts, would discard pre-arranged strategies and use any tactics or weapons in a bid to survive.

Records of the eighth campaign of Sargon II give us information about warriors, especially cavalry, from the Urartian nobility. The structure of these men is clarified in The Letter to Assur: 'His noblemen, counsellors who stand before him, I shattered their arms in the battle; them and their horses I captured. 260 of his royal kin, who were his officers, governors and cavalry, I captured and broke their resistance...'.⁴⁸ In another text, there is a shorter definition for this caste: '260 of his royal seed, who constituted his cavalry, I captured...'.⁴⁹ The reference to soldiers from the 'royal seed' is to a class of elite warriors chosen from among the tribesmen or clansmen of the monarch himself, and written evidence supports the existence of such a class, at least as landowners: 'On my march I came to Arbu, the city of the father's house of Ursa, and Riar, the city of Ishtar-duri, seven cities of their neighbourhood

⁴⁸ Luckenbill 1927, 154.

⁴⁹ Luckenbill 1927, 20.

in which dwell his brothers, his royal seed, with strong defences, – those cities I destroyed, I levelled to the ground...'.⁵⁰ We do not know the structure of the Urartian noble cavalymen, though Sargon's description of his 'own' elite cavalry gives us an idea: '1000 fierce horsemen, bearers of bow, shield and lance, my brave warriors, trained for battle'.⁵¹ Despite the lack of written sources, several Urartian depictions of these soldiers point to the character of this branch of cavalry: in Fig. 9, the mounted soldier has two lances (javelins) in one hand, a shield on his other arm, and a quiver on his back. Fig. 15 depicts a royal hunting scene with an armoured cavalryman, a quiver with its bow on his back, thrusting a lance into a lion: that is to say, all the arms that Sargon listed for his own elite forces.⁵² It is reasonable to think of these Urartian noble cavalymen, who stem from the king's tribe or clan, as the heavy cavalry or the royal cavalry of the Urartian army.

Urartian written sources on the identity of noble warriors are no more satisfactory than those about other subjects, but the existence of a social class related to the weapons is clear. Like *mare*-men, the term *šurale* appears in the Toprakkale tablet and the Karmir-Blur inscriptions as the epithet of a group in the palace who had the privilege of making sacrifices in the *susi* temples.⁵³ The name of the group, *šurale*, comes from *šuri* (literally lance/sword-men), and most likely designates a noble class of the royal guards or elite warriors in royal service. If the evidence in Assyrian and Urartian sources is taken into consideration, it might be possible to regard the *šurale* as the royal heavy cavalry, whom we hardly ever hear of or see. Who better could attend the Urartian royal family than fully armed 'fierce' but noble cavaliers from the same line?

Infantry. The main force of the Urartian army was naturally the infantry, even though outnumbered by the cavalry. They were not categorised in Urartian inscriptions, but the depictions give information about three classes of footmen: spearmen, swordsmen/shield-bearers and archers.

Urartian spearmen consisted of two groups: the first group carried spears as long as a man (Figs. 16–17). They held their weapons with both hands and bore a shield on their backs. The second group seems to be more flexible: their spears were approximately two-thirds the height of a man, convenient for thrusting at short range and for throwing (Fig. 18), held in one hand; their shields were either raised

⁵⁰ Luckenbill 1927, 165.

⁵¹ Luckenbill 1927, 166.

⁵² For a similar depiction, see Kellner 1991b, 151, fig. 9.

⁵³ For discussion, see Diakonoff 1991. For a recent discussion on the meaning of *šurale*, see Payne and Ceylan 2003, especially 197–99.



Fig. 16: Heavy infantry on bronze belt from Nor Areš (after Seidl 2004, 152; detail from fig. 106).

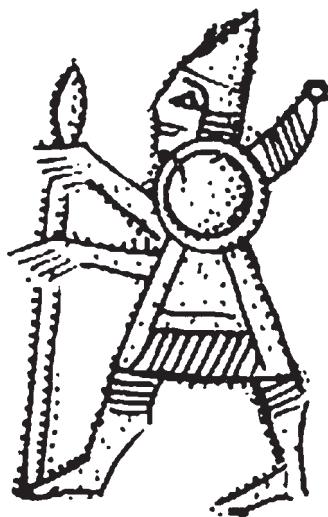


Fig. 17: Heavy infantry on bronze belt. Munich, Prähistorische Staatsammlung Museum für Vor -und Frühgeschichte (after Seidl 2004; detail from pl. C1).

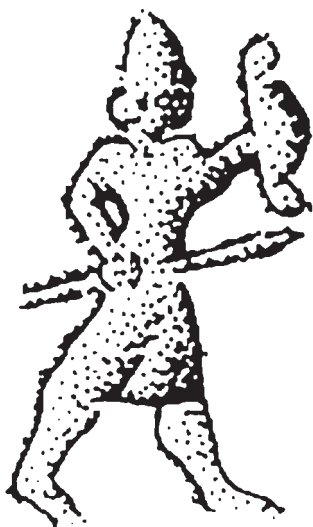


Fig. 18: Skirmisher on bronze belt. Munich, Prähistorische Staatsammlung Museum für Vor -und Frühgeschichte, inv. no. 1971.1781 (after Kellner 1991b, 144; detail from fig. 1).



Fig. 19: Shield-bearer on bronze belt. Munich, Prähistorische Staatsammlung Museum für Vor -und Frühgeschichte, inv. no. 1971.1781 (after Kellner 1991b, 144; detail from fig. 1).

in the other hand or shouldered with a leather or rope strap. The main difference between the groups must have been functional, with the first group probably deployed as heavy infantry, and the second swiftly in rapid skirmishes.

It is surprising to have so few swordsmen depicted (Fig. 19). All examples of this unit bear shields; they can even be labelled as shield-bearers since we can see no drawn swords, even in close battle. The swordsmen were presumably not assault units but soldiers for defence, and were equipped to survive rather than to charge and attack. Swords must have been used in close combat, especially at the height of battle, although the depictions indicate that, as for many traditional peoples of the region, these dagger-like weapons were mostly ornamental or prestige accessories: they were seldom discovered in fortresses, but rather in burials.⁵⁴

Archers formed an essential unit in the military structure of the 1st millennium BC, and Urartu was no exception. The bow-and-arrow was the most effective conventional weapon, and was probably carried by both regulars and auxiliaries/irregulars. The different types of this weapon, of wood or reed, were easily and cheaply produced.

Most images of soldiers show archers in various postures: drawing their bows bending on one knee (Fig. 20), standing (Fig. 21), on parade, carrying their bows and arrows (Fig. 22), etc. Like the javelin-throwing cavalry, some archers carry two arrows in one hand. Quivers were generally carried on the back and sometimes hung on belts. Bowmen, including the cavalry archers, used mainly triangular, recurved or convex bows, three of the types used in the 1st-millennium BC Near East.⁵⁵

A clay tablet unearthed in the Upper Anzaf fortress lists a group of soldiers and the weapons sent to them:

To Unkanu: 30 arrows, 1 bow. To Nurubi: 30 arrows, 1 bow. To Uruadi: 22 arrows, 1 bow. To Arilutuqu: 30 arrows. To Huštu: 20 arrows, 1 bow. To Urueda: 20 arrows. To Urdi: 20 arrows, 1 bow. To Nudu: 20 arrows, 1 bow. To Eriuqu: 30 arrows, 2 bows. To Aza, the decurion: 20 arrows, 1 bow. To Urtu, the man of the god, 30 arrows, 1 bow. To Işpiqulu: 30 arrows. To KikaMAH: 30 arrows, 1 bow, 1 lance. To Šuišha: 30 arrows, 1 bow. To Urdini: 30 arrows, 1 bow.⁵⁶

The number of weapons delivered to the warriors is not consistent. Some, like Arilutuqu, Işpiqulu and Uruada, were given arrows but no bow, and it is hard to explain why the decurion Aza was given only 20 arrows, fewer than some of the nine soldiers listed before him for whom he was responsible. The soldiers listed can easily be accepted as archers, and one can assume the weapons were delivered in case of

⁵⁴ For a recent work on Urartian swords, see Biber 2005.

⁵⁵ 79% of the depicted bows are convex, and the rest are recurved (see Zutterman 2003, 135).

⁵⁶ Belli and Salvini 2003, 150.



Fig. 20: Archer on bronze belt.
From Dedeli, Patnos
(after Seidl 2004;
detail from pl. B2).



Fig. 21: Archer on bronze belt
(after Seidl 2004, 154;
detail from fig. 109).



Fig. 22: Archer in parade, on
bronze belt. Munich, Prähis-
torische Staatsammlung
Museum für Vor -und Früh-
geschichte, inv. no. 1971.1781
(after Kellner 1991b, 144;
detail from fig. 1).

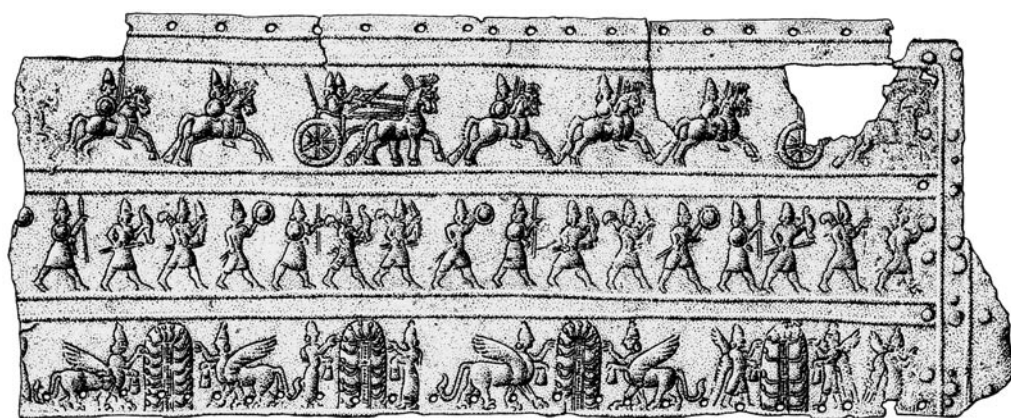


Fig. 23: Parade scene on bronze belt, Munich, Prähistorische Staatsammlung Museum für
Vor -und Frühgeschichte, inv. no. 1971.1781
(after Kellner 1991b, 144, fig. 1).

sudden attack or danger,⁵⁷ but the number of arrows and bows mentioned above is too small for the defence of a fortress, and this unique tablet does not explain why the distribution was made to the fortress personnel. An army should not be armed on sudden occasions, rather it needs a stock of arms to respond to any sudden outbreak or commotion. The soldier KikaMAH was given a *šuri* besides 30 arrows and a bow, which makes us think that the uncommonness was not in the situation of the fortress but in the soldier himself. It is much more likely that these weapons were given to warriors as a decoration for gallantry or promotion, or that they were only the 'service weapons' of the soldiers, given by the higher ranks to be carried on duty. There is also the possibility that these were never used and were kept as relics of the state.⁵⁸

Parade scenes on a unique fragmentary bronze belt present the possible battle order – and hierarchy – subsisting in the Urartian army, from right to left (Fig. 23). The upper row displays a charioteer and cavalymen respectively, and repeats the scene subsequently. In the middle row, again from right to left, a shield bearer (swordsmen), an archer, a skirmisher and a spearman are depicted in order, correspondingly repeated. Although this order need not have been constant, it demonstrates the different classes of infantry in the same procession, and confirms the distinctions we have tried to make above. It appears quite realistic for an army in battle order, deployed for a regular pitched battle: shields in the very first row against projectiles, then ranged units and, last of all, close fighters.

The general accoutrements of the soldiers do not reveal any strict distinctions. Soldiers from all branches wear pointed helmets,⁵⁹ both elaborate⁶⁰ and plain (Fig. 24), made of iron or mostly bronze.⁶¹ Bronze helmets were produced by casting, or shaping one or two plates by swaging.⁶² The chap was protected by ear flaps,⁶³ and nearly all depictions indicate a thin chain mail or (probably) cloth band for the protection of the neck and the nape: no examples of chain mail have been discovered, but textile remains have been found *in situ* in the helmets.⁶⁴ A metal attachment on the helmets could not have been found today, and the helmets lack the requisite holes for such an attachment. The head must have been preserved from blows with the

⁵⁷ Belli and Salvini 2003, 152.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of the tablet, see Çilingiroğlu 2006, 238–39.

⁵⁹ Despite Assyrian depictions, no Urartian figures show a crested helmet, and hardly any examples have been unearthed. For crested helmets, see Seidl 2004, pls. 8a–c.

⁶⁰ The general decorative style seen on Urartian helmets is the 'thunder' motif (see Dezsö 2001, 80–81), and the other Urartian decoration patterns, incised or embossed (Çilingiroğlu 1997, 116–17; Calmeyer 1991, 123–24).

⁶¹ For Urartian helmets, see Seidl 2004, 64–84.

⁶² Biber 2005, 107; Calmeyer 1991, 123.

⁶³ See Seidl 2004, 67 and plate 7d–e.

⁶⁴ Ayanis excavation records, information provided by Altan Çilingiroğlu.



Fig. 24: Pointed bronze helmets from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 25: Two types of iron spearheads from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 26: Iron spearheads from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 27: Various iron arrowheads from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 28: Bronze arrowheads from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).

help of a leather or felt skullcap. The body was protected by a mail blouse, made of small plates bound together through slots.

A tunic, a uniform of all Urartian soldiers, was worn on or under the mail, or on its own. The tunic was girt with a belt, obvious on all kinds of depictions.⁶⁵ Offensive arms, arrows and lances generate the major group of finds among the Urartian assemblage, and this provides a direct analogy with the figurative scenes. Nearly 95% of spearheads found by excavation exhibit a blade length of between 15 and 20 cm.⁶⁶ The rest have a blade length of 20–30 cm.⁶⁷ From what we know from depictions of spears, the first group must have come from the regular spears of the infantry, cavalry and chariotry; the second might have belonged to the longer lances, carried in two hands by the heavy infantry or cavalry (for comparison, see Figs. 25–26).

Arrowheads were multifarious: solid, leaf-shaped, one-barbed, two-barbed, socketed, bilobate and trilobate (Figs. 27–28).⁶⁸ There is a considerable quantity of bone arrowheads – for instance, at least 1047 examples unearthed in Yoncatepe.⁶⁹ It is not clear if different kinds of arrowhead were used for different purposes, and one has to keep in mind the existence of sharpened wooden or reed arrows without a projectile point. The arrows seem to have been classified according to type and put into the quivers accordingly. From Ayanis, we now know that all of them could have been carried in the same leather or wicker quivers,⁷⁰ in contrast with the bronze (Fig. 29) or unique iron quivers (Fig. 30) found in the excavations.⁷¹ The quivers were produced from bronze plates, bent into the shape of an open tube 70 cm in length and 10 cm in diameter. The base was soldered with a bronze disc, and the open part closed by leather. Two rings were added to the quivers for leather or string cords.⁷²

Our evidence about Urartian shields is based largely on examples discovered that are made of bronze (Figs. 31–32).⁷³ These reasonably heavy pieces were probably

⁶⁵ Urartian belts create a special group of finds. For a study of these, see Kellner 1991a; but see also Muscarella 2000, 53; 2006, especially 151–75.

⁶⁶ For spearheads, see Wartke 1990, 123–26; Barnett 1959, 7–8; Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 155–57.

⁶⁷ For comparative charts of Ayanis examples, see Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 155–57.

⁶⁸ Urartian arrowheads. For Kayalıdere: Burney 1966, pl. XIId, XIIIa, fig. 21, nos. 8–12; for Toprakkale: Wartke 1990, 226–33; for Karmir-Blur: Barnett 1959, 11; van Loon 1966, 114; Piotrovskii 1952, 28; for Bastam: Kroll 1988, 80; for Ayanis: Derin and Muscarella 2001.

⁶⁹ Belli *et al.* 2006.

⁷⁰ Ayanis excavation records, by permission of Altan Çilingiroğlu.

⁷¹ For the iron quiver, see Çilingiroğlu 2006. For Urartian quivers from Toprakkale, see Barnett 1972, 171; for Karmir-Blur, see Piotrovskii 1969, figs. 85–86; van Loon 1966, 121; Barnett and Watson 1957, 135, 139, pl. 31.1; for Kayalıdere, see Burney 1966, pl. XVIIIb–c, fig. 18, 6a–b.

⁷² Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 158; Çilingiroğlu 1997, 119–21.

⁷³ For the shields from Karmir-Blur and Toprakkale, see Piotrovskii 1967, 45, pls. 21–23; for Kayalıdere, see Burney 1966, pl. XXIIb–c, figs. 20–24.



Fig. 29: Bronze quiver from Ayanis. Van Museum
(Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 30: Iron quiver from Ayanis. Van Museum
(Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 31: Tin-plated shield from Ayanis. Van Museum
(Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).

produced, like the lion-headed one unearthed in Ayanis (Fig. 33), for ceremonial and dedicative purposes,⁷⁴ akin to the 25,212 small and large specimens mentioned in the spoil list of Musasir.⁷⁵ The smaller ones, with no decoration and a dimension of 60–80 cm, could also have been used effectively in battle, but the depictions showing shields carried in one hand suggest that most were made of cane or wood.⁷⁶ Bronze umbos in the centre of these shields were probably their mainstay. Empty pointed umbos (Fig. 34) could easily have been attached to bronze or organic shields,⁷⁷ and create minacious shields with teeth, like the ones hung on the backs of chariots or carried by the gods (Fig. 2).

Size of the Army and Recruiting

The regular Urartian army falls into two main categories: a professional standing army, and provincial forces called up for campaigns.⁷⁸ The professional forces were composed of 'soldiers', most probably commanded by an aristocratic warrior-class (as discussed above), and employed permanently with such ordinary military tasks as guarding the city, intelligence gathering, public security and patrolling borders. The severe winter months, in which the king could not campaign, must have formed a respite for the soldiery, with combat training and, perhaps, war games.⁷⁹ They were stationed mostly in the capital, Tušpa, and in fortresses or posts throughout the country. The soldiers dwelt in the outer town, in accommodation built by the state, although the upper classes lived in the fortress. The building with buttresses in the Pınarbaşı sector of the outer town of Ayanis, differing clearly from domestic buildings in other areas,⁸⁰ may be thought of as a small barracks for both the soldiers and their animals.⁸¹ The coarse quality of the ceramics from this part of the outer town⁸² supports the idea. The same was proposed for some of the buildings in the Karmir-Blur outer town,⁸³ and for the entire town of Aznavurtepe.⁸⁴

The second unit, provincial armies, was probably the most important component of the military forces: it was not only a company of armed men in time of

⁷⁴ Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 161–62.

⁷⁵ Luckenbill 1927, 173.

⁷⁶ Belli 1998, 53–54.

⁷⁷ Merhav 1991a, 138. For a similar discussion and the unearthed umbos, see Belli 2007.

⁷⁸ 'Sarduri speaks: ... Three provincial governors were called out. In three places I carried out a campaign...' (Melikishvili 1960, 55 E).

⁷⁹ Taffet 1999, 379.

⁸⁰ Stone and Zimansky 2001, 363.

⁸¹ Information supplied by Altan Çilingiroğlu.

⁸² Stone and Zimansky 2001, 362.

⁸³ Martirosyan 1964, 265–66.

⁸⁴ Burney and Lawson 1960, 189–95.



Fig. 32: Interior of a bronze shield from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 33: Lion-headed shield from Ayanis. Van Museum (Ayanis excavation archive, by permission of A. Çilingiroğlu).



Fig. 34: Bronze shield umbo. Les Arcs, Marcel Ebnöther Collection (after Merhav 1991a, 139, fig. 21).

war, it was one of the main labour forces in agriculture and stockbreeding. Provincial governors had real power in their regions and ruled large areas, that is to say, larger than many of the Neo-Hittite states: 'Sarduri says: I appointed Zaia(ni) as governor of the land up to the city of Melitea, up to the city of Qu[maha (?)], up to the city of Nihiria in the land of Ar[me], and up to the land of Hašime[], in order to keep order.'⁸⁵ There is enough evidence to assume a firm system of landholding in the Urartian kingdom, and the governors of provinces were at the same time feudatories, appointed as recruiters or army commanders. This tradition has a long history in Anatolia, going back to the Hittite period at least, as we know of the Hittite caste of 'Man of Weapon' (lu^{GIŠ}tukul), a military class taming the land assigned to them and nurturing their own foodstuff unless they were called to arms.⁸⁶ The often seen phrase 'I assembled warriors' refers to the provincial armies called up for war, and the contribution of these forces to the professional army must have been crucial for campaigns.⁸⁷ Indeed, without the armies of the provincial governors, the king had to take action with only his regular troops: 'Sarduri speaks: I sent out armies, not a single one of the governors of the provinces were called upon and with only one detachment, I took the field against the land of Uelikuni...'.⁸⁸

These provincial armies were naturally supported by the settlers of those provinces, that is to say the people living in or around the provincial centres (probably native inhabitants of conquered regions, or people sent from the homeland, but mostly incomers captured during or after battle who had been deported to the new province from a distance).⁸⁹ It is obvious that an uncertain number of deported men were thought to serve in military forces: 'Menua says:... of the land of Alzini, 2113 persons during (this) year, some of whom I killed, others I carried off alive; the men from that number I sent back to the army...'.⁹⁰ This quotation gives no numbers for the men consigned to the army; later sources give more detailed figures and categorise the captives more thoroughly. The important point is that enemy soldiers were captured alive and brought into state service. Argišti I had taken 10,140 warriors from the lands of Eriahi, Apuni and

⁸⁵ Payne and Sevin 2001, 115.

⁸⁶ Bryce 2002, 75. The infantry in the early Ottoman period, during the rule of Orhan Bey, also cultivated land in peacetime (Taneri 2003, 184).

⁸⁷ For an example, during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, the core army of 50,000 men was expanded by four times through the presence of provincial levies to reach 200,000 (Lybyer 2000, 102).

⁸⁸ Melikishvili 1960, 155 E.

⁸⁹ For mass deportations in the Urartian state, see Çilingiroğlu 1983.

⁹⁰ Melikishvili 1960, 28.

Uiteruhi.⁹¹ The same sovereign talks about enemy warriors, whom he forced to settle in a new fortress:

The city of Irepuini I built for the power of the land of Biainili (and) for the suppression of an enemy land. The earth was a wilderness; nothing had been built there. I accomplished mighty deeds there. 6600 warriors of the lands of Hate and Šupani I settled there...⁹²

This practice was not peculiar to Argišti I, since we know that Sarduri II deported 6000 warriors from Mana land,⁹³ 4000 warriors from the lands of Irkua, Ueirda and Puinialhi,⁹⁴ and 2000 warriors from the Urme land.⁹⁵ The idea of this exercise was pragmatic: deportees or settlers from far lands were the most faithful subjects of the state during its history, for they owed their existence directly to the endurance of its authority. Warriors from enemy lands would help the establishment of power in 'hot spots' by serving their new lords, so they would remain as citizens of the state, instead of being enslaved, castrated or slaughtered. Their faith was appreciated by the king and the gods, but also by worldly means; they were definitely part of the loot:

Sarduri speaks: ...7150 persons during that year, some of whom I smote, others I carried off alive; 500 horses I led away, as well as 8560 head of large-horned and 25,170 head of small-horned cattle. All this was sufficient unto the king, but what the warriors seized, they led away on their behalf, when I abandoned the country...⁹⁶

They would transmit their loyalty and behaviour to their kin in the second generation, who would be unlikely to prove rebellious. Not only veteran warriors but other male captives, especially young men, must have been channelled into the provincial armies.⁹⁷ In particular, young men/boys trained for royal service from infancy would create a perfect group of stout soldiers free of parental, ethnic and religious roots or affiliations. These, different from the mature warriors, could easily form a firm part of the regular army, especially in the border provinces.

⁹¹ '... I came upon the land of Eriahi, I took (the field) against the land of Apuni, I conquered the city of Urieiuni, the royal city of Uiteruhi. 19,255 boys, 10,140 warriors living, 23,280 women, in all 52,675 persons during that year, some of them I killed, others I carried off alive...' (Melikishvili 1960, 127 I).

⁹² Melikishvili 1960, 127 II.

⁹³ Melikishvili 1960, 155 A.

⁹⁴ Melikishvili 1960, 155 A.

⁹⁵ Melikishvili 1960, 155 A.

⁹⁶ Melikishvili 1960, 155 C. For similar inscriptions, see Melikishvili 1960, 155; Salvini 1980; Dinçol 1976.

⁹⁷ Çilingiroğlu 1983, 313.

The system was not unique. Something similar persisted in Anatolia until the last phases of the Ottoman empire, under the name of *devşirme*, known mostly for the legendary warriors, the Janissaries (*yeniçeri*).⁹⁸ Furthermore, it was not only the 'professional' soldiers selected among the deportees but also immigrants such as Albanians and Circassians who proved to be the most loyal groups in the service of the Ottoman state – much more loyal, indeed, than native ethnic groups, for they had lost all connections with their homeland and mostly with each other, and could barely survive without the state as protector. What is more, they made no demands for land or administrative rights, and they would even fight on the side of the state against native insubordination. The same system had already been shown to be practical, and was fully realised during the 1st millennium BC by states contemporary with Urartu; as Sargon II remarks: '... and the rebellious people of Carchemish... I carried off and brought to Assyria. 50 chariots, 200 steeds (or cavalrymen), 300 foot soldiers, I selected from among them and added them to my royal host...'.⁹⁹

Unfortunately, the written and figurative evidence given above does not elucidate the knotty issue of the size of the army, essential for assessing the Urartian state. During the joint reign of Iṣpuini–Menua, the campaign on Meišta was undertaken with 11,984 warriors (charioteers, cavalry and infantry).¹⁰⁰ The total number of soldiers in the northern campaign of Menua was approximately 17,286.¹⁰¹ These numbers give the size of the campaigning forces, but not of the entire army: an important part of the military forces must have been left in reserve against potential rebellions and sudden external aggression. It is possible that most of the provinces were mobilised only in exceptional conditions, and that just two or three of them may have been called up, for logistical reasons most probably those closest to the possible battlefield: the total Urartian military force was at least triple that of the mobilised forces.

The proportion of captured and deported 'warriors' in the entire Urartian army also remains obscure. With the help of the mass deportations, 16,740 'warriors' were recruited during the reign of Argišti I¹⁰² and 12,000 under Sarduri II.¹⁰³ If the deported 'young men' and 'boys' were also the future staff of the Urartian army, at least one-third of the Urartian army may be considered as of deportee origin.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ The Ottoman empire took Christian children from the countryside of the conquered regions. These were trained as soldiers (Janissaries), and could even be promoted as army commanders (Lybyer 2000, 48–51).

⁹⁹ Luckenbill 1927, 8. For a similar inscription, see Luckenbill 1927, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Melikishvili 1960, 24.

¹⁰¹ Melikishvili 1960, 21. The missing number $x460$ is estimated with the minimal value of $x = 1000$.

¹⁰² Melikishvili 1960, 127.

¹⁰³ Melikishvili 1960, 155.

¹⁰⁴ The same practice can easily be traced for the Hittite (MacQueen 2001, 83), Assyrian (Oded 1979, 48) and Ottoman empires (Taneri 2003, 186; Lybyer 2000, 56).

At a rough estimate, the total strength of the Urartian army in the reign of Menua was 52,000 soldiers. Through augmentation in the number of the deported people, this figure would have increased under Arğiști I and Sarduri II, parallel to the large-scale campaigns, to a total of some 70,000–80,000. An inscription from the reign of Sarduri II about the total number of the Urartian army gives the number of 352,011 soldiers.¹⁰⁵ This sounds much exaggerated: the regular army of Sargon the Akkadian is known to have been 5400 men;¹⁰⁶ Muwatalli II, the Hittite king, had mobilised an army of 47,500 for the battle in Kadesh against Ramses II;¹⁰⁷ Byzantium had an army of 150,000 soldiers at its zenith;¹⁰⁸ and the entire Ottoman army in 16th century numbered approximately 220,000.¹⁰⁹ When one considers these numbers, that of 352,011 loses all credibility. There is of course the possibility that the Urartian king was propagandising, but the exactness of the number may refer to something else: it may measure the pool available for military service at any one time, namely all men between 15 and 45 years, rather than the regular military forces.¹¹⁰ In all events, the entire army could have numbered 100,000 soldiers at the very most, an approximate figure for the Urartian military forces in their heyday.

Commentary

Monarchy in Mesopotamia was based mainly upon large-scale agricultural production and a network of long-distance trade, which provided legitimacy for the actual and applicant governing classes, creating its own tradition going back to the 4th millennium BC at least. The same can be suggested for the precursors of the Hittite kings of central Anatolia, the rulers of the cities being nourished by both agrarian fecundity and, particularly, the taxes provided by the Mesopotamian trade network. The formation of a real aristocracy and ruling castes in the Urartian heartland cannot be traced back beyond the very earliest phases of the Urartian state, and it is obvious that suzerainty in these lands did not lie in a background similar to its coevals or antecedents.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Melikishvili 1960, 155 G.

¹⁰⁶ Nissen 2004, 195.

¹⁰⁷ Bryce 2003, 118; Beal 1992, 292.

¹⁰⁸ Yıldız 1982, 554.

¹⁰⁹ Halaçoğlu 1982, 77. For the number of 200,000, see Lybyer 2000, 102.

¹¹⁰ For a detailed study of these numbers, see Diakonoff 1991.

¹¹¹ Archaeological research has revealed that the emergence of complex societies in Transcaucasia came about through the diversification of an elite caste from mobile pastoralist communities (Smith *et al.* 2004, 4). The typical Early Iron Age, or Pre-Urartian fortresses built at high altitudes in Transcaucasia clearly display a hierarchical political pattern, which would be changed with the Urartian invasion. (For the Early Iron Age fortresses, see Avetisyan *et al.* 2000, 19; Smith and Kafadarian 1996, 23; Smith 1999, 53; 2003; Sanamyan 2002, 331–35; Biscione 2002; 2003. For a recent consideration of the Urartian invasion to the north, see Ozan 2006). The craggy landscape surrounding the

The Urartian monarchy had to create a tradition of its own, including aristocratic classes and even a religion, in order to establish a peculiar basis to its legitimacy. There is little doubt that the promoters of the Urartian state were in fact 'warriors', and the primary social institution, a 'caste of warriors', may have arisen spontaneously. The monarch was the unchallengeable leader of these elites, and had his divine parallel, Haldi, the holy warrior leading the armies with his gleaming weapon. The subordinates of the god, like those of the king, were also warriors. Even the divinities of distant lands were not spurned: they were armed and enrolled under the god Haldi, like their worshippers who were deported to the kingdom and given to the service of royalty. The organisation scheme of the elite warrior-class seems to have been consubstantial with the ideological, especially the religious structure.

The army was divided into units such as chariotry, cavalry and, of course, regular infantry, the main indicator of a state organisation (see Fig. 4). The dynastic warrior elite definitely took their place in this as chariot warriors and royal cavalry guards. For the first time in history, the highlands of eastern Anatolia, north-western Iran and Transcaucasia may have been united with the glue of an 'indigenous' and strong military caste. The Urartian army was, of course, a combination of rage, brutality and the blade, but not only this; it was a system as a whole, showing itself in architecture, agriculture and huge ethnic and demographic movements – in short, the transformation of a semi-nomadic way of life into a civilised one. The realisation of this system gave the highlanders of this region the chance to resist the Assyrian imperialism, then to create their own *imperium* and make it last for about 250 years. Urartians disappeared with the collapse of the system, and were mentioned but occasionally, again in warlike contexts: the Persians knew them as 'Chaldaeans', struggling against the Armenians in the highlands (Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 3). Xenophon portrays these mountain tribes, attacking both Armenians and Greeks: 'Chaldaeans were said to be an independent and valiant people; they had as weapons long wicker shields and lances' (*Anabasis* 4. 3. 4; 5. 5. 17). The quotation below is like a summary of this work:

Now the Chaldaeans were said to be the most warlike of all the tribes in that country, and each of them was armed with a shield and a brace of javelins. They fight for pay

fortresses preserved these political centres from invaders and opponents (Smith 2003, 170), and the early fortress-states had the chance to establish cultic complexes such as in Metsamor (Khanzandian *et al.* 1973, 196), and make the economic developments experienced in Metsamor and Horom (see Khanzandian *et al.* 1973, 196; Smith 1999, 63; Badaljan *et al.* 1994, 21). Despite this evidence from the northern borders of Urartu, our knowledge about the heartland is scarce, and it is hard to talk of central politic patterns and fortress-states on mountain peaks, or a ruling class establishing hegemony on the agricultural plains. We have some Assyrian annals from the reigns of Salmanasar I and Tiglat-Pileser I mentioning fortresses on mountain peaks, and some Early Iron Age cemeteries, but we are still far away from forming an understanding of Pre-Urartian political structures in the Urartian heartland.

wherever they are needed, partly because they are warriors born, but partly through poverty; for their country is mountainous, and the fertile part of it small (Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 3. 2. 7).

This is possibly the last time the three relics of the Urartian culture – god, army and the state – were brought together in one place. But this was long after the time ‘when the hurly-burly’s done, when the battle’s lost and won’.

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IRANISCHE FEUERTEMPEL: GENESE, ENTWICKLUNG UND FUNKTION

ANNEGRET PLONTKE-LÜNING

Abstract

For more than a century the roots, origins and precise functions of so-called Iranian fire temples of the pre-Sasanian period have been a matter of controversy. The aim of the paper is to describe the structure and functions of the buildings which are considered to be the oldest fire temples. They are characterised by a construction with four pillars in the centre of a room surrounded by other rooms. It seems probable that the type originates in Achaemenid palace architecture with its four-pillared rooms, and that its origins are connected with new forms of religious life developed after the Macedonian conquest of Iran. Before then there was no demand for a specific type of temple building for the Iranian cult of fire: it was executed on open terraces. The first buildings of the four-pillar type, which survive particularly in peripheral regions of ancient Iran, such as Bactria or Caucasian Iberia, were not exclusively fire temples – other goddesses were worshipped there too. The best example is the Oxus temple in southern Tajikistan where, beneath the cult of fire, the river god Oxus was worshipped. Even in the temples of Iberia we can recognise the veneration of personified gods beneath the fire cult. The exclusive and very rigid fire cult seems to have been the result of the strong religious policy of the early Sasanids, especially of the great priest Kirdir.

Aus dem weiten Bereich iranischer Herrschaft in Vorder- und Zentralasien (Abb. 1) sind bislang 82 Bauten bekannt, die als Feuertempel interpretiert worden sind.¹ Von diesen entstanden 54 zweifelsfrei in der Epoche der Sasanidendynastie (223/24–642 n. Chr.). Nur die übrigen 28 Anlagen können verbunden werden mit dem weit- aus längeren Zeitraum von der Mitte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. bis zur Machtübernahme der Sasaniden 223/24 n. Chr., der die Herrschaft der Achämenidendynastie (559–331 v. Chr.), der makedonischen Seleukidendynastie (330 bzw. 305 bis 125 v. Chr.) und der Dynastie der arsakidischen Parther (247/38 v. Chr. bis 223/24 n. Chr.) umfaßt.

Für die frühen Bauten liegen unterschiedliche Datierungsansätze und Funktionszuweisungen vor. Daher werden hier, ausgehend von der Betrachtung einiger charakteristischer Bauten, Überlegungen zu Genese, Entwicklung und Funktionsweise dieses spezifischen Typus antiker Tempel vorgestellt.

¹ Der Text ist die leicht überarbeitete Fassung der Antrittsvorlesung im Rahmen des Jenaer Habilitationsverfahrens 2005.

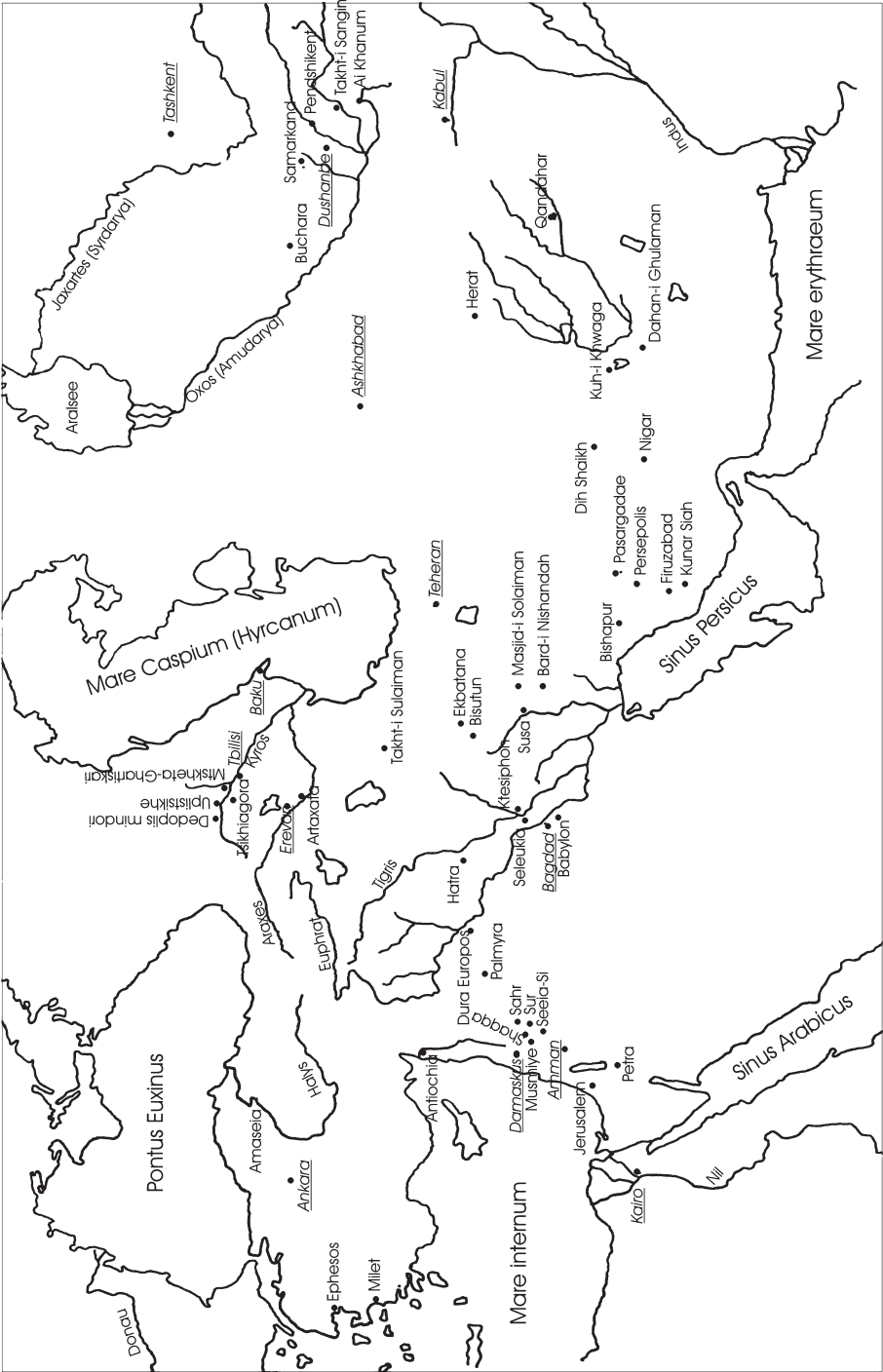


Abb. 1: Karte mit den im Text genannten Orten. Zeichnung der Vf. nach Wiesehöfer 1993, Vorsatz.

Die Frage, wann der Bau von Feuertempeln im eigentlichen Sinne begann, ist noch immer strittig. Dies scheint besonders erstaunlich, da die mit diesen Tempeln verbundene Religion, der Zoroastrismus, als einzige der großen Religionen der vorchristlichen Antike bis heute praktiziert wird: Von den ungefähr 130,000 Zoroastriern leben etwa 75,000 in Indien und *ca.* 25,000 im Iran; größere Gemeinden bestehen zudem in den USA, Großbritannien und Australien.² Dennoch erscheint die Lehre des altiranischen Propheten Zarathuſtra noch immer geheimnisvoll, wozu auch Friedrich Nietzsches berühmtes Werk *Also sprach Zarathustra*, in dem er seine eigenen Gedanken als Weisheiten Zarathustras verkündete, und dessen problematische Wirkungsgeschichte einen spezifischen Beitrag geleistet haben mögen. Aber bereits in der griechisch-römischen Überlieferung finden wir eher unverständene und verwirrende Angaben zu Feuerverehrung und dualistischer Lehre des Zoroastrismus.

Allgemein wird angenommen, daß der Kult bei den Parsen in Indien und Iran heute weitgehend ähnlich praktiziert wird wie vor über 2000 Jahren in den Feuertempeln. Grundlegende Elemente der rezenten Feuertempel³ sind die beiden Kult Räume *adurian* und *dare mehr*, an die weitere Räume und Versammlungshallen angebaut sind, welche der Anjuman, der zoroastrischen Gemeinde, zu verschiedenen Gelegenheiten dienen.

Die Kulthandlungen in den beiden Kernräumen sind grundverschieden: im *adurian* brennt ein gereinigtes, nie verlöschendes Feuer, das fünfmal täglich von einem Priester, dem *mobed*, mit Sandelholz gefüttert wird,⁴ wozu der *atash nyaish*-Hymnus, ein Gesang aus den Zarathuſtra zugeschriebenen Gathas, gesungen wird. Im *dare mehr* finden die Opfer statt, zu denen die Gemeindemitglieder Zugang haben. Die drei wichtigsten Opfer sind das Haoma-Opfer (*yasna, vispered, vendidad*), das Totengedenkopfer (*baj*) und das Blumenopfer (*afriſgan*). Die zu diesen Opferhandlungen gehörenden Feuer (*atash dadgah*) werden für die Zeremonie jeweils neu entzündet und danach wieder gelöscht; sie gelten als unrein und dürfen deshalb nicht in der Nähe eines der ganz besonders gereinigten Feuer (*atash bahram*) stattfinden.⁵ Ein solches Feuer soll pro Stadt oder Distrikt nur einmal brennen. Daneben soll in jeder Gemeinde von zehn Zarathustrierfamilien ein *atash adaran* (*adurian*) bestehen, das von Priestern niederer Weißen bedient werden kann. Hinzu treten die individuellen Feuer bzw. Herdfeuer der einzelnen Familien, an denen täglich geopfert wird. Bis heute hat das Bahram-Feuer politische und militärische Bedeutung, es gilt als Stellvertreter des Herrschers, und Akte juristischer Bedeutung werden häufig neben der Feuerkammer abgehalten.

² Vgl. dazu Stausberg 2002, 11–12.

³ Grundlegend hierzu noch immer Gropp 1969.

⁴ Gropp 1969, Abb. 1; Huff 2000, Abb. 116.

⁵ Gropp 1971, Abb. 1, 5, 8, 10.

Für die Zeit der Sasanidendynastie (223/24–642 n. Chr.), welche den Zoroastrismus zur Staatsreligion erklärt hatte, verfügen wir über verhältnismäßig umfangreiche Informationen zum Feuerkult, die v. a. sasanidischen Inschriften und den jüngeren Überlieferungen persischer und arabischer Autoren, welche bereits nach der islamischen Eroberung Persiens schrieben, zu entnehmen sind: Mit *Bahram* (Reichs- bzw. Sieges)- und *Adaran- oder Adurian* (Regional)-Feuern existierten streng hierarchisch gestufte öffentliche Feuer in den einzelnen Provinzen des Reiches;⁶ die unterste Kategorie bildeten die *Adurog* (Haus)-Feuer. In mittelalterlichen islamischen Quellen überliefert sind drei Hauptheiligtümer, d.h. *Bahram*-Feuer: das *Atur Gushnasp* (Feuer des Hengstes) in Media, das *Atur Farnbagh* (Feuer der Priester) in Fars und das *Atur Burzin Mihr* (Feuer der Bauern) in Parthia/Khorasan, bei denen es sich um die bekanntesten Wallfahrtsheiligtümer spätsasanidischer Zeit handeln dürfte.⁷

Die beiden letzteren sind bislang nicht lokalisiert, das *Atur Gushnasp* konnte mit dem vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren des 20. Jhs. auf dem Takht-i Sulaiman in Iranisch-Aserbaidschan freigelegten Heiligtum identifiziert werden:⁸ Siegelabdrücke aus einem Vorratsraum tragen die Inschrift des 'Hohepriesters des Feuerhauses Adhur Gushnasp'.⁹ Die Tempelanlage befindet sich in einem Hochgebirgstal ca. 2200 m ü NN an einem von einer schwefelhaltigen Thermalquelle gebildeten See.¹⁰ Hier liegen nebeneinander zwei Komplexe von Feuerheiligtümern, getrennt voneinander durch einen langen schmalen Korridor.¹¹ Der Bau begann Münzfunden zufolge während der Herrschaft des Shah Peroz (457–484) im westlichen Bereich mit einer im wesentlichen aus Lehmziegeln errichteten Anlage, wurde in der Regierungszeit Khosro I. ab 529 n. Chr. weitgehend erneuert und erweitert und im Feldzug des byzantinischen Kaisers Heraklius 627 durch Brand stark zerstört; um 1371 wurde an seiner Stelle ein Jagdpalast des Il-Khan Abaqa unter Verwendung der älteren Mauern und der Baumaterialien neu errichtet.

Am östlichen Heiligtum sind wesentliche Elemente und Funktionen iranischer Feuerheiligtümer in sasanidischer Zeit zu beobachten: Den Kern der Anlage bildet ein *čahar taq*, ein quadratischer und einst überkuppelter Viergewölbebau, der an allen vier Seiten von einem einst überwölbten Korridor umgeben ist. Im Zentrum des *čahar taq* befand sich ein in den Boden aus gebrannten Ziegeln eingetieftes Quadrat, in dem der Feueraltar gestanden haben muß, auf welchem das Feuer der

⁶ Dazu Yamamoto 1981, 85–87.

⁷ Huff 2000, 104.

⁸ Naumann 1977 (mit Verweisen auf die Grabungsberichte); Huff 2000.

⁹ Naumann 1977, 71, Abb. 47–48

¹⁰ Huff 2000, Abb. 115.

¹¹ Huff 2000, Abb. 118.

Gemeinde gezeigt und Opferhandlungen ausgeführt wurden. Das eingetiefte Quadrat ist flankiert von vier Sandsteinbasen mit Eintiefungen, in denen die Gefäße mit den *barsom*-Bündeln aufgestellt werden konnten. Im Nordbereich liegen Bänke oder Tische aus Ziegeln, auf denen der beim Opfer verwendete Haomatrunk zubereitet – in Mörsern gestampft und mit Milch und Honig vermischt – werden konnte. Neben dem *čahar taq* liegt der *yesashn-gah* oder *ateshgah*, in dem das Feuer kontinuierlich brennend gehalten wurde. Außerdem gehören Höfe, Gärten, Magazine und Priesterunterkünfte sowie Schatzkammern zum Heiligtum.

Eine ähnliche Situation finden wir in den großen sasanidischen Heiligtümern von Kuh-i Khwaga¹² und Kunar Siah in der Persis,¹³ aber auch bei kleineren Bauten wie Nigar bei Kirman,¹⁴ Dih Shaikh im Gebiet Daulatabad¹⁵ sowie dem erst Anfang der 90er Jahre des 20. Jhs. entdeckten Heiligtum von Khorramdasht.¹⁶

Der iranische Tempel in sasanidischer Zeit ist also ein Feuerhaus, in dem ein nach strengen Regeln rein gehaltenes Feuer ständig am Brennen gehalten wurde und sich ein Altar für Kultzeremonien befand. Damit unterscheiden sich die iranischen Feuerempel in funktionaler Hinsicht grundlegend von den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Antike und denen in Ägypten und Mesopotamien, wo die Tempel als Schrein für ein Kultbild des jeweils verehrten Gottes dienten, während der Altar, auf dem das Feuer für die Opfer entzündet wurde, sich vor dem Tempel befand.

Vergleichbar ist die Funktion des ewig brennenden Feuers im iranischen Bereich jedoch vor allem mit den Hestia-Altären in den Prytaneia griechischer Städte, auf denen ewiges Feuer unterhalten und die Göttin des Feuers Hestia verehrt wurde. Jede griechische Polis hatte ihr sakrales Zentrum in dem gemeinsamen Herd im Prytaneion,¹⁷ dessen politische Bedeutung auch daraus erhellt, daß bei Koloniegründungen das Feuer der neuen Siedlung mit Glut vom Hestia-Altar der Mutterstadt entzündet wurde.¹⁸ Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln der Hestiaia und der persischen Feuerhäuser sind im häuslichen Herdfeuer zu suchen, dessen Verehrung mit indogermanischen Vorstellungen verbunden worden ist.¹⁹

Die als *Čahar taq* ausgebildeten Kernbauten der sasanidischen Feuerheiligtümer können als Leitform der sasanidischen Kultarchitektur bezeichnet werden. Durch die

¹² Gullini 1961, 343–442, Taf. 7 264–283; Schippmann 1971, 67–68, Abb. 10–11.

¹³ Vanden Berghe 1961, 175–77; Schippmann 1971 97–98, Abb. 13.

¹⁴ Vanden Berghe 1965, 140–45, Taf. 40.3–43; Schippmann 1971, 74–76, 510.

¹⁵ Vanden Berghe 1965, 137–38, Taf. 39–40.1; Schippmann 1971, 80–81.

¹⁶ Kleiss 1993, 192–94, Taf. 54–55.

¹⁷ Dazu grundlegend: Miller 1978. Zum Prytaneion in der spätklassischen Stadt Kassope, das als Muster des Bautypus gilt, ebenda 68–69, Abb. 4; Hoepfner und Schwandner 1994, 137–39, Abb. 100, 122–23.

¹⁸ Merkelbach 1980.

¹⁹ Nagy 1974.

Surveys von Louis Vandenberghe in Fars²⁰ und von Wolfram Kleiss²¹ in verschiedenen Regionen Irans hat sich der Denkmälerbestand seit den sechziger Jahren des 20. Jhs. deutlich vergrößert. Dietrich Huff gebührt das Verdienst, eindeutig klargestellt zu haben, daß es sich bei diesen Bauten nicht, wie früher angenommen, um offene Baldachine für nächtliche 'Signalfeuer'²² gehandelt hat, sondern daß die Vierpfeiler-Kuppel-Konstruktionen stets von einem Umgang umschlossen waren.²³ *Čahar taqs* sind in der vorsasanidischen Architektur nicht verwendet worden. Als ältester iranischer Kuppelbau über vier Pfeilern mit Trompen ist der vom ersten Sasanidenherrscher Ardashir in der von ihm gegründeten Stadt Ardashir-Khurra ('Glanz des Ardashir'/ heute Firuzabad) noch vor seinem Sieg über den Parther Artabanus V. (224 n. Chr.) errichtete, als Takht-i Nishin bezeichnete Bau zu betrachten, der Bautechnik und Maßsystem zufolge von Bauleuten aus dem römischen Kleinasien errichtet worden sein muß und prägend wurde für den bis weit in die islamische Zeit verwendeten Bautypus.²⁴

Aber noch der Kernbau des ersten östlichen Lehmziegel-Heiligtums von Takht-i Suleiman, dessen Bau anhand von Münzen in die Zeit des Shahs Peroz (457–484) datiert werden kann, hatte eine andere Struktur: Er war angelegt als Viersäulensaal²⁵ und hatte damit die gleiche Struktur, wie sie von den Baukomplexen in Susa und Persepolis bekannt ist, welche seit langem als die frühesten Feuertempelanlagen gelten.

Der unweit der heutigen Bahnstation Shush gelegene Bau von Susa,²⁶ 1884–86 von Marcel Auguste Dieulafoy untersucht und heute verschwunden,²⁷ wurde von seinem Entdecker als *ayadana*, Heiligtum, bezeichnet. Dem von Dieulafoy ergänzten Plan zufolge lag der eigentliche Tempel an einem von Korridoren umgebenen Hof, von dem eine Zweisäulenportikus zu einem Querraum überleitete, an welchen sich der quadratische Hauptraum mit vier Säulen im Zentrum anschloß. Portikus, Querraum und Viersäulensaal waren von einem an drei Seiten umlaufenden Korridor eingefast. Dieulafoy datierte diesen Bau anhand der für die Säulen des Quadratraumes verwendeten Glockenbasen, die einer Basis aus dem Palastkomplex von Susa mit Inschrift des Achämenidenkönigs Artaxerxes III. (404–359 v. Chr.) gleichen, in

²⁰ Vanden Berghe 1961; 1965.

²¹ Kleiss 1971; 1972; 1974; 1977; 1978; 1981; 1993.

²² Godard 1938, 71; Erdmann 1941, 53–54; Duchesne-Guillemin 1961, 58.

²³ Huff 1972; 1975; 1982.

²⁴ Huff 1972, Abb. 7–8.

²⁵ Naumann 1977, 68, Abb. 44; Huff 2000, 104.

²⁶ Schippmann 1971, 266–69, Abb. 38 mit der älteren Lit.; Stronach 1985, 619–21; Litvinskij und Pičikjan 2000, 209–16.

²⁷ So Ghirshman 1976, 197 mit dem Verweis, daß er mit Schlumberger intensiv nach Spuren gesucht habe; ebenso Boucharlat 1984, 128. Stronach 1985, 620 Anm. 62 verweist darauf, daß er selbst noch 1980 Reste des Baus wenige hundert Meter südwestlich der Bahnstation Shush gesehen habe.

dessen Herrschaftszeit. Diesen Datierungsvorschlag haben auch Kurt Erdmann,²⁸ Klaus Schippmann,²⁹ Malcolm Colledge³⁰ und Yoshiko Yamamoto³¹ übernommen. Jüngst haben Boris Litvinskij und Igor Pičikjan sogar eine Frühdatierung in die Zeit zwischen Dareios I. (522–486 v. Chr.) und Artaxerxes II. (465–424) in die Diskussion gebracht.³² Doch waren die achämenidischen Glockenbasen wiederverwendet, wie ihre differierenden Maße nahelegen.³³ Der achämenidische Palastkomplex auf dem Hügel, aus dem die Basen des Tempels stammen müssen, ist nicht vor 220 v. Chr. zerstört worden. Damit kann der als achämenidisch bezeichnete Tempel erst nach 220 v. Chr., also in seleukidischer oder parthischer Zeit, errichtet worden sein, wie David Stronach gezeigt hat.³⁴

Auch der strukturell ähnliche Viersäulenbau mit Nebenräumen³⁵ in dem etwa 300 Meter nordwestlich der Palastterrasse von Persepolis gelegenen Bereich offeriert einige Probleme. Sein Entdecker Ernst Herzfeld³⁶ hatte ihn 1932 anhand zweier Reliefs in einem Türdurchgang, welche eine männliche Figur mit Barsombündel und eine weibliche Figur zeigen,³⁷ die er als Angehörige der lokalen Frataraka (Fratadara)-Dynastie im 3. Jh. v. Chr. interpretierte, als 'Frataraka-Tempel' bezeichnet. Neueren Forschungen zufolge regierten die Frataraka ('Hüter des Feuers') in seleukidischem Auftrag jedoch erst im 2. Jh. v. Chr.³⁸ Vor allem aber gehören die Reliefs nicht zu dem Bau, von dem sie noch durch eine Straße getrennt sind.³⁹ Der Bau wird häufig als Feuertempel interpretiert,⁴⁰ obgleich sich an der Rückseite ein dreifach gestufter großer Sockel befand, der für einen Feueraltar ungeeignet ist und eher als Sockel für eine Statue gedient haben dürfte. Stronach bezeichnete ihn daher als Pedestaltempel und hielt ihn für einen der Anahita geweihten Tempel, den Artaxerxes III. (404–358 v. Chr.) im Zusammenhang mit den von ihm eingeführten

²⁸ Erdmann 1941, 15–16.

²⁹ Schippmann 1971, 209–16, 266–69, 486.

³⁰ Colledge 1977, 43–44.

³¹ Yamamoto 1979, 36–37.

³² Litvinskij und Pičikjan 2000, 114–15.

³³ Stronach 1985, 619–21. Litvinskij und Pičikjan 2000, 214–15 plädieren allerdings für eine Datierung in die Zeit zwischen Dareios I. (522–486 v. Chr.) und Artaxerxes II. (465–424), um ihr Entwicklungsschema entwerfen zu können.

³⁴ Stronach 1985, 620–22.

³⁵ Schippmann 1974, Abb. 24.

³⁶ Herzfeld 1941, 231–32; Schmidt 1953, 55.

³⁷ Ghirshman 1964, Abb. 34.

³⁸ Zu der Dynastie: Wiesehöfer 1994, 155. Ghirshman 1976, 202 interpretiert die Reliefs als Darstellung eines Fürsten der Dynastie, der der Anahita opfert.

³⁹ Koch 2001, 77–78.

⁴⁰ Schippmann 1971, 184 mit Verweis auf Vandenberghe, Ghirshman, Wachsmuth, Hopkins, Godard, Erdmann.

Götterbildern habe errichten lassen. Er stellte salomonisch fest, daß, falls die Anahita-Tempel Artaxerxes' III. die Konstruktion der ersten geschlossenen Feuertempel beeinflußt haben sollten, die Reste des Pedestaltempels in Persepolis nicht gegen diese Annahme sprächen.⁴¹

Damit sind wir beim Kernpunkt unserer Überlegungen angelangt: Wann begann der Bau von Tempeln für den Kult des Feuers im Iran und seiner Peripherie in Gestalt des von Korridoren umgebenen Viersäulensaales? Die Ansätze der Forschung reichen vom 6./5. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 3./2. Jh. v. Chr. Die Datierung in die früh-achämenidische Zeit (6./5. Jh. v. Chr.) ist erneut in jüngster Zeit von Boris Litvinskij, Igor Pičikjan und Viktor Sarianidi, ausgehend von den Forschungen am Oxostempel und weiteren Neuentdeckungen im südlichen Mittelasien, favorisiert worden.

Mary Boyce verbindet das Aufkommen auch von Feuertempeln mit König Artaxerxes III. und seiner Einführung des Bildkultes für Anahita, mit dem die Errichtung von (Kultbild-)Tempeln verbunden gewesen sein müsse. Yoshiko Yamamoto, ebenfalls diese Datierung vertretend, begründet dies auch mit den zahlreichen Feuertempeln in Kleinasien, die noch unter achämenidischer Herrschaft, nicht erst unter der griechischen, entstanden sein müssten. Stronach sah den entscheidenden Impetus in der makedonischen Eroberung Irans, und Roman Ghirshman, der ebenso wie Stronach grundlegende archäologische Untersuchungen im Iran unternahm, sah in der Einführung von Feuertempeln 'l'expression par excellence de l'architecture religieuse parthe'.⁴²

Die für eine Klärung der Frage zur Verfügung stehenden Schriftzeugnisse sind oft behandelt und unterschiedlich bewertet worden. In den Gathas, den religiösen Gesängen, welche dem Religionsstifter Zarathuštra zugeschrieben werden, der nach neueren Erkenntnissen doch bereits im späteren 2. Jts. v. Chr. gewirkt haben soll,⁴³ finden sich keinerlei Hinweise auf eine mit Tempeln verbundene Feuerverehrung. Dies ist erklärbar mit der Lebensweise der Iranier, die noch bis zur Zeit Kyros' des Großen (645/40–600 v. Chr.) Züge von Nomadismus hatte,⁴⁴ welcher für die Errichtung monumentaler Bauten nicht unbedingt förderlich ist.

Die achämenidischen Herrscherinschriften tragen ebenfalls nicht zur Klärung der Frage bei. Die Mitteilungen im altpersischen Text der dreisprachig – elamisch, babylonisch, altpersisch – überlieferten Inschrift Dareios' I. (522–485 v. Chr.) in Bisotun zu seinem Sieg über den Magier Gaumata sind unterschiedlich interpretiert worden. Dareios berichtet dort, dass er die von Gaumata zerstörten *ayadana*, 'Orte der Verehrung', wieder aufgebaut habe. In der elamischen und der babylonischen

⁴¹ Stronach 1985, 616–17.

⁴² Ghirshman 1978, 38, 225.

⁴³ Zu den unterschiedlichen Datierungen zuletzt Stausberg 2002, 26ff.

⁴⁴ Zur nomadischen Lebensweise der Perser noch z. Z. Kyros' I.: Briant 2002, 20.

Version steht an dieser Stelle der Begriff für ‘Tempel’ (babylon. *bitate ša ilani*). Für die Vertreter der These von achämenidischen Feuertempelbauten ist dies der entscheidende Beleg. Doch ist hier, wie Ghirshman einleuchtend erläutert hat,⁴⁵ vielmehr der persische Begriff für die bei den Persern üblichen Kultorte unter freiem Himmel mit der Bezeichnung für Tempelanlagen in den beiden Sprachen der sesshaften, seit langem Tempel bauenden Völker wiedergegeben worden, die ihrerseits keinen adäquaten Begriff für *ayadana*, die Kultorte unter freiem Himmel, hatten.

Von solchen Kultorten unter freiem Himmel berichtet der griechische Historiker Herodot (um 484–425 v. Chr.):

Bei den Persern ist es nicht üblich, Götterbilder, Tempel und Altäre zu errichten. Sie behaupten sogar, wer das tue, sei ein Tor. Sie glauben nämlich nicht, wie mir scheint, daß die Götter wie bei den Griechen menschenähnliche Wesen seien. Dem Zeus pflegen sie auf den Gipfeln der Berge zu opfern und bezeichnen das ganze Firmament als Zeus. Sie opfern auch der Sonne, dem Mond, der Erde, dem Feuer, dem Wasser, den Winden (1. 131).⁴⁶

Laut Cicero (106–43 v. Chr.) habe der Perserkönig Xerxes während seines Griechenlandfeldzuges 480/79 v. Chr. die Zerstörung der athenischen Heiligtümer befohlen, weil er es für Frevel erachtet habe, Götter, deren Haus die ganze Welt sei, zwischen vier Wände einzusperren (Cicero *De Republica* 3. 14). Der griechisch schreibende Historiker Berössos aus Babylon überliefert in seiner um 280 v. Chr. verfaßten Babylonischen Geschichte, daß Artaxerxes III. (404–359) als erster Herrscher der Perser Statuen der Aphrodite Anahita in verschiedenen Städten habe errichten lassen (3. 11. 6; *FGH* III (1958) Nr. 680). Der aus Amaseia in Kleinasien stammende Geograph Strabon (um 64/63 v. Chr.–um 20 n. Chr.) erwähnt für Kappadokien, wo sich ‘viele Tempel der persischen Götter’ befanden und zahlreiche ‘Magier, auch Pýraithoi (Feuerpriester) genannt’, lebten, ‘bemerkenswerte Pyraitheiai, eingefriedete Bezirke’ (*sēkoî*), in deren Zentrum sich ein Aschenaltar befand, auf welchem die Magier das Feuer ewig am Brennen hielten, und er erwähnt auch Tempel für die persischen Gottheiten Anahita und Omanos (Strabon 15. 3. 15). Pausanias, der griechische ‘Baedeker’, kennt schließlich um 180 n. Chr. zwei Feuerheiligtümer der persischen Lyder in Hierokaisareia und in Hypaipa (Pausanias 5. 27. 5). Sicherere Zeugnisse für Feuertempel lassen sich also mit der literarischen Überlieferung erst für die römische Zeit beibringen.

Doch kehren wir noch einmal zurück zur achämenidischen Zeit. Steinreliefs und Siegelsteine geben Szenen der Feuerverehrung an einem Altar mit brennender

⁴⁵ Ghirshman 1976, 164–65.

⁴⁶ Allerdings dürften Herodots Kenntnisse der persischen Religion eingeschränkt gewesen sein, vgl. dazu Jacobs 2006, 214–19.

Flamme wieder: Das Relief des Felsgrabes Dareios' I. (522–486 v. Chr.) in Naqsh-e Rostam bei Persepolis⁴⁷ zeigt den Herrscher mit Bogen in der Linken und verehrender Geste der Rechten auf einem Stufenpodium vor einem Altar mit hochgetürmter Asche. Über dieser Szene schwebt die Personifizierung des Ahura Mazda, der in den achämenidischen Staatsinschriften mehrfach als Schöpfer des Kosmos und der Achämenidenherrschaft sowie als deren Beschützer apostrophiert ist.⁴⁸ Auf Siegeln sind Priester zu beiden Seiten eines Altars und darüber schwebend die Personifikation des Ahura Mazda wiedergegeben.⁴⁹ Die Verehrung des Feuers spielte also in der achämenidischen Ideologie und Propaganda eine wichtige Rolle.

Wie können wir uns aber die Orte der achämenidischen Feuerverehrung vorstellen? Am Nordwestrand der ersten Hauptstadt Pasargadaï, die von Kyros dem Großen zwischen 546 und 530 v. Chr. mithilfe von aus dem gesamten Reichsgebiet zusammengebrachten Handwerkern aus dem Boden gestampft wurde, befinden sich zwei jeweils gut 2 m hohe Kalksteinpodien, deren südliches mit einer Treppe versehen ist.⁵⁰ In Anlehnung an das Relief des Dareiosgrabes dürfen wir in ihnen monumentale Zeugnisse imperialer Feuerverehrung unter freiem Himmel, ein *ayadana* wie in der Bisotuninschrift erwähnt, erkennen: auf dem Stufenpodium stand der Herrscher, auf dem anderen Podium befand sich das verehrte Feuer.⁵¹

Die Kultpraxis der Feuerverehrung vollzog sich in achämenidischer Zeit also in anderer Weise als in der Zeit der Sasaniden, in der auch die öffentliche Verehrung des Feuers in einem geschlossenen Raum stattfand.

Die von Ghirshman untersuchten spätachämenidisch-hellenistischen Terrassenanlagen von Bard-e Nishandah und Masjid-i Sulaiman in Khuzistan weisen auf eine Kultpraxis hin, die der nahe kommt, welche Herodot beschrieben hat: In der ersten Phase, d. h. in achämenidischer Zeit, wurde jeweils eine große Terrasse errichtet, auf der sich ein Podium befand, welches für die Feuerverehrung genutzt werden konnte. In Masjid-i Sulaiman⁵² wurde an der Osteite im Fuß der Terrasse ein abgeschlossener Raum freigelegt, in dem ganz offensichtlich das reine Feuer, mit dessen Glut die temporären Feuer auf der Terrasse entzündet wurden, kontinuierlich brannte: das eigentliche Feuerhaus war verborgen und nicht architektonisch ausgezeichnet. In Bard-e Nishandah⁵³ konnte eine solche Einrichtung nicht verifiziert werden, und Ghirshman vermutet für die Behausung des kontinuierlichen

⁴⁷ Koch 2001, Abb. 130.

⁴⁸ Stausberg 2002, 162–74.

⁴⁹ Ghirshman 1964, Abb. 330.

⁵⁰ Koch 2001, Abb. 152; Stronach 1985, Abb. 2 (Rekonstruktion der Plattform).

⁵¹ Boucharlat 1984, 126; Stronach 1985, 606–08.

⁵² Ghirshman I 1976, Abb. 29.

⁵³ Ghirshman I 1976, Abb. 3.

Feuers eine Konstruktion, die sich nicht erhalten hat. In der älteren Forschung galten die Turmbauten des Zendan-i Sulaiman in Pasargadai und der Ka'aba-i Zardusht in Naqsh-e Rostam⁵⁴ als monumentale Feuerhäuser, doch dürften sie eher eine Funktion im Krönungszeremoniell gehabt haben.

Die weitere Entwicklung der beiden Terrassenanlagen nach der makedonischen Eroberung Irans (331 v. Chr.) gibt wichtige Hinweise für unsere Fragestellung: In Masdjid-i Sulaiman, wo eine makedonische Kavallerie-Garnison stationiert wurde, fügte man in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. eine neue Terrasse hinzu und errichtete je einen Tempel für Athena Hippiä, die von den Makedonen besonders verehrte Göttin, und für Herakles.⁵⁵ Dieser neue Bereich wurde durch eine niedrige Mauer vom älteren iranischen Bereich abgetrennt, was Ghirshman einleuchtend als pietätvolle Abgrenzung des von den Neusiedlern eingeführten Kultes gegenüber dem alteingesessenen interpretiert hat. Im 2. Jh., als die makedonische Garnison längst nicht mehr existierte, wurde dann der Athena-Tempel aufgegeben, der Herakles-Tempel völlig neu erbaut. In nur eine halbe Tagereise entfernten Bard-i Nishandah, wo keine makedonische Ansiedlung zu beobachten ist, entstand hingegen erst im 2. Jh. v. Chr. im Auftrag lokaler Fürsten eine neue Terrasse mit einem Tempel mit Viersäulensaal, der Anahita und Mithra geweiht wurde.

An der südöstlichen Peripherie Irans ist in Dahan-i Ghulaman, dem achämenidischen Verwaltungszentrum der Drangiana (Seistan), ein ins späte 6. oder frühe 5. Jh. v. Chr. datierter Bau⁵⁶ als Feuerheiligtum identifiziert worden. In dem von Portiken mit Öfen und kleineren Altären umgebenen Zentralhof befinden sich drei große Altäre, die als Altäre für die drei iranischen Hauptgottheiten Ahura Mazda, Mithra und Anahita zu interpretieren sind.⁵⁷ Auch hier gibt es keinen Raum für die Verehrung des Feuers; die Lage der Altäre innerhalb einer Hofanlage ist mit den klimatischen Verhältnissen – in dieser Region geht an etwa 120 Tagen im Jahr starker Wind – begründet worden.

An der Peripherie des iranischen Herrschaftsbereichs sind in den letzten Jahrzehnten mehrere Bauten entdeckt worden, die mit dem Feuerkult verbunden wurden und alle in die Zeit nach dem Alexanderzug zu datieren sind.

Der zentrale Raum des Oxustempels⁵⁸ am Zusammenfluß von Vakhsh und Pjandsh im heutigen Südtadschikistan, dem antiken Baktrien, ist wie bei den Bauten von Susa und Persepolis mit vier im Quadrat angeordneten Stützen versehen und

⁵⁴ Koch 2001, 149 (Pasargadai, Zendan-i Sulaiman), Abb. 131 (Persepolis, Kaaba-i Zardusht).

⁵⁵ Ghirshman I 1976, Abb. 42.

⁵⁶ Schippmann 1971, Abb. 6. Scerrato 1966: Ende 6. Jh.; Stronach 1985, 610: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr.

⁵⁷ Boucharlat 1984, 132–33.

⁵⁸ Oxus 1989, Abb. 5, 7.

an drei Seiten von langen schmalen Räumen umgeben, während vor dem Haupteingang eine zweireihige Portikus zwischen turmartigen, mehrräumigen Flügelbauten, in denen die Ausgräber die Feuerkammern (*ateshgahs*) vermuten, liegt. Dem Fund eines Altärchens mit griechischer Weihinschrift⁵⁹ in einem der Bothroi, Gruben zur Deponierung von Weihgeschenken, im Korridor 2 zufolge war er dem lokalen Wassergott Vakhsh geweiht. Zugleich belegen mehrere mit reiner Pflanzenasche gefüllte Bothroi im Zentralraum, daß in dem Bau auch Feuerverehrung mit ihrer rigiden Behandlung der Asche vollzogen wurde.

Die Entdecker datieren die Anlage stratigraphisch und anhand eines von Wolfram Höpfner eher ins späte 3. Jh. v. Chr. datierten⁶⁰ ionischen Kapitells⁶¹ bereits ins frühe 3. Jh. v. Chr. und ordnen den Tempel ein in eine Abfolge von Bauten seit dem 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr., wobei sie mit extremen Frühdatierungen für Susa und Persepolis operieren, um eine kontinuierliche Entwicklungslinie von einem achämenidischen bis zum sasanidischen Feuertempelbau zeichnen zu können.

Mehrere als Feuertempel interpretierte, zumeist aus Lehmziegeln errichtete Bauten hellenistischer Zeit sind im heutigen Georgien, in der historischen Provinz Shida Kartli in der Kuraebene, der zentralen Provinz des kaukasischen Iberien, freigelegt worden. Iberien wurde zwar vom Alexanderzug nicht direkt berührt, befand sich jedoch seit achämenidischer Zeit im iranischen Orbit, wie u. a. der Schatz von Akhalgori⁶² anschaulich belegt.

Die bedeutendste Anlage befindet sich in Dedoplist Mindori etwa 20 km westlich von Gori. Hier liegt innerhalb eines 255 zu 180 m großen Temenos ein tetrastylar, an drei Seiten von Korridoren umgebener Saal, in dessen Zentrum ein Altar mit Spuren intensiven Feuers steht. Im rückwärtigen Bereich des Temenos befinden sich erst teilweise freigelegte Räume, in denen der Ausgräber Julon Gagoshidze kleinere Tempel für die Verehrung lokaler Gottheiten vermutet. Diese nicht nur für Iberien außerordentlich monumentale Anlage entstand an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. Sie wurde im späten 1. Jh. n. Chr. bei einem schweren Erdbeben zerstört und nicht wieder aufgebaut. Es muß ein Heiligtum von zentraler Bedeutung gewesen sein.⁶³

Etwa 60 km südöstlich befindet sich eine deutlich kleinere Tempelanlage auf der Akropolis von Tsikhiagora, die aber deutliche Spuren einer entwickelten Tempelwirtschaft – u. a. Getreidespeicher, Weinkeller mit Weinpresse, Mühle und Backöfen –

⁵⁹ Oux 1989, Abb. 4.

⁶⁰ W. Höpfner, Brief, zit. in Litvinskij und Pičikjan 2002, 86.

⁶¹ Litvinskij und Pičikjan 1998. Ohne Angabe des genauen Fundortes.

⁶² Lordkipanidze 2001. Zur Einbindung Iberiens in den achämenidischen Orbit vgl. besonders Knauf 2005; 2006a, 80–96.

⁶³ Gagoshidze 1992; Knauf 2005, 214–15; 2006b, 110–11, Abb. 26.

bewahrt hat. Hier ist der Ort des ewigen Feuers anhand eines Altars mit intensiven Brandspuren und reiner Asche in dem kleinen Raum hinter der Tempelcella ausgemacht worden. In der Cella befand sich ein Altar; ein weiterer, um den sich Reste von Tierknochen fanden, stand im Hof vor der Cella. An drei weiteren Altären im Weinkeller wurden den Ausgräbern zufolge Opfer an Dionysos dargebracht. Der Komplex wird anhand von Keramik und v. a. einem Stierkapitell, das als frühhellenistische Nachbildung achämenidischer Kapitelle gilt,⁶⁴ ins späte 4.-frühe 3. Jh. datiert; sein Ende durch Brand wird in die Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. gewiesen.⁶⁵

Im Norden der iberischen Hauptstadt Armozike (heute Mtskhetha nordwestlich von Tbilisi) wurden in Ghartiskari zwei aufeinander folgende Tempelbauten identifiziert, deren Cella von Korridoren flankiert ist. In der jüngeren Cella fand man zwei Altäre. Einer war an die Westmauer gelehnt, der zweite, der Spuren intensiven Feuers und einen Platz mit reinster Asche aufwies, stand frei im Raum; um diesen waren vier Stützen aus Holz angeordnet, die die flache, lehmbedeckte Balkendecke trugen. Im Osten wurde ein in den Boden eingegrabener Pithos fixiert.⁶⁶ Der ältere Horizont wird ins späte 3.-frühe 2. Jh. v. Chr. datiert, der jüngere ins 2. Jh. v. Chr.

Im 15 km westlich von Mtskhetha gelegenen Samadlosmidzebi sind die Reste einer von Korridoren flankierten Cella mit zwei erhaltenen Eintiefungen für hölzerne Stützen im Lehm Boden untersucht worden. Vor dem nur ansatzweise erhaltenen Altar im zu vermutenden zentralen Bereich der Cella befanden sich auf Tonplatten drei Tonschalen mit Spuren intensiven Feuers, die auf einen Feuerkult hinweisen. Datiert wird der Bau ins 2. Jh. v. Chr.⁶⁷

Der *Orsvetiani Darbazi*, Zweisäulensaal, genannte Raum in der Felsenstadt Uplistsikhe nahe Gori wird v. a. wegen der östlich vor ihm liegenden kreisrunden Eintiefung, in der man einen Altar rekonstruiert, als Feuerheiligtum interpretiert und ins 1.–2. Jh. n. Chr. datiert.⁶⁸

In Iberien befinden sich also in einem relativ kleinen Territorium fünf Baukomplexe hellenistischer Zeit, die als Feuerheiligtum interpretiert werden können. Neben der monumentalen Anlage in Dedoplistskaro von Mindori von zweifellos überregionaler Bedeutung handelt es sich um kleinere Bauten, die lokale Funktionen erfüllt zu haben scheinen. Auffallend ist neben dem Feuerkult, dessen Spuren eindeutig gesichert sind, die Verehrung weiterer Gottheiten.

⁶⁴ Knauf 1999, 180–81 mit der Vermutung, daß das Kapitell noch in achämenidischer Zeit entstanden sein könnte, zumal sich am Ort schon in vorhellenistischer Zeit eine bedeutende Siedlung befand.

⁶⁵ Zkitischwili 1995; Kimšiašvili und Narimanišvili 309–12; Knauf 2005, 203; 2006b, 108–09, Abb. 25.

⁶⁶ Kimšiašvili und Narimanišvili 312.

⁶⁷ Kimšiašvili und Narimanišvili 314.

⁶⁸ Kimšiašvili und Narimanišvili 314; Knauf 2005, 202–03.

Die tetrastylen Säle konnten also sowohl für den Kult personifizierter Gottheiten als auch für den bildlosen Kult des Feuers – und dies nebeneinander – verwendet werden. In den Feuertempeln des sasanidischen Iran war der Bildkult hingegen völlig verdrängt.

Eine Ausübung von Feuerkult lässt sich hingegen nicht verifizieren für die tetrastylen Tempel der Nabatäer im heutigen Südsyrien und Jordanien, die lokalen Göttern geweiht waren und zuerst 1921 von Friedrich Oelmann als ‘Persische Tempel’ zusammengefasst wurden,⁶⁹ da sie in ihrer Struktur den bisher betrachteten Bauten gleichen: Die Tempel des Baal Shamin und des ‘Dushara’ in Seeia-Si sowie die in Sahr und Sur haben einen zentralen Vierstützenraum und um diesen an drei Seiten umlaufende Korridore.⁷⁰ Daß die iranische Herkunft des Bautypus im Bewusstsein der Auftraggeber durchaus präsent war, verdeutlichen die Glockenbasen achämenidischer Form aus dem Baalshamin-Tempel in Seeia. Die vier Tempel sind im späten 1. Jh. v. Chr. errichtet worden.

Von ähnlicher Struktur war auch der seit langem verschwundene Zeus-Phanaesios-Tempel, das sog. Praetorium, von Musmiye,⁷¹ der laut Inschrift zwischen 164 und 169 n. Chr. erbaut wurde. Im südsyrischen Hauran befindet sich in Shaqqa ein ungewöhnlich gut erhaltener Bau: Seine vier im Quadrat angeordneten Stützen tragen kreuzförmig ausgerichtete Tonnenwölbungen, auf denen über einem Gesims die Bedeckung des Zentralbereichs liegt, welche als für die Region typische Flachdecke aus Steinbalken gebildet ist.⁷² Marcell Restle datiert den kleinen Bau anhand der Kapitelle in die Zeit um 300 n. Chr. und weist auf die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Zeus-Tempel von Musmiye hin.⁷³

Diese Gruppe von Bauten macht deutlich, daß das ‘iranische’ Schema des tetrastylen Zentralsaals mit Umgang in dieser Zeit weit über die Grenzen des eigentlichen Iran hinaus bekannt war und für unterschiedliche Funktionen genutzt wurde. Im kuschanzzeitlichen Sogdien (1.–4. Jh. u. Z.) verwendete man sogar in buddhistischen Klöster den Bautypus mit tetrastylar Cella.⁷⁴

Zu den Wurzeln des tetrastylen Saales mit Nebenräumen sind weitreichende Überlegungen, zuletzt von Litvinskij und Pičikjan, den Entdeckern des Oxustempels, angestellt worden. Sie sehen die Gesamtstruktur in der Tradition des syrischen Bit Hilani, eines in Bronze- und früher Eisenzeit verbreiteten Palasttypus mit

⁶⁹ Oelmann 1921.

⁷⁰ Netzer 2003, 102–07 (Seeia-Si); 107–08 (Sahr); 108–09 (Sur).

⁷¹ de Laborde 1837, 57, Taf. 51; Hill 1975.

⁷² Restle 1971, 998–1002, Abb. 16.

⁷³ Eine ausführlichere Untersuchung dazu ist im Rahmen der von M. Restle vorgesehenen Veröffentlichung der spätantiken Architektur des Hauran geplant.

⁷⁴ Klöster Adshina tepe, Takhti Bakhti, Bagh Gai, Sang Hao: *Oxus* 1989, Abb. S. 82–83.

quergelagertem Hauptraum sowie seitlichen und rückwärtigen Nebenräumen und davor liegender Portikus.

Doch sind alle diese Vorläufer bereits rezipiert in der Palastarchitektur der Achämeniden, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. in einem beispiellosen Akt der schöpferischen Rezeption verschiedenster Elemente neu geschaffen wurde.⁷⁵ Das bislang früheste sicher datierte Beispiel unseres Bautypus hat Rémy Boucharlat mit dem Bau III im Bereich des Shaour-Palastes Artaxerxes' III. (404-359) in Susa ausgegraben.⁷⁶ Hier ist der palatiale Kontext unbestreitbar. Der in der achämenidischen Palastarchitektur seit dem späteren 6. Jh. v. Chr. häufig verwendete Vierstützenraum – besonders eindrücklich sind das Tor Aller Länder und die Raumfolge im sog. Harem im Palast von Persepolis⁷⁷ – ist hier als Einzelraum verwendet. Er wird flankiert von Korridoren, die sich auch neben dem rückwärtig gelegenen, nur mit zwei Stützen versehenen Raum fortsetzen. Vor dieser Raumgruppe liegt eine weite Portikus mit acht Säulen in zwei Reihen, zu der eine seitliche Treppe führte; eine weitere kleine Portikus ist seitlich angeordnet. Dieser Bauplan fand auch noch Verwendung im Haus- bzw. Palastbau im hellenistischen Baktrien und im kuschanzzeitlichen Sogdien (1. –4. Jh. n. Chr.), dem heutigen Afghanistan und Süd-Zentralasien, wie große Wohnhäuser in Ai Khanoum und Pendshikent zeigen.⁷⁸

Die hier betrachteten Bauten von Tempeln, die diesem Schema folgen, erlauben die Schlussfolgerung, daß dieser Bautypus im Iran erst nach der makedonischen Eroberung (331 v. Chr.) aus dem Palastbau für Tempelbauten übernommen wurde, welche sowohl für den mit Götterbildern verbundenen Kult als auch für den Feuerkult im Sinne des strengen zarathustrischen Rituals verwendet werden konnten. Der entscheidende Impetus für die neuen iranischen Tempelbauten kam aus der Koexistenz der Iraner mit den griechischen Siedlern, die ihre mit Bildverehrung verbundenen Kulte mitbrachten und weiter ausübten. Denn bereits in achämenidischer Zeit kannten die Iraner griechische Tempel: In den westlichen Satrapien mit den Griechenstädten an der anatolischen Westküste waren im 6. Jh. v. Chr. die großen Tempel der Artemis von Ephesos und des Apollon von Didyma erbaut worden. Angesichts des intensiven 'braindrains', mit dem die Schaffung der achämenidischen Palastarchitektur verbunden war, ist es unmöglich, daß diese Großunternehmen keine Aufmerksamkeit bei den Persern gefunden hätten. Doch bestand an der

⁷⁵ Zum eklektischen Charakter der ihrerseits unverkennbaren achämenidischen Kunst: Ghirshman und Boardman *passim*; vgl. auch Knauf 2006a-b.

⁷⁶ Boucharlat und Labrousse 1979; Boucharlat 1997, 61–62, Abb. 26.

⁷⁷ Zum Wechselverhältnis der gebauten Architektur mit der mobilen Architektur der prachtvollen persischen Zelte s. von Gall 1979. Zur Rolle von prächtigen Zelten bei Alexander und den Diadochen: von Hesberg 1996, bes. 86–89.

⁷⁸ Ai Khanoum: Bernard 1976. Pendshikent: *Oxus* 1989, Abb. S. 106.

Einvernahme von griechischen Tempelbauten in die achämenidische Architektur kein Interesse.

Für die iranischen Tempel ist in vorsasanidischer, also in seleukidischer und parthischer Zeit, die strenge Trennung von *bagin* oder *ayaran*, göttlichen Orten, an denen Statuen verehrt wurden, und *ataroshan*, Feuerheiligtümern,⁷⁹ bislang nicht verifizierbar. Auch der Oxustempel – in dem den Asche-Bothroi und den zahlreichen Weihblechen mit Darstellungen von Personen mit *barsom*-Bündeln, welche im zarathustrischen Feuerkult verwendet wurden, aus den Bothroi und aus dem Oxuschatz in London zufolge Feuerkult ausgeübt wurde – war zugleich einer personifizierten Gottheit, der Flussgottheit Vakhsh, geweiht.

Es war ganz offensichtlich erst die rigide Religionspolitik der Sasaniden und nicht zuletzt des sehr einflussreichen zoroastrischen Oberpriesters Kartir im Laufe des 3. Jhs., die die Ausschließlichkeit des Feuerkultes in den Tempelhäusern inaugurierte – und in der Neuzeit ein ganzes Jahrhundert der Suche nach den frühen Bauten inspirierte.

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⁷⁹ Boyce 1975, 456.

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BENDIS' NEUE HEIMAT IN DER FREMDE

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Abstract

Bendis war die wohl bedeutendste weibliche Gottheit aus Thrakien und dennoch ist sie ausschließlich durch die griechische Überlieferung bekannt. Dabei galt sie den antiken griechischen Autoren seit der Archaik vor allem als fremde Göttin aus dem barbarischen Norden. Die archäologische und die schriftliche Überlieferung, die das Wesen der Göttin beleuchtet, stammt ebenfalls aus dem attischen Raum. Völlig unbeachtet ist die archäologische Überlieferung aus Kleinasien, die ganz neue Aspekte im Kult der Thrakerin in der Fremde zeigt.

Bendis in Kleinasien – die archäologischen Zeugnisse

Ausgangspunkt der Überlegungen zu Bendis ist ein Tetradrachmon aus Herkleia aus Bithynien (Abb. 1). Das genannte Geldstück wurde im 3. Jh. v. Chr. unter Nikomedes I (280–242 v. Chr.) geprägt. Darauf ist eine weibliche Figur abgebildet. Sie sitzt auf einem Fels und lehnt mit dem Rücken gegen einen Baum. Die Person erscheint im Profil, ihr linkes Bein ist leicht angewinkelt und nach außen gestreckt, das rechte ist nach hinten genommen und setzt auf dem Fußballen auf. In der rechten Hand hält sie eine Doppellanze, auf die sie sich auch stützt.¹ Zwischen ihren Beinen sieht man den Kopf eines Hundes, der neben ihr liegt. Verdeckt wird das Tier durch einen Rundschild, der an den Felsen gelehnt ist.

Obgleich die Darstellung auf der Münze eine Reihe von festen Attributen wie Hund und Doppellanze zitiert, ist die Identifizierung in der Forschung nach wie vor strittig. Aber gerade diese Attribute erlauben nicht nur eine eindeutige Benennung der dargestellten Figur auf der Münze, sie ermöglichen darüber hinaus auch etliche weitere Funde aus Kleinasien in die Diskussion mit aufzunehmen. Jede Stellungnahme zur Thrakerin kann künftig auf eine verbreiterte Materialbasis gestellt werden.

Ein Bild entsteht und erobert die antike Welt

In Bezug auf das Tetradrachmon und die darauf abgebildete Person gilt, dass das bislang älteste bekannte Bildvorlage, welches eine weibliche Figur mit einer Doppellanze abbildet ein Vasenfragment aus Lemnos ist (Abb. 2), das im 7./6. Jh. v. Chr. gefertigt wurde.²

Auf dem kleinen Fragment erscheint in der erhaltenen Bildmitte eine robuste weibliche Gestalt mit langen Haaren und kurzem Chiton, die ebenfalls mit einer Doppellanze ausgestattet ist. Wiedergegeben ist der Moment, in dem sie kraftvoll ausholt, um im direkten Nahkampf einem Löwen die Doppellanze in den Rachen zu stoßen und ihn zu töten. In der rechten Hand hält sie hoch erhoben das Löwenjunge am Schweif, das sie wohl auch töten wird. Die erhaltene Bildsequenz ist bislang singulär und es sind keine anderen Darstellungen bekannt, anhand derer man das Bild auf der Vase aus Lemnos ergänzen könnte, so dass

¹ Popov und Gočeva 1986, 96, Nr. 6.

² Picard 1950, 25; Kahil 1984, bes. 692, Nr. 935.



Abb. 1: Tetradrachmon des Nikomedes I. aus Bithynien, auf dem Bendis abgebildet ist (nach Popov und Gočeva 1986, 73, Abb. 6).



Abb. 2: Umzeichnung des Vasenfragments aus Lemnos, das als früheste Darstellung der Göttin gilt (7./6. Jh. v. Chr.) (nach Della Setta 1937, 646, Taf. 2).



Abb. 3: Ausschnitt des Skyphos aus Würzburg. Abgebildet sind Thetis und Bendis, wobei die Thrakerin von einem Reh begleitet wird (nach P. Collart und P. Ducrey, *Philippe I. Les Reliefs Rupestres* [Paris 1975], S. 223, Abb. 224).

der ursprünglich vielleicht auch narrative Kontext nicht mehr zu ermitteln ist. Auch wenn das konkrete Darstellungsmoment singulär ist, ist die Identifikation der dargestellten Figur aufgrund der abgebildeten Doppellangen möglich. Ganz ohne Zweifel handelt es sich auch bei diesem Fragment um die Darstellung der thrakischen Bendis.

Die Doppellange ist vor allem durch die schriftliche Überlieferung als Attribut der Göttin bekannt. So wird Bendis bei Hesych als *dilochos* bezeichnet.³ Der Ausprägung des Bildtypus liegt somit eine schriftliche Überlieferung zugrunde.

Die in der Archaik einsetzenden Bildtradition wird das beschriebene und vor allem seit dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. auch bildlich überlieferte Attribut der Doppellange beibehalten und die Darstellung im Sinne der Wiedergabe einer Barbarin sogar noch weiter ausschmücken. In den weiteren Abbildungen wird damit eine schon im 6. Jh. v. Chr. kanonische Formsprache übernommen, anhand derer man Personen aus dem Norden darstellte.⁴ So erscheint Bendis künftig nicht nur mit der genannten Doppellange, sondern folgerichtig auch mit der nicht-attischen bzw. der sog. phrygischen Mütze, hohen Fellstiefeln sowie einem Hirschfell als Mantel.⁵ Begleitet wird sie auf den Bildern oft von einer Hirschkuh und/oder auch einem Hund.

Betrachtet man diese archäologische Überlieferung, weisen die auf der Münze dargestellten Beigaben (Hund und Doppellange) direkt auf die Thrakerin und sind auf allen Darstellungen, die Bendis wiedergeben, auch zu sehen.

Eine kurze Übersicht der wichtigsten Monumente aus dem attischen Raum mag dies veranschaulichen. Vor allem zu nennen ist die rotfigurige Schale (Abb. 3), die Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. entstanden ist. Sie gibt die in dieser Zeit stattfindende offizielle Einführung ihres Kultes in Attika bildlich wieder.⁶ Dabei erscheint Bendis in thrakischer Tracht; sie hält die Doppellange in der Hand. Neben ihr steht ein Reh. Themis, die *paredros* des pythischen Apollon ist, tritt der Fremden aus Thrakien auch entgegen um sie mit einem Fackelzug, der auch zum Kult der Bendis gehört, an den neuen Ort ihrer Verehrung – Athen – begleiten.

Auf einem Tondo einer heute verschollenen rotfigurigen Schale erscheint Bendis ebenfalls mit der bekannten Waffe und ist in Begleitung eines Hundes (Abb. 4). Allem Anschein nach war die Thrakerin ein beliebtes Motiv in der Vasenkunst.

Während das Attribut der Doppellange genuin mit der Göttin in Verbindung steht, gibt es für die ihr beigeordneten Tiere (Rehe und Hunde) keine antike schriftliche Überlieferung, nach der sie ursächlich mit der Göttin in Verbindung stehen. Entsprechend können beide Tiere nur als ikonographische Elemente gewertet werden, die vor allem die griechischen Vorstellungen über Thraker widerspiegeln und darüber hinaus natürlich die Identifizierung der Dargestellten ermöglichen. Zu den 'griechischen' Vorstellungen gehört die angenommene Naturverbundenheit der nordischen Stämme. In diesen Kontext passt die Deutung der

³ Zur antiken Überlieferung zu dem Attribut der Doppellangen: Hesych *s.v.* Bendis. Kratinos *Poetae Comici Graeci* Frg. 85 wiederum sagt, er habe in den Thrakerinnen Bendis *dilochos* genannt, entweder weil sie zwei Würden erlost hat, oder weil sie als Jägerin zwei Lanzen trage.

⁴ Zur Thematik der Darstellung des Fremden in der attischen Kunst: Raeck 1981, 67–73; Baebler 1998, 34–41.

⁵ Zu den Fellstiefeln: Herodot 7. 75.

⁶ Zur Inschrift, die die Inauguration belegt: *IG* 1² 310. Zur Vase aus Tübingen, die auch als bildliche Darstellung der Sanktionierung des Kultes durch das Orakel angesprochen wird: Popov und Gočeva 1986, 96, Nr. 2.

Bendis als Jägerin, wodurch auch schon in der Antike die Gleichsetzung mit Artemis möglich war. In diesem Zusammenhang erklärt sich vor allem das Reh.

Neben der Assoziation der Jagd, erinnert die Abbildung eines Hundes vor allem an eine Stelle in einem jambischen Spottgedicht, das Archilochos von Paros zugesprochen wird und Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. entstanden ist. Dort berichtet Archilochos im Kontext seiner 'Kolonisations-Erfahrung' an Thrakiens Küste von den *wilden thrakischen Hunden*.⁷ In diesem Zitat drückt sich sehr direkt die Fremdheit und auch die empfundene Distanz zu den nicht-griechischen und als unzivilisiert empfundenen Kulturen aus, die hier offensichtlich mit Bendis verbunden und in den verschiedenen griechischen Bildmedien visualisiert wird.⁸ Der Hund wird, im narrativen Zusammenhang mit Bendis und dem griechischen Verständnis folgend, unter anderem zum Sinnbild des Wesens der Göttin und in der Folge auch zum Bild, um die Thraker als Volk durch seine berühmte Repräsentantin darzustellen. Somit ist der Bildmodus der Göttin die Umsetzung und Visualisierung des aus griechischer Seite empfundenen barbarischen Fremden, das Bendis repräsentiert. Es ist, wie sich auch weiter zeigen wird, kein direktes Abbild ihrer religiösen Natur.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass auf der Grundlage des Dargelegten kein Zweifel daran bestehen kann, wer auf der Münze aus Herakleia wiedergegeben sein muss. Es handelt sich um die Darstellung der thrakischen Göttin Bendis.

Ob in Kleinasien Bendis auch mit den Eigenschaften der Fremden verehrt wurde, oder es sich hierbei nur um Chiffren handelt, die eine Identifizierung ermöglichen sollen, erschließt auf diese Weise nicht.

Ungeachtet dessen jedoch unterstreicht die Münze als Darstellungsmedium sehr eindrücklich das hohe Ansehen und die exponierte Stellung der fremden Göttin in dieser griechischen Polis.

Abgesehen von der Bewertung der Göttin innerhalb der antiken Gesellschaft von Herakleia, die noch zu untersuchen ist, kann man vorerst den Schluss ziehen, dass der attisch geprägte ikonographische Typus offensichtlich kanonisch war und in der gesamten griechisch geprägten Welt verwendet wurde, da identische Abbildungen auch aus Unteritalien bekannt sind. Vor allem aber können auch aus anderen Orten Kleasiens Darstellungen der Bendis identifiziert werden.

So sind u. a. aus Pergamon Terrakottastatuetten bekannt, die einen Bildmodus wiedergeben, der dazu berechtigt, die Fragmente künftig nicht mehr als Artemis sondern als Abbildungen der Göttin Bendis anzusprechen. Exemplarisch sei hier das Oberkörperfragment einer weiblichen Figur genannt (Abb. 5).⁹ Der Kopf, der linke Arm, der rechte Unterarm und der ganze Unterkörper oberhalb der Hüften sind abgebrochen und fehlen. Die Rückseite ist ausgearbeitet aber stark verschuert. Zwei zapfenartige Ansätze auf den Schulterblättern, der rechte nahe dem Hals, der linke etwas tiefer, könnten von den Enden einer Kappe herrühren. Die Figur stand, wie aus der Bewegung des erhaltenen Stücks deutlich ist, mit nach rechts ausgebogener Hüfte da, der Kopf war ein wenig nach derselben Seite hin geneigt, der rechte Arm ursprünglich gesenkt, der linke erhoben. Die Arme und die rechte

⁷ F 51 Diehl = 98 Lassere und Bonnard = 93a West. Vgl. den Kommentar bei Lassere und Bonnard 1958, 32.

⁸ Allgemein zu der Problematik: Bichler 1996, bes. 64; Baebler 1998, 34–41.

⁹ Winter 1908, 212, Nr. 236; Egilmez-Tulunay 1980, 270, Nr. 4.



Abb. 4: Umzeichnung eines Schalenbildes aus Apulien (heute verschollen), auf der Bendis mit den Doppellanzan abgebildet ist (nach Hartwig 1897, 21, Abb. 8).

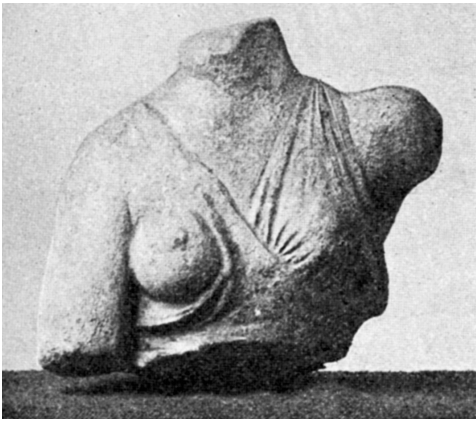


Abb. 5: Oberkörperfragment einer Figurine aus Pergamon, die aufgrund der Kleidung als Bendisdarstellung gelten kann (nach Winter 1908, 212, Nr. 236).



Abb. 6: Figurenfries des Dekrets aus Piräus, das Bendis abbildet. Neben ihr steht der thrakische Heros Deloptes. Sie werden aufgesucht von zwei Priestern (nach Hartwig 1897, Taf. I, Abb. 1).

Brust sind nackt, ohne Zweifel waren auch die Beine unbedeckt, und der auf der linken Schulter geheftete Chiton reichte nur bis zum Oberschenkel hinab. Über ihm liegt ein Fell, das auf der rechten Schulter zusammengebunden und, die Brüste freilassend, um die Hüfte genommen ist. Die Ikonographie zitiert den kanonischen Darstellungsmodus mit dem die thrakische Göttin in der griechischen Welt abgebildet wurde und so wird das Fragment seit der Entdeckung zu Recht mit der thrakischen Göttin Bendis in Verbindung gebracht. Auch wenn der Kontext des Fundes aus Pergamon unklar ist, zeigt sich eindringlich, dass Bendis wohl weiter verbreitet und an mehreren Orten Kleinasien bekannt war.

Kehrt man wieder zur archäologischen Überlieferung aus Herakleia selbst zurück, zeigt sich dass Bendis nicht nur in die Polis aufgenommen wurde, sondern dass sie in dieser neuen Heimat von allen große Ehren, ja sogar Kult empfang.

Vordergründig offenbart sich hier ein sehr gängiges und auch weithin bekanntes Phänomen, das seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. die antike Welt veränderte. In Kleinasien, wie auch im griechischen Mutterland, kommt es zur Einführung neuer Kulte. Fremde Gottheiten und vor allem neue religiöse Rituale und Praktiken wurden durch Ausländer in Athen eingeführt.¹⁰ Notgedrungen führte dies zu einer Veränderung im traditionell griechischem Polytheismus. Ganz besonders deutlich äußert sich dies in der Neugestaltung der offiziellen Opferkalender, die in Herakleia dazu führte, Bendis aufnehmen. Aber letztlich ist dies nur eine phänomenologische Umschreibung, die nicht zu erklären vermag, aus welchem Grund vereinzelte fremde Götter in den Pantheon unterschiedlicher Poleis aufsteigen konnten. Dieser Integration und Assimilation müssen Eigenschaften zugrunde liegen, die allgemeinerer Art sind und über das reine 'Fremdsein' hinaus gehen.

Da Bendis in Athen ihre Gestalt erhielt, und von dort aus im griechischen Bild exportiert wurde, ist es naheliegend, die Situation in dieser Polis zu betrachten. Eine Schlüsselposition nimmt ein Monument aus Athen ein, das ungefähr zur selben Zeit die Verstaatlichung des Bendis-Kultes behandelt.

Ein Kult entsteht

Ende des 19. Jhs. wurde bei Erdarbeiten am Südwestabhang des Mounichiahügels in Piräus ein Urkundenrelief entdeckt. Es nimmt Bezug auf die Kultstätte in Piräus auf dem Mounichia-Hügel, das der Thrakerin Bendis geweiht war.¹¹ Die aus Marmor gefertigte Stele aus dem Jahr 379/78 v. Chr. hat im unteren Teil ein Ehrendekret und im oberen eine reich geschmückte Bildtafel, die hier auch im Mittelpunkt des Interesses steht.¹² Auf dem Bildteil sind insgesamt drei Figurengruppen von einer einfachen architektonischen Umrahmung umgeben. Flankiert werden die beiden äußeren Längsseiten durch zwei Pilaster, darüber befindet sich ein Architrav auf dem der Dachfries mit Stirnziegeln ruht. Am rechten oberen Bildrand sind, halb hinter einem Felsen verdeckt, Hermes mit dem Petasos und Füllhorn, drei weibliche Gestalten, die Nymphen, und Pan in Begleitung einer Sphinx abgebildet.

¹⁰ Mikalson 1975, 158–59, 163, 187; Garland 1992, 112.

¹¹ Hartwig 1897, 10 mit der bis dahin geltenden Diskussion über die Lage des Tempels. Diese Literatur wird in der späteren Diskussion nicht weiter berücksichtigt. s. dazu: Travlos 1971, 340–42. Zur Inschrift, die das Heiligtum anführt: SEG X (1949), 64; XVII (1960), 5; XXIV (1969), 12; IG I³ 136; Ferguson 1989, 130–33; Sokolowski 1962: Erstpublikation Hartwig 1897, 2–7; Simms 1985 *passim*; 1988, 60–71; Zuletzt: Stavrianopoulou 2005, 144–55.

¹² Die Maße des Bildes betragen: H 34 cm, L 57 cm.

Direkt unterhalb dieser Gruppe sind, ebenfalls am linken Bildrand, zwei männliche Adoranten. Sie nähern sich den beiden Hauptfiguren, die den rechten Bildteil füllen. Es handelt sich um einen Mann und um eine Frau. Die weibliche Figur ist mit hohen Stiefeln, einer nicht attischen, bzw. phrygischen Mütze bekleidet und hält zwei Lanzen in der Hand. Sie ist wegen der ikonographischen Merkmale eindeutig als die thrakische Göttin Bendis benennbar.

Entsprechend muss die männliche, bärtige Figur neben ihr der thrakische Heros Delopetes sein, der oft mit der Göttin gemeinsam erscheint.

Gedeutet wird das Gefolge auch in der Weise, dass die Heiligtumsdiener sich dem Bendideion nähern, wo sie für ihre treuen Dienste geehrt werden sollen.¹³ Die Thrakerin in Begleitung ihres ihr beigeordneten Heros erwartet die Adoranten. Die ganze Zeremonie wird von den Göttern Pan, Hermes und den Nymphen beobachtet.

Darunter befindet sich folgender Text:

Den Göttern!

Im Amtsjahr des Archon Polystratos, am achten Tag des Monas Hekatombaion; (beschlossen wurde) in der ordentlichen Versammlung; Sosias, Sohn des Hippokrates, stellte den Antrag; Da die Athener den Thrakern als einzigen unter allen fremden Volksgruppen die Erwerbung eines Grundstücks und die Gründung eines Heiligtums gemäß dem Orakel aus Dodona sowie die Prozession vom Staatsherd im Rathaus gewährt haben muss und die in der Stadt mit der Errichtung eines Heiligtums in Athen Beauftragten für ein gegenseitig freundschaftliches Verhältnis eintreten; damit nun die Orgeones sowohl den Gesetz des Staates Folge leisten, gemäß dem die Thraker die Prozession nach Piräus durchführen sollen, als auch sich zu den Orgeonen der Stadt entgegenkommend verhalten, Zum guten Glück! Die Orgeonen aus Piräus haben bezüglich der Prozession beschlossen, dass die Orgeonen der Stadt teilnehmen dürfen, so wie sie es sich gewünscht haben und den Eichenzweig vom Rathaus nach Piräus zusammen mit den Orgeonen aus Piräus begleiten dürfen. Die Epimeleten in Piräus sollen die städtischen Orgeonen empfangen, indem sie ihnen im Heiligtum der Nymphen Schwämme und Waschbecken und Wasser sowie Kränze überreichen und im Heiligtum selbst ein Frühstück bereiten, wie sie es auch für sich selbst herzurichten pflegen; bei den Opfern aber sollen der Priester und die Priesterin zu den herkömmlichen Gebeten die gleiche Fürbitte zum Wohl der städtischen Orgeonen beifügen, damit, wenn dieser Beschluss so ausgeführt wird und die ganze Volksgruppe einig ist, die Opfer für die Götter und was sonst dazu gehört gemäß der väterlichen Sitten der Thraker und der Gesetze des Staates stattfinde und das Verhältnis der ganzen Volksgruppe zu den Göttern ein gutes und frommes sei. Es soll aber den Orgeonen aus der Stadt Athen auch, wenn sie ein Anliegen haben, Zutritt zu den Orgeonen unmittelbar nach der Durchführung des Opfers und der Besprechung der heiligen Angelegenheiten (in den Versammlungen) zustehen. Und wenn einige von den Orgeonen aus der Stadt den Verein der Orgeonen in Piräus beitreten möchten, dann soll ihnen der beitritt und [...] Anteil an den Opfern ihr Leben lang gewährt sein....

Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. verfasste der Kultverein der Bendis diesen Text und ließ verkünden, dass ihnen vom attischen Staat das Recht eingeräumt wurde, Land zu erwerben und ein Heiligtum zu gründen. Die Durchführung der Prozession ging vom Prytaneion auf der Agora aus und endete beim Heiligtum der Göttin in Piräus (dem Bendideion). Der Prozessionsverlauf, besonders sein Ausgangspunkt, deuten darauf, dass es sich um einen Kult handelte, der zum offiziellen Kultapart der Polis erhoben worden war. Die Einführung ihres Kultes in

¹³ Larson 2001, 137.

den Kultkalender der Stadt Athen wurde immer anhand der Überlieferung des Thukydides (2. 29. 4) gedeutet. Ihm zufolge wurde der fremden Göttin Bendis aus dem barbarischen Norden – als Dank für die Allianz der Thraker mit den Athenern während des Peloponnesischen Krieges – für kurze Zeit in Athen Gastrecht eingeräumt.¹⁴ In diesem Zusammenhang wurden Hiera errichtet und der Kult ihr zu Ehren aufwändig begangen.¹⁵ Letztlich kann die historische Erklärung aber ein Aition sein, um ein Phänomen nachträglich zu erklären, zumal Bendis schon sehr viel länger bei den Griechen bekannt war, und auch bald außerhalb Attikas bekannt werden sollte.

Vorrangig dominiert im Text immer, dass Teil des Kultverständnisses immer die Exklusivität war. Der Kult war immer und vor allem vorwiegend für Thraker gedacht. Jede Einbindung attischer Bürger änderte an diesem Grundprinzip und Grundverständnis nichts und so deutet man den Kult als Mittel der Separation. Für die konkrete Situation in Attika mag diese Erklärung durchaus ausreichend sein, doch gilt sie auch für Kleinasien?

Die verschiedenen Gesichter des Kultes

Sind in Herakleia auch dieselben Eigenschaften zur Formierung der gesellschaftlichen Gruppen der Grund für ihre Beliebtheit und der Darstellung auf den Münzen? War sie in Anlehnung daran vor allem und in weiten Teilen der griechischen Welt Göttin der Thraker, wie auch in der Literatur immer noch gerne vertreten wird?

Die Münze als Darstellungsmedium belegt, dass Bendis in Herakleia nicht durch einen Kultverband geehrt wird, sondern durch die Polis selbst. Es liegt nicht das Dekret eines Stifterverbandes vor, der sie abbildet, sondern sie erscheint auf den offiziellen Münzen der Stadt. Zudem wird in Kleinasien auch ein Monat des jährlichen Festkalenders nach der Göttin benannt. Obgleich es keine weiteren Hinweise oder Überlieferungen bislang dazu gibt, zeigt sich hier schon ein deutlicher struktureller Unterschied.

Sowohl in Athen als auch in Kleinasien steigt Bendis in den offiziellen Kult auf, aber anders als in Athen besaß ihr Kult offensichtlich keinen exklusiven sondern gegenteilig einen integrativen Charakter. Das ergibt sich schon aus der Überlegung, dass eine Göttin, die nur von einer kleinen Gruppe verehrt wurde, kaum auf den Münzen der Stadt dargestellt würde.

Es offenbart sich an dieser Stelle, dass die Einführung neuer Kulte allem Anschein nach mit großen lokalen Unterschieden erfolgen konnte.

Also stellt sich die Frage welche religiösen Eigenschaften verkörperte die Thrakerin. Diese entschlüsseln sich, betrachtet man das Relief aus Piräus genauer (Abb. 6). Darauf findet man evidente Hinweise, dass noch eine ganz andere kultische Seite der Bendis in diesem Bild mit verankert ist. Das Relief zeigt oberhalb der beiden Epimeleten eine Panprotome sowie Hermes und die Nymphen. Ihre Anwesenheit wird vor allem als topographisches Chiffre gesehen, da sich auf dem Mounichiahügel auch das Heiligtum der Nymphen befand. Tatsächlich zeugt es auch von einer inhaltlichen Verbindung, da man sich, um das Temenos der Bendis betreten zu können, einer rituellen Reinigung unterziehen musste. Allerdings

¹⁴ Ergänzt werden kann die historische Überlieferung zu Bendis auch durch die Inschrift. *IG*² II/III 1283. Darin wird ausdrücklich darauf hingewiesen, dass den Thrakern das Recht zuerkannt wurde einen Tempel zu errichten.

¹⁵ Mikalson 1975, 158–59, 163, 187. Zur Ausschmückung des Festes: van Straten 1995, 50 mit weit. Lit. zu diesem Thema.



Abb. 7: Umzeichnung des verschollenen Felsbildes aus Paros. Am linken Bildrand ist die thrakische Göttin zu sehen (nach Larson 2001, 134, Abb. oben).

vermutete man lange, dass die Verbindung zwischen Bendis und den Nymphen singulär ist und sich nur auf den Kult in Athen beschränkt. Gerade dies aber muss angesichts weiterer Bildträger und auch der literarischen Überlieferung, die sich auf ihr Wesen konzentrieren, erneut überdacht werden. Ergänzt werden kann dies Diskussion um ein weiteres Monument, das die kultische Verbindung zwischen Bendis und den Nymphen darstellt. Es handelt sich um das Relief aus Paros (Abb. 7). Der figurenreiche Fries, der heute nur noch in einer Zeichnung überliefert ist, kann grob in drei Bildregistern unterteilt werden. Im kleinen oberen und ebenso im darunter befindlichen größeren Bildteil sind Götter abgebildet. Auf der rechten Seite des Reliefs der Zug der Gläubigen. Gängige Bildchiffren sind in Anlehnung an attische Reliefs aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. die Maske des Ancheloos im oberen Teil zu erkennen. Daneben sieht man den sitzenden Pan, die Nymphen mit Hermes. Vor allem im Bildaufbau, aber sicherlich auch inhaltlich den Nymphen zur Seite gestellt, erscheint Bendis. Sie tritt am rechten Bildrand im bekannten Bildtypus auf. Es besteht in der Forschung kein Zweifel daran, dass es sich hier um die bildliche Wiedergabe der Kult-einführung der Bendis auf der Kykladeninsel handelt. Bemerkenswert, dass auch hier die kultische Verbindung zwischen Bendis und den Nymphen im Bild wiedergegeben wird, obgleich es sich nicht um einen zu Attika vergleichbaren Kult handelt. Erklärt werden kann dies nur durch die inhaltliche Beziehung zwischen Bendis und den Nymphen.¹⁶

¹⁶ Deoudi 2003–04; 2004.

Tatsächlich ist die bildlich wiedergegebene Verbindung auch durch die archäologische und vor allem durch die literarische Überlieferung an verschiedenen Orten in Thrakien bekannt. Bendis wurde in Thrakien gemeinsam mit den Nymphen verehrt. Kultstätten, welche die Göttin mit den Nymphen teilte, sind sowohl in Neapolis als auch in Oisyne belegt. Auch aus Abdera liegen vergleichbare archäologische und literarische Befunde vor, die diese Kultverbindung wiedergeben und belegen.

In Athen und auch in Paros wusste man um die religiöse Verbindung zwischen Bendis und den Nymphen.

So endlich erklärt sich auch, dass Herodot sie als *Basileia* bezeichnet. Herodot (5. 17–22; 4. 33) berichtet weiterhin, dass eben dieser *Basileia* die Frauen in Thrakien Weizengarben zum Opfer darbringen. Einen identischen Ritus vollziehen Jungfrauen (*parthenos pro tou gamou*) im Hieron von Bendis vor der Hochzeit auch in Kleinasien.¹⁷ Berücksichtigt man diese Überlieferung, kann man die Thrakerin als Göttin und Beschützerin der weiblichen Fertilität ansprechen. Aufgrund dieser Überlieferung erklärt sich auch, dass sie z.B. von Aristophanes gleichzeitig als die *megale theos* bezeichnet wird (Aristophanes fr. 368 Kock).¹⁸ Sie wird in ihrer neuen Heimat somit als Muttergottheit gesehen. Dabei wird Artemis in Thrakien Bendis genannt, wie die Olympierin z.B. in Kreta auch unter dem Namen Diktyerin oder in Lakedaemonien als Oupin bekannt war. Offensichtlich deuten in allen Gegenden die lokalen Namen darauf hin, dass man darin einen Artemiskult sah, bei dem der lokale kultische Schwerpunkt zusätzlich unterstrichen wurde bzw. der regional identifikatorische Aspekt bewahrt wurde.

Diese Eigenschaften waren offensichtlich gewichtiger als der identifikatorische Faktor und führten in Kleinasien zum Aufstieg der Thrakerin in das Pantheon der Polis. Und so kann auch sagen, dass sich an Bendis verschiedene Ebenen der Integration und Separation ausmachen lassen, die vor allem durch eine inhaltliche Bewertung der Person zu erklären sind. Bendis, und damit auch der Kult der Göttin, wurde in Kleinasien allem Anschein nicht nur adaptiert, sondern als Kultperson konnte sie vollkommen in das religiöse Wertesystem der dortigen Polis assimiliert werden. Die Aufnahme indes scheint bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit in der jeweiligen Ausprägung auf einen allgemeinen religiösen Wert der Thrakerin hinzuweisen, der vielleicht auch den integrativen Charakter umschreiben kann. Trägt man diese Informationen zusammen, zeichnet sich ein Bild über die thrakische Göttin, dass parallel und nahezu unabhängig ist vom konventionellen 'Bild' über Bendis. Die Göttin war in ihrem Wesen und auch in Bezug auf ihre kultischen Zuständigkeiten bei weitem vielfältiger als die Ikonographie vermuten lässt.

Offensichtlich fand Bendis an der kleinasiatischen Küste eine wirkliche neue Heimat, wohingegen sie in Athen trotz ihres hohen Ansehens immer nur eine geduldete Fremde blieb.

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¹⁷ Herodot 5. 17–22; Brulé 1987, 228.

¹⁸ Diese Deutung wurde schon von Fol und Marazov 1977, 25–27 vorgeschlagen.

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SUR QUELQUES NOMS THÉOPHORES À ISTROS (ISTRODÔROS, IËTRODÔROS, ACHILLODÔROS)

DAN DANA ET MADALINA DANA

Abstract

The paper concerns several Greek names of the Milesian colony of Istros: Istrodoros, an epichoric name in the city bearing the name of the river; Ietrodoros, a theophoric name relating to the Ionian god Apollo Ietros; finally, Achillodoros, a name reflecting the popularity of the cult of Achilles in the north-western part of the Black Sea. Local identity, Ionian heritage and cults are all manifest.

Cette courte notice se propose de réunir et de discuter certains noms théophores et épichoriques de la cité d'Istros, ancienne colonie milésienne. Dans un premier temps, il sera question de noms liés au fleuve homonyme et voisin de la cité; ensuite, de quelques noms se rapportant à une divinité typiquement ionienne (Apollon Iëtros) ou à un héros vénéré dans la région (Achille). Occasionnellement, d'autres noms locaux seront pris en discussion.¹

Noms en Istro-

La connaissance par les Ioniens à une date ancienne du fleuve qui donna le nom de la colonie milésienne d'Istros est prouvée par la présence sur un vase du milieu ou troisième tiers du VII^e s., trouvé dans la Vieille Smyrne, du nom Ἰστροκλέης (= Ἰστροκλήης) Ἰστροκλέης μ' ἐπ[όησεν] (inscription peinte); à remarquer la forme archaïque, sans contraction, du nom. Ce tesson atteste donc à cette époque même les relations de l'Ionie avec la région pontico-danubienne. Selon l'éditrice L.H. Jeffery, le vase proviendrait de Milet.²

Comme partout dans le monde grec, la présence d'un fleuve aurait dû inspirer des anthroponymes tirés de son nom, dans notre cas Istros. Un tel nom aurait bien pu être Ἰστροδότος, 'don de l'Istros', sur une monnaie hellénistique de Smyrne. Pourtant, il doit être définitivement écarté, car il s'agit d'une fausse lecture de Mionnet, reprise par Münsterberg;³ en réalité, il convient d'y reconnaître un patronyme au génitif, Μητροδότου.⁴ En revanche, une

¹ Toutes les dates, sauf mention contraire, sont d'avant J.-C.

² Ou bien μ' ἐγ[ράψεν] or μὲ ἀ[νέθηκεν]. Voir *BE* 1958, 144; 1966, 365; Jeffery 1964, 45 (et pl. 5a); 1990, pl. 79 no. 8; Ehrhardt 1988, I, 49, et II, 319, n. 343; Boardman 1995, 301 (et fig. 289); Wachter 2001, 210, IOD 1 (pourtant, mal translittéré en *Histrokles*, p. 210, n. 1); Oppermann 2004, 7. Pour les premières connaissances des Grecs sur le Pont-Euxin, voir Graham 1958; Drews 1976; récemment, Eck 2003.

³ Münsterberg 1973, 103 et 206.

⁴ Masson 1977, 87 (élimination de ce 'magnifique composé'). À la n. 25, Masson remarque la présence de deux noms indubitables, Ἰστροκλέης à Smyrne et Ἰστροδόρος à Istros ou Tomi, promettant de revenir sur ces noms. Pour Robert (1963, 345, n. 4), ce nom est 'fort intéressant'; il élimine également le nom * Ἰστροδότος (monnaie de Smyrne). Sa présence sur une monnaie de Smyrne serait difficile à expliquer, car de tels noms sont généralement épichoriques; ce serait étrange qu'un magistrat d'Asie Mineure ait porté un nom pareil.

publication récente signale l'existence du beau nom Ἰστροθέμις, attesté dans une autre colonie ionienne, Apollonia du Pont, sur une stèle funéraire inédite (V^e–IV^e s.).⁵

Enfin, un troisième nom bâti sur Istros est certainement Ἰστροδώρας, 'Don de l'Istros', et dans la région même où on l'attendait. L'anthroponyme est présent sur une pierre errante d'origine incertaine; mais il s'avère, après notre examen, qu'elle ne pourrait provenir que d'Istros. Le texte de cette épitaphe du début de l'époque hellénistique a été publié par G. Mihailov dans le deuxième tome des *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* (couvrant le territoire entre Hémus et Danube).⁶

Ἄρτις
Ἰστροδώρας
θυγάτηρ.

Mihailov⁷ pensait que cette pierre, datée des IV^e–III^e s., provenait de la partie roumaine de la Dobroudja, vraisemblablement d'Istros, et apportait comme parallèle une épitaphe d'Istros du IV^e s., mentionnant une autre Artis:⁸

Ἄρτις
Ἡγησαγό-
[ρεω] γυνή.

Ce nom féminin *Artis* n'apparaît comme tel nulle part ailleurs dans le monde grec; l'attribution istrienne de l'épitaphe de la fille d'Istrodôros semble donc confortée. Discutant quelques inscriptions des cités de la côte méridionale du Pont-Euxin, L. Robert a mis en évidence la présence du nom de femme Ἄρτη à Amisos et à Amastris,⁹ similaire au nom Ἄρτις dans les inscriptions évoquées ci-dessus; Robert concluait à juste titre pour une origine et pour une diffusion ioniennes du nom.¹⁰ Il n'est pas sans intérêt que Strabon mentionne précisément Ἄρτις comme ancien nom de Lébédos ionien (14. 1. 3, C. 633). Plus récemment, selon L. Buzoianu, Artis serait un nom thrace (cf. Artiskos, affluent de l'Hebros; Artanès, affluent de l'Istros; la tribu des Artakioi),¹¹ mais il ne s'agit ici que d'une analogie fortuite. Car il faut, comme toujours, chercher d'abord une explication pour ce nom dans le domaine grec; ce n'est qu'en cas d'échec qu'il convient de penser à l'onomastique indigène.¹²

⁵ Πάρμις Ἰστροθέμιος (Panajotova 1998, 11; SEG LII 690 C).

⁶ IGB II 877; LGPN IV 179; mentionné antérieurement dans BE, 1952, 102, et par Detschew 1976, 538. Selon l'opinion d'Alexandru Avram, l'écriture indiquerait le III^e s.

⁷ IGB II, p. 221 (photo tab. 133). L'inscription se trouve au Musée de Varna, inv. II 1247. D.M. Pippidi soutient lui-aussi la possibilité d'une provenance d'Istros, d'autant plus que 'ce musée [de Varna] conserve aussi d'autres monuments histriens qui ont été transportés au cours de la première guerre mondiale' (Pippidi 1960, 599–600).

⁸ *I.Histriae* 237. Comme le précise D.M. Pippidi dans son commentaire, Artis n'appartenait pas à la famille du prêtre éponyme Hégésagorès fils de Théodotos. Le nom *Hégésagorès*, ainsi que d'autres en *Hégés-* sont typiques d'Istros et des villes ioniennes du Pont ouest (Apollonia).

⁹ Amastris: Ἄρτη, femme de Pharnakès (Robert 1963, pl. VII, fig. 1); Amisos: Ἄρτη Ὀλύμπου (III^e s.).

¹⁰ Robert 1963, 344–47.

¹¹ Buzoianu 2001, 267.

¹² Voir l'étude exemplaire de Robert 1963.

Or, *Artis* trouve bel et bien sa place dans l'onomastique grecque, où le nom n'est pas isolé. Dans les villes ioniennes situées au Nord de la mer Noire on rencontre d'autres noms rares en ἄρτι-: ainsi, à Olbia, Ἀρτικῶν ('qui écoute avec justesse', *IGDOP* 25, IV^e s.); à Panticapée, Ἀρτινοίη (*CIRB* 169, IV^e s.) et Ἀρτίπους (*CIRB* 718, époque romaine).¹³ À son époque, Bechtel connaissait comme noms en Ἀρτι- (de Ἀρτιο-) seulement Ἀρτικῶν, Ἀρτίπους (Samos, ca. 394–364) et Ἀρτιξ Ἀρτικίδαιος (Pharsale, IV^e s.).¹⁴ Le beau nom Ἀρτις nous apparaît donc, à la lumière de ces données, comme dérivant d'une tradition ionienne, et comme épichorique à Istros (les deux seules occurrences).¹⁵ Quant à sa signification, il renvoie à une qualité souhaitable pour les femmes, impliquant une bonne conduite.¹⁶

Revenant au nom d'Istrodôros, il s'intègre dans une série onomastique grecque de noms renvoyant au culte des fleuves fécondants, tels Céphise, Achelôos, Scamandre, Méandre, etc.; les enfants sont conçus comme 'dons' des fleuves avoisinant leurs cités.¹⁷ Ces anthroponymes en -δωρος, bâtis sur des noms de fleuves (Ἀχελωιο-, Καίκο-, Κηφισο-, Μανδρο-, Ὠρωπο-, Ἀσωπο-) sont fréquents dans le monde grec et ils sont toujours épichoriques.¹⁸ Le nom Istrodôros est donc à ajouter aux noms en -δωρος. On sait par ailleurs que le fleuve Istros était représenté sur les monnaies de la ville d'Istros comme divinité;¹⁹ or, le nom Istrodôros apporte un témoignage important sur le culte rendu au fleuve par les habitants de cette cité. Dans la ville voisine d'Olbia, le culte du dieu-fleuve Borysthène (Dniepr) était déjà connu à Bérézan au VI^e s. (*IGDOP* 90). L'autre fleuve voisin, Hypanis (Boug), apparaît à son tour dans l'onomastique locale: Ὑπάνιχος (*IGDOP* 101, V^e s.) et même Ὑπανις (*IOSPE* I² 134). Enfin, un de ces deux dieux-fleuves était représenté sur les monnaies (au III^e s.).²⁰

Dans le Pont-Euxin, on connaît en outre le nom Ἰστρων, porté par quelques astynomes et fabricants, sur des timbres amphoriques et de Chersonèse et de Sinope ainsi que sur les monnaies de la ville de Tauride. Dans ce cas, il doit être mis en rapport avec la géographie de la région et il témoigne des relations étroites entre ces villes et la cité d'Istros.²¹

¹³ Tokhtasev 1999, 179. Il accentue le nom comme Ἀρτίς; Zgusta 1955, §915 (Artinoîè, Artipous). Voir maintenant toutes les occurrences dans *LGNP* IV 51.

¹⁴ Bechtel 1917, 77.

¹⁵ Ehrhardt 1988, II, 347, n. 542; *LGNP* IV 51.

¹⁶ Voir, dans le cas des épigrammes, les considérations de Grandinetti 1999, 723–24: 'la maggior parte degli elogi femminili è costituita da termini di valore morale la cui accezione è piuttosto ampia. Quelli che dominano di gran lunga sono i vocaboli che esprimono l'obbedienza alle regole e alle convenzioni sociali, la conformità ai modelli imposti dalla tradizione: σωφροσύνη, σεμνότης, ἀρετή, αἰδώς, κοσμιότης ed εὐταξία'.

¹⁷ Robert 1979, 34 et 40; cf. aussi dans Robert 1989a, 293. Voir en dernier lieu l'excellente étude de Thonemann 2006, avec une discussion générale sur les noms 'potamophores'.

¹⁸ Sittig 1912, 127–39 (notant, p. 130, n. 1, l'inexistence d'un Ἰστρόδοτος); Dornseiff-Hansen 1957, 283. Pour le nom Ὀρόποδος, voir l'étude érudite de Knoepfler 2000.

¹⁹ Bărbulescu 1990; Price 1993, no. 260.

²⁰ Discussion chez *IGDOP*, 131 et 168. Dans les colonies mégariennes, un nom fréquent est Βοσπόριχος, répandu à partir de Byzance (Robert 1964, 145).

²¹ Canarache 1957, no. 490 (groupe IV de Chersonèse, vers 200–100, Istrôn fils d'Apollônides); Masson 1990, II, 540 (Istrôn à Sinope); *LGNP* IV 179 (six occurrences à Chersonèse). Voir en dernier lieu Cojocaru 2004a, 249, no. 589. Plusieurs personnes portent, dans tout le monde grec, le nom Ἰστρος: voir *LGNP* I (Cyrénaïque, Délos, Rhodes), II (Athènes), III A (Étolie), III B (Delphes, Thessalie). Il est peu probable, pourtant, qu'il s'agisse toujours d'un lien avec le fleuve ou la cité pontique.

Iëtrodôros et Achillodôros

Un graffito récemment découvert à Istros, datant du troisième quart du VI^e s., nous apporte le nom théophore Ἰητροδόωρος (au génitif Ἰητροδῶρο-, avec la graphie archaïque), sur le cercle intérieur du vase.²² La graphie du nom est celle attendue dans un milieu ionien comme celui d'Istros. Le nom n'est pas nouveau, mais il s'agit, semble-t-il, de sa première attestation (ainsi que, peut-être, de la première attestation des noms en Ἰητρο-/Ἰατρο-). Cet anthroponyme renvoie explicitement à l'épiclèse bien connue d'Apollon Iëtros, le dieu patron de la plupart des colonies milésiennes du Pont-Euxin.²³

La famille du nom²⁴ comporte comme deuxième élément -αγόρης, -δωρος, -θεμης, -κλῆς, -φάνης, ainsi que des formes suffixées comme Ἰατρέας et Ἰάτρων. Presque tous ces noms sont attestés à Milet, où cependant le culte de Iëtros n'est pas pour autant encore attesté du point de vue épigraphique.²⁵ Le culte de cette divinité est garanti aussi, grâce à l'onomastique, dans d'autres cités de la Mer Noire: Ἰητροδόωρος à Olbia (*IGDOP* 101, V^e s.); Ἰατρο[κλῆς?] à Gorgippia (*CIRB* 1148, II^e s. ap. J.-C.), et peut-être à Panticapée (Ἰατ[ροκλῆς?], *CIRB* 77, époque impériale); Ἰητροκλῆς à Sinope (*IGDOP* 1, V^e s.); et même dans la ville dorienne de Callatis, certainement par irradiation (Ἰατροκλῆς, *I. Callatis* 32, I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.).

Une dédicace intéressante d'Olbia, du V^e s., est érigée par un Olbiopolite (Xanthos fils de Posis) pour Apollon Iëtros, dit 'maître d'Istros' (Ἰστρο μεδέων).²⁶ Comme à Olbia, à ses débuts, Iëtros était la divinité poliade d'Istros. Le graffite mentionné constitue la première attestation de son culte et de son importance dans cette ville. Iëtrodôros est donc un nom théophore local; similairement, à Chersonèse Taurique, les noms Παρθένιος et Παρθενοκλῆς montrent l'importance de la divinité poliade, la Parthénos (= Artémis).²⁷

À l'embouchure de l'Istros se trouvait l'île Leukè, associée par toute la tradition ancienne avec Achille. Le culte de ce héros était particulièrement important à Olbia, qui contrôlait le sanctuaire construit sur l'île, ainsi que la Course d'Achille, à la proximité de la ville.²⁸ Or, la popularité du culte du héros homérique est également prouvée par l'onomastique: à Olbia et à Tyras on connaît plusieurs personnes appelées Ἀχιλλᾶος, Ἀχιλλῆτος, et notamment Ἀχιλλεύς. Le nom le plus significatif est, certes, Achillodôros, rencontré par deux fois à Olbia, où il était épichorique, et cela dès une époque très ancienne.²⁹ On constate cependant une

²² Johnston 1995–96 (le reste de l'inscription est de lecture incertaine, mais le contexte est clairement symposiaque) = *SEG* XLVI 889; Avram 2003, 299; *LGPV* IV 173.

²³ Pour cette divinité, disparue avec le temps en Ionie mais restée très importante, en revanche, dans les colonies du Pont-Euxin, voir Ehrhardt 1989. Pour les noms théophores au Nord-Ouest du Pont-Euxin, voir Cojocar 2004b; en dernier lieu, voir Cojocar 2007.

²⁴ Cf. Bechtel 1917, 216.

²⁵ Ehrhardt 1988, I, 130–47 (particulièrement 144–45). Ces noms théophores (notamment Ἰατροκλῆς) sont répandus davantage en Ionie et en Carie, mais aussi à Apollonia d'Illyrie et à Athènes (Ehrhardt 1988, II, 440, n. 546).

²⁶ *IGDOP* 58; Rusjaeva et Vinogradov 2000.

²⁷ Pour le dernier nom, voir, par exemple *SEG* XLVIII 999 (règne de Trajan); cf. aussi Zgusta 1955, §1117; *LGPV* IV 272–73.

²⁸ Voir la discussion chez Dubois 1996, 95–98; en dernier lieu, voir le recueil coordonné par Hupe 2006.

²⁹ Première attestation dans la célèbre lettre de Bérézan (*IGDOP* 23, ca. 500); *IDGOP* 105 (ca. 400–350, *defixio*); Ehrhardt 1988, II, 486, n. 1001; pour la famille du nom, voir *LGPV* IV 63.

irradiation à Istros:³⁰ dans une liste des citoyens d'une tribu (aux environs de l'ère chrétienne), on rencontre un Ἀχιλλόδωρος fils de Kleitophôn.³¹ Ce nom pourrait donc témoigner de la présence d'un culte d'Achille également à Istros, ce qui n'est pas dû au hasard, car l'île de Leukè était très proche. Comme remarquait Robert, les noms de héros ('hérophores') sont précieux pour les cultes locaux.³² Qui plus est, à Istros sont attestés un Ἀχιλλεύς fils d'Ἀχιλλῆς (*I.Histriae* 99 et 100, sous les Sévères), ainsi que deux autres Ἀχιλλεύς (*I.Histriae* 217 et 225, époque impériale).³³

Pour conclure, notre brève enquête met en évidence l'importance de l'onomastique pour les cultes locaux et les particularités régionales. Ainsi, deux noms attestés uniquement à Istros (Istrodôros et Artis), et deux noms théophores (Iëtrodôros et Achillodôros). Il faut ajouter le beau nom Istroklès à Smyrne, témoin de l'intérêt précoce des Ioniens à l'égard du Pont-Euxin, et le composé Istrothémis, récemment signalé à Apollonia du Pont. Si Iëtrodôros est un indice précieux de l'héritage ionien,³⁴ Achillodôros témoigne, quant à lui, de l'importance acquise par le héros vénéré dans la région de l'île Leukè. À l'exception d'Artis, il s'agit de noms liés aux divinités particulièrement honorées à Istros: Apollon Iëtros, le patron de la cité; Istros, le fleuve divinisé; finalement, le héros Achille, maître de l'île Blanche. Ces personnes sont 'don' d'un dieu, d'un fleuve ou bien d'un héros, évoquant la protection attendue de la part de ces divinités à l'honneur dans la cité d'Istros.

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³⁰ Robert 1979, 40 (= Robert 1989b, 694); Parker 2000, 56.

³¹ *I.Histriae* 191 col. II₁₀.

³² Robert 1979, 40 (= Robert 1989b, 694).

³³ On rencontre le même personnage, Achilleus fils d'Achillas, πᾶτηρ, à Tomi (*I.Tomis* 83), à la même époque, ainsi qu'un Chrysaôn fils d'Achillas. À Odessos, toujours à l'époque impériale, on connaît deux patronymes Achillas (*IGB I²* 47 b₃₁ et *IGB I²* 147).

³⁴ Pour l'intérêt de comparer l'onomastique milésienne à celle de ses colonies, voir Masson 1987, 258; pour le domaine eubéen, voir Knoepfler 2007; pour la Thrace égéenne, voir Parissaki 2007.

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (8)

Companions, Reference Books, etc.

The market for 'Companions' must be strong; it is certainly competitive. Sometimes the precise market is difficult to gauge, although variously stated to be undergraduates, general readers and non-specialists, and the degree of accessibility of contributions can vary between and within volumes.

The Cambridge series is more focused and portable than some others. One of the latest additions to it is *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*.¹ The editor, H.A. Shapiro, has assembled a group of American-domiciled scholars, plus one New Zealander, to produce ten substantial essays grouped under 'History', 'Literature and Philosophy', and 'History and Material Culture'. Thus: 'Tyrants and Lawgivers' (V. Parker); 'Polis, Community, and Ethnic Identity' (J.M. Hall); 'Warfare and Hoplites' (P. Krentz); 'The Life Cycle in Archaic Greece' (D. Kamen); 'Homer, Hesiod, and the Epic Tradition' (J.L. Ready); 'Archaic Greek Poetry' (L.V. Kurke); 'The Philosophers in Archaic Greek Culture' (A.W. Nightingale); 'Delphi, Olympia, and the Art of Politics' (R.T. Neer); and 'The Human Figure in Early Greek Sculpture and Vase Painting' (J.M. Hurwit). Of most interest to me is C.M. Antonaccio's 'Colonization: Greece on the Move, 900-480' (she, like Hall, has contributed to the Blackwell *Companion to Archaic Greece*);² she is quite clear about the importance of the phenomenon, thoughtful about its nature, and aware of the relevance of studying it for an understanding of mainland Greece and Greekness.

Another is *The Cambridge Companion to Pericles*.³ The contributors are a dozen Anglo-American specialists. L.J. Samons II, the editor, opens and closes proceedings with 'Athenian History and Society in the Age of Pericles' and 'Pericles and Athens'; in between we have P.J. Rhodes, always worth reading, on 'Democracy and Empire', D. Boedeker on 'Athenian Religion in the Age of Pericles', L. Kallet on 'The Athenian Economy', K.A. Raaflaub on 'Warfare in Athenian Society', and K. Lapatin on 'Art and Architecture'. C. Patterson looks at slaves, foreigners and women, J. Henderson at 'Drama and Democracy', J.P. Sickinger at 'The Bureaucracy of Democracy and Empire', R.W. Wallace at Plato, Socrates and intellectual history, and R. Sealey at 'Democratic Theory and Practice'. And finally, J.E. Lendon on 'Athens and Sparta and the Coming of the Peloponnesian War'. Perhaps Rhodes, Sickinger and Sealey might have been arranged *seriatim*. In both, suggestions for further reading follow each chapter (in *Archaic Greece* combined with bibliographies; in *Pericles* a consolidated bibliography

¹ H.A. Shapiro (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xix+303 pp., 3 maps, 42 figs. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-82200-8.

² K.A. Raaflaub and H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden, MA/Oxford 2009).

³ L.J. Samons II (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xx+344 pp, 43 figs., 2 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-80793-7.

of superior format). A decent selection of illustrations and maps enhances both. Shapiro deploys BCE; Samons B.C.

*A Companion to Greek Religion*⁴ has been added to the estimable and admirably produced series of *Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*, which when complete will amount to some 30 volumes. Twenty-eight scholars from British, North American and European (mainly French) institutions provide as many chapters, each concluding with a guide to further reading. An Introduction by the editor (D. Ogden) is mostly devoted to summarising the individual contributions *seriatim*. Part I, 'In the Background', is formed of S.B. Noegel's chapter on 'Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East', and the 'Epilogue' (Part IX) contains L. Llewellyn-Jones's 'Gods of the Silver Screen: Cinematic Representations of Myth and Divinity', in which the 1960 'Jason and the Argonauts' and, more generally, the work of Ray Harryhausen receive favourable mention. The other seven parts are typically of four chapters apiece: 'The Powers: The Gods and the Dead' (the Olympian pantheon – K. Dowden; nature deities – J. Larson; personification – E. Stafford; heroes and hero cults – G. Ekroth; the dead – D. Felton), 'Communicating with the Divine' (prayers and hymns – W.D. Furley; divination – P. Bonnechere; animal sacrifice – J.N. Bremmer, a contributor to *Ancient Religions*), 'From Sacred Space to Sacred Time' (sanctuaries – B. Dignas; purity and pollution – A. Bendlin; festivals – S. Scullion; time – J. Davidson), 'Local Religious Systems' (in Athens – S. Deacy; Sparta – N. Richer; Alexandria – F. Dunand; Arcadia – M. Jost), 'Social Organization, the Family, and Sex' (including women and Aphrodite), 'Mysteries and Magic' (Dionysos – S.G. Cole; Demeter and Kore – K. Clinton; etc.), and 'Intersections: Greek Religion and...' (art – T.H. Carpenter; philosophy – F.-G. Herrmann; literature – T. Harrison). A unified bibliography and a combined index. Roman religion will be treated in a later volume in the series.

Ancient Religions receive more attention in the volume so titled edited by S. Iles Johnston.⁵ The 25 contributions by 19 academics, the majority based in the United States, are divided into two main parts, 'Encountering Ancient Religions', wherein F. Graf's essay on 'What Is Ancient Mediterranean Religion?' leads on to 'Monotheism and Polytheism' (A. Assmann), 'Ritual' (J.N. Bremmer), 'Myth' (Graf again), 'Cosmology...' (J.J. Collins), 'Pollution, Sin, Atonement, Salvation' (H.W. Attridge), 'Law and Ethics' (E. Otto), 'Mysteries' and 'Magic' (both Johnston herself), contacts between religions (J. Scheid), and 'Religion and Writing' (M. Beard); and 'Histories', in which crisply written chapters focus on individual areas, civilisations and religions: Egypt (Assmann and D. Frankfurter), Mesopotamia (P.-A. Beaulieu), Syria (D.P. Wright), Israel (Collins), the Hittites (Wright), Iran (W. Malandra and M. Stausberg), the Minoans and Mycenaeans (N. Marinatos), Greece (J. Mikalson), Etruria (O. de Cazanove), Rome (J. North), and early Christianity (Attridge). A lot packed into some 250 pages of text, as the 'Epilogue' by B. Lincoln confirms, and a very useful and wide-ranging introduction to the subject.

⁴ D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA/Oxford 2007, xxii+498 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 1-4051-2054-1/13: 978-1-4051-2054-8.

⁵ S.I. Johnston (ed.), *Ancient Religions*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2007, xviii+266 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-674-02548-6.

Another *Blackwell Companion* is that to Greek and Roman historiography,⁶ published in two volumes though no longer than others within one set of boards. The 58 chapters, by scholars from the Anglosphere and continental Europe, are grouped into five parts, with 'Contexts' and 'Surveys' in the first volume treating various issues and genres. J. Marincola, the editor, contributes 'Speeches in Classical Historiography' and 'Universal History from Ephorus to Diodorus', plus a brisk Introduction in which he touches on models and approaches but forswears any attempt to pre-empt contributors. Volume II has 'Readings' (of individual historians and works) and 'Neighbors' (i.e. forms bordering history), and concludes with the single-chapter 'Transition' (B. Croke on late antique historiography).

Appropriately, we begin with R. Nicolai on 'The Place of History in the Ancient World', C. Darbo-Peschanski on 'The Origin of Greek Historiography', and G. Schepens examining (the Greek) historical tradition. P.J. Rhodes writes on the Greek historians' use of documentary (archival rather than literary) evidence. T.P. Wiseman contributes 'The Prehistory of Roman Historiography', S. Saïd 'Myth and Historiography', L.V. Pitcher deals with characterisation and A.J. Woodman with reception. The 'Surveys' range from 'The Development of the War Monograph' (T. Rood), 'Continuous Histories' (C. Tuplin), and 'Local History and Attidography' (P. Harding), through 'Greek Historians of Persia' (D. Lenfant), '...of the Near East' (J. Dillery) and '...of Rome' (C. Pelling), on to 'The Historians of Alexander the Great' (A. Zambrini) and 'The Jewish Appropriation of Hellenistic Historiography' (G.E. Sterling), then to 'The Early Rome Tradition' (H. Beck), 'Memoir and Autobiography in Republican Rome' (A.M. Riggsby) and 'Roman Historiography in the Late Republic' (D.S. Levene), before 'The Emperor and his Historians' (J. Matthews) and 'The Epitomizing Tradition in Late Antiquity' (T.H. Banchich).

The 24 'Readings' start, naturally, with Herodotus, then Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Velleius Paterculus, Josephus, Q. Curtius Rufus, Tacitus, Arrian, Appian, Cassius Dio and Ammianus, sometimes with multiple treatments. 'Neighbors' contains 'Epic and Historiography at Rome' (M. Leigh), 'Ethnography and History' (E. Dench), 'Tragedy and History' (R. Rutherford), 'Antiquarianism and History' (B. Bravo), 'Biography and History' (P. Stadter), 'Geography and History' (J. Engels), and 'Fiction and History' (J.R. Morgan). Overall, a good companion, brought to us by a well-chosen band of instrumentalists lightly conducted by the editor to tease out a rich variety of sounds.

Another Herodotus? The *Landmark Herodotus*⁷ follows in the path of the well-received *Landmark Thucydides*, and it is landmark indeed. It contains a new translation of the text, by A.L. Purvis, suitably annotated and equipped with running headings and side notes to aid the general reader, buttressed by a thoughtful 28-page Introduction from R. Thomas, a dated outline of the text, 21 appendices (some 120 pages) by leading scholars, a glossary, a general bibliography and an index of 100 pages. The text itself and the appendices are well

⁶ J. Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, 2 vols., Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA/Oxford 2007, xli+xxvii+705 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4051-0216-2.

⁷ R.B. Strassler (ed.), a new translation by A.L. Purvis, with an introduction by R. Thomas, *The Landmark Herodotus; The Histories*, Pantheon Books, New York 2007, lxiv+959 pp., maps and illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-375-42109-9.

furnished with carefully selected illustrations and maps (127 of them, clear and well drawn, with friendly scales both metric and imperial), set to answer some questions before they are asked. And once asked, the appendices do their best to provide succinct answers: P. Krentz writes on Athenian government, P. Cartledge on 'The Spartan State in War and Peace', A.B. Lloyd on Herodotus' account of Egypt and J. Romm on 'Herodotean Geography'. E.L. Wheeler's three contributions, on the Black Sea region, Scythia and Steppe Culture, are followed by G.L. Cawkwell on the Ionian Revolt, G. Crane on religious festivals and T.R. Martin on Greek currency and weights and measures (with tables and modern equivalents, metric and otherwise). W.F. Wyatt examines dialect and ethnic groups, C. Higbie 'Aristocratic Families...', C. Tuplin 'Herodotus on Persian and the Persian Empire'. J.W.I. Lee on 'Hoplite Warfare...' and 'The Persian Army...' is complemented by M.A. Flower on 'The Size of Xerxes' Expeditionary Force' and N. Hirschfeld on 'Trireme Warfare...'. D. Lateiner (also a contributor to *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*) focuses on 'Oracles, Religion, and Politics...'; C. Dewald on 'tyranny...' and 'Women and Marriage...'. The editor (and impresario) rightly praises some of these individual contributions. Overall, a triumph of good intention and good presentation, admirably fulfilling its flyleaf claims to readability and comprehensive usefulness. Just add Swansea to Lloyd's affiliation on p. vii.

At a time when modern Economic History has long been in decline, sunk in the doldrums of econometrics, it is refreshing to see *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*,⁸ edited by three scholars from Stanford, W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller, each of whom contributes a chapter plus a shared Introduction, none of whom is obsessed with modernism *vs* substantivism. It has been produced by the press's American arm, the chapters written by two dozen American, British and Continental authors, many well known (S.E. Alcock, J.K. Davies, A. Möller, J.-P. Morel, R. Osborne, D.W. Rathbone, S. von Reden and, not least, the editors themselves). The work is divided into seven parts: 'Determinants of Economic Performance', such as ecology, demography, technology, law and economic institutions, households, female and child labour, etc.; 'Early Mediterranean Economies and the Near East', encompassing the Aegean Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece, the Iron Age in the western Mediterranean, and the Persian Near East; 'Classical Greece', with chapters on production, distribution and consumption; 'The Hellenistic States' – in the Near East and Egypt as well as Hellenistic Greece and western Asia Minor; 'Early Italy and the Roman Republic'; 'The Early Roman Empire', again production, distribution and consumption, plus 'The state and the economy'; 'Regional Development in the Roman Empire' – western provinces, the eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, frontier zones; and an 'Epilogue' on the transition to late antiquity. Obviously, themes and most of those 'determinants' recur from section to section, chapter to chapter, but the format of mixing thematic and chronological chapters seems to work well for a volume into which all sorts of users – it claims accessibility for non-specialists – will dip to glean the current state of scholarship and the directions in which it is or might be heading, for instance the combined use of archaeological and textual evidence, measuring growth, some exploration of capital and debt, etc. As can be gauged, the volume's coverage laudably stretches beyond the Graeco-Roman in time and

⁸ W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xvi+942 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-78053-7.

space. Thoroughness extends to a 150-page bibliography and 34 pages of index. A 'one-stop shop'.

Only a flavour can be given of the massive *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*,⁹ edited by P. Sabin, H. van Wees and M. Whitby, two weighty and important volumes from the press's home base, split chronologically before the Late Republic, each buttressed by chronological tables, glossaries, lists of ancient authors, hefty bibliographies, and indexes both general and of ancient passages cited. The writers are well-known experts (J.M. Hall, S. Hornblower, D. Rathbone, E.L. Wheeler, etc.), most from British and North American universities, mainly classicists and ancient historians, though V.D. Hanson is at the Hoover Institution and Sabin is a professor of strategic studies. Overall, there are 27 chapters, 24 of them arranged in blocks of six ('International relations'; 'Military forces' – their nature and composition; 'War' – practicalities, ethics, conduct; 'Battle' – nature and experience of; 'Warfare and the state' – the political and economic dimensions; 'War and society' – the social and cultural dimension), although occasionally subdivided, for example between land- and sea-based warfare, aligned with the key aspects of ancient warfare identified in modern historiography. These are grouped within four chronological sections – 'Archaic and Classical Greece', 'The Hellenistic World and the Roman Republic', 'The Late Republic and the Principate', 'The Later Roman Empire' – plus an introductory section, 'The Historiography of Ancient Warfare', comprising the other three chapters: 'The modern historiography of ancient warfare' (Hanson), 'Warfare in ancient literature' (Hornblower), and 'Reconstructing ancient warfare' (Whitby). The chronological tables apart, it is intentionally thematic – those seeking simple narrative treatments should go elsewhere. As we should expect, different contributors have different emphases and have interpreted their remit differently – with some more daring in the advance of new ideas than others. Thus the work's apparent symmetry of structure and chapter 'themes' may be a little misleading. But throughout it extracts *detail* from ancient authors and from archaeological evidence – indeed, the editors emphasise how a flood of archaeological discoveries has helped to transform the understanding of ancient warfare. It succeeds in its aim of providing an up-to-date 'comprehensive overview of [a] burgeoning field of study' (Vol. 1, p. xv); it is comprehensible too. Appropriate illustrations and all necessary maps are provided. Excellent coverage of an important topic, set to realise its aim of becoming the reference work of choice for specialists and non-specialists alike.

The first supplement to *Brill's New Pauly*¹⁰ is an incomparably useful reference tool. One may turn to Wikipedia for the dates of an actor in a lesser 'soap opera'; one does not do so for Lydian dynasts. But where should one look? Here, and now in English (the German version was published in 2004). The volume is in two parts – the Near, Middle and Far East, and the Mediterranean and Western Europe – which are then divided further: 'Mesopotamia

⁹ P. Sabin, H. van Wees and M. Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. Vol. 1: *Greece, the Hellenistic World and the Rise of Rome*, xxx+664 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-78273-9. Vol. 2: *Rome from the Late Republic to the Late Empire*, xxii+608 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-78274-6.

¹⁰ W. Eder and J. Renger (eds.), *Chronologies of the Ancient World. Names, Dates and Dynasties*, Brill's New Pauly Suppl. 1, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2007, xvi+364 pp. Cased. ISBN 10: 90-04-15320-9/13: 978-90-04-15320-2.

and neighbouring regions', 'Egypt', 'Israel and Judah', 'Synchronistic charts', 'Asia Minor in the first millennium BC', 'Peripheral states in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods', 'Iranian Empires and their vassal states', 'Graeco-Bactria and India', and 'Rome and the West in Chinese historiography', in the first half, and 'Greece and Rome', 'Late-antique Germanic kingdoms', 'The Empire of the Huns', and 'Bishops and Patriarchs' in the second. In turn, these are generally further subdivided, thus I. 2.4 is 'Urartu', V. 2.3. 'Lydian rulers according to the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Egyptian sources', VI. 10 'Regnum Bosporanum', VII. 2.3 'Sassanids' (*sic*), X. 6 'The Attalids of Pergamum', and so forth. The entries themselves, tabular, are furnished with short introductions and explanatory notes. There is a combined index of rulers (listed under all principal variants of their names).

Greek Historical Inscriptions,¹¹ now in paperback, is to a great extent the work that David Lewis, its dedicatee, never produced: a successor to the second volume of M.N. Tod's *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1948), incorporating many significant texts found since. P.J. Rhodes (Lewis's literary executor) and R. Osborne have done this admirably, taking 102 inscriptions, more of them from outside Athens than hitherto and covering a wider thematic spectrum, arranging them more or less chronologically but with some thematic grouping, and providing parallel text in Greek and English with detailed commentaries designed to be quite broadly accessible, plus a concordance, bibliography, maps, and separate indexes of persons and places, subjects and 'Significant Greek Words'. An Introduction provides a background to the diplomatic of the inscriptions, their use as evidence, the editorial practices employed, etc. As its republication in paperback demonstrates, this welcome and informative collection will be used for a long time to come.

Athens and Beyond

Osborne directed a research project at Cambridge on the anatomy of the 'Cultural Revolution' that took place between 430 and 380 BC, examining in the round why so much in Athenian life, from material culture to economic matters, philosophy to oratory and theatre, was so different at the end of the period from the beginning – and not blaming it all on the psychological effect of the Peloponnesian War. One related activity was a conference held in 2004. This volume publishes the proceedings,¹² half of its dozen papers written by those funded by the project. Osborne sets the scene, 'Tracing cultural revolution in classical Athens', in which he examines theories and their application and the deficiencies he perceives in past treatments before relating these themes to individual contributions and *vice versa*. Within this framework, B. Akrigg looks at changed social structure and economy, C. Taylor at the new political world, J.L. Shear at the politics of commemoration, and E. Irwin at the 'first "historians" on [the] first "thalassocrats"'. K. Lorenz focuses on the visual story-telling on pots and P. Schultz on stylistic changes in Greek sculpture. Plato, Aristophanes and Greek tragedy are considered by A. Long, R. Tordoff and E. Hall, music by A. D'Angour, and E. Eidinow asks why the Athenians began to curse.

¹¹ P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, xxxii+594 pp., illustrations, 3 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-921649-9.

¹² R. Osborne (ed.), *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution: Art, Literature, Philosophy, and Politics, 430-390 BC*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xvi+342 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-87916-3.

*The Panathenaic Games*¹³ is a handsome, well-illustrated, large-format volume of the proceedings, mostly in English, of a conference held in Athens in 2004 in connection with the modern Olympics. Many of the contributions, starting with M. Tiverios's extended opening chapter, focus in whole or in part on (prize) amphorae, depictions of the races in vase painting more generally and the iconography (P. Themelis, J. Neils, P. Schultz, M. Bentz, J.H. Oakley, N. Eschbach, B. Kratzmüller, D. Tsouklidou and D. Williams). H.R. Goette looks at victory monuments, J.D. Mikalson at 'Gods and athletic games', and S.V. Tracy at 'Games at the lesser Panathenaia?'. P. Valavanis contends that the Stoa of Eumenes II and the Hellenistic stage of the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens formed part of a single building project. J.L. Shear examines 'The Ptolemies and Attalids at the Panathenaia', D. Williams the Hellenistic and Roman phases of the Panathenaic stadium, and C.C. Mattusch 'Athens and Herculaneum: The Case of the Panathenaic Athenas'. The editors might helpfully have added an index, and decided whether they preferred amphoras or amphorae.

What was the nature of *Interstate Relations in Classical Greece*?¹⁴ This is what P. Low investigates in a book based on her Cambridge doctoral dissertation. It is not easy going – still too much thesis; but anything with a bibliography combining Peter Rhodes, for instance, with Hedley Bull, Don. Markwell and (the grim) E.H. Carr deserves the effort. An ambition to determine the framework of Greek interstate relation is realised, while casting several brickbats at Thucydides, through chapters on 'International Relations and Ancient History', in which it is recognised that there is more to the game than 'Realism' *vs* 'Idealism', power *vs* morality – with a whiff of Interwars humbug coming from the drains; 'Structuring interstate relations'; 'An anarchic society? International law and international custom'; 'Domestic morality, interstate morality'; 'Norms and politics: the politics of intervention'; and 'Stability and Change'. Conclusion: that is inaccurate to portray violence as the Greeks' preferred solution to external difficulties; and that there was a framework within which 'international' relations were conducted, one primarily of reciprocity, but with *philia*, panhellenism and other concepts available for use or as leaven. Thematic rather than chronological; so what changed over time?

Being Eurocentric tends to come with being European (by descent if not domicile), as most scholars writing about Greek history are. K. Vlassopoulos seeks to challenge orthodox, he believes flawed, readings of Greek history as part of the history of the West.¹⁵ He does so based on a clear understanding of how difficult it is, rather than preaching how to do it, using themes, situations and material from Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval times as well as Greek. A focus of his criticism is the old-style narrative 'history from above', based on 'great men', elites, 'histoire événementielle', etc. – his concern is to reconstruct quotidian history, 'history from below'. In asking how this can be done, he accepts that there are no

¹³ O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri (eds.), *The Panathenaic Games*, Proceedings of an International Conference held at the University of Athens, May 11-12, 2004, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2007, 164 pp., illustrations in text and 16 colour pls. at end. Cased. ISBN 10: 1-84217-221-2/13: 978-1-84217-221-6.

¹⁴ P. Low, *Interstate Relations in Classical Greece: Morality and Power*, Cambridge Classical Studies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, x+314 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-87206-5.

¹⁵ K. Vlassopoulos, *Unthinking the Greek Polis. Ancient Greek History beyond Eurocentrism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xiv+288 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-87744-2.

simple answers. He suggests two approaches: a fictionalised (factionalised?) travel narrative, featuring Democedes, a doctor from southern Italy who reached the Persian court, in the tradition of Barthélemy's travels of Anacharsis;¹⁶ and eschewing the 'functionalist and structuralist methodologies employed by the majority of ancient historians' (p. 235). He should be applauded for challenging so many accepted orthodoxies in a search for an alternative perspective that is 'both feasible and illuminating' (p. 240). That this is, however, the book of the thesis is signposted by the rather dense prose style.

J.H. Kroll's retirement from the University of Texas at Austin was marked by the publication of a volume in his honour by the American Numismatic Society.¹⁷ The dozen contributions range between the more narrowly numismatic – 'The Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms of Mylasa Revisited' (R. Ashton and G. Reger), 'Small Change and the Beginning of Coinage at Abdera' (J.H. Kagan) – and the broadly economic – '*Polis* Economies and the Cost of the Cavalry in Early Hellenistic Athens' (G.J. Oliver), 'A Legal Fiction: The Athenian Law of Sale' (E.A. Cohen). Most lie in between: 'Athens and Bronze Coinage' (C. Grandjean) or 'Cooperative Coinage', i.e. monetary unions (E. Mackil and P.G. van Alfen). In the final chapter, F. de Callatay appends an alphabetical list of archaeological sites with published Greek coins to his call for chronological tables and his various graphs and tabulations of metals used in coins, local *vs* foreign, etc. A 'Hoard Index' usefully supplements the general index.

*The Balkans, the Danube and Beyond*¹⁸

The papers of the seventh 'Ancient Macedonia' symposium (Thessaloniki 2002) have been published,¹⁹ roughly half in Greek, half in English, with a few in French, German, etc. The participants were Greek, Bulgarian (including the late Alexander Fol), American and mixed European, even Australian (affiliations are supplied haphazardly). A selection must suffice to give the flavour and variety: 'Perception of the Self and the Other: the Case of Macedonia' (M.B. Hatzopoulos); 'The Development of a Middle Class in Macedonia' (W.S. Greenwalt); 'The Thracian Policy of the Temenids' (L.D. Loukopoulou and S.E. Psoma); 'La Macedonia da Aminta III a Filippo II...' (S.N. Consolo Langher) and 'Amyntas III. und die griechischen Mächte' (M. Zahrtnt); 'La haute antiquité dans la région d'Ohrid' (V. Bitrakova Grozdanova); 'The Beehive tombs in Thrace and their connection with funerary monuments in Thessaly, Macedonia...' (N. Theodossiev); 'The Greek door in the tomb architecture of Macedonia,

¹⁶ J.J. Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce, vers le milieu de quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire*, 7 vols. (Paris 1788-1789).

¹⁷ P.G. van Alfen (ed.), *Agoranomia. Studies in Money and Exchange Presented to John H. Kroll*, American Numismatic Society, New York 2006, xii+260 pp., 14 pls. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89722-298-9/13: 978-0-89722-298-3.

¹⁸ The e-journal *Fasti Online* (<http://www.fastionline.org>), published by the International Association of Classical Archaeology, based in Rome, has inaugurated a scheme for including in its pages summaries of excavations from sites in south-eastern Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and most of the Yugoslav successor states are actively collaborating). This is a very useful tool, providing first-hand information on what is happening in these countries.

¹⁹ *Ancient Macedonia VII: Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II*, Papers Read at the Seventh International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 2007, xvi+ 779 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-7387-42-4.

Thrace and Asia Minor' (D. Stoyanova); 'Les pectoraux de Thrace et de Macedoine du I^{er} mill. av. J.-C.' (M. Krasteva); 'Metalwork in Macedonia before and during the Reign of Philip II' (B. Barr-Sharrar); 'Pistiros and North Aegean Greek cities' (J. Bouzek and L. Domardzka); and 'King Midas and the Early History of Macedonia' (M. Vassileva). Aspects of Philip II's life and death are favourites: as a sportsman (I. Kertész), and the gods (S. Le Bohec-Bouhet), witches at his court (D. Ogden), homosexuality ditto (K. Mortensen), and 'once more' his death (E. Badian).

A handsome volume has been prepared to honour Muzafer Korkuti,²⁰ a leading figure in Albanian archaeology. There are 35 contributions, in English, French and Italian, combining to open up Albanian archaeology to a Western audience. To begin, the editors, R. Hodges and L. Bejko, sketch out Korkuti's life and times and those of Albanian archaeology over the past 50 years, a road strewn with political and ideological rocks on the escape from isolation and narrow nationalism (S. Veseli returns to this in a contribution 'Archaeology, nationalism and the construction of national identity in Albania'). The topics addressed take us from the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic archaeology of Albania (M. Galaty; I. Gjipali), prehistoric research in the Albanian south-east (S. Aliu) and prehistoric figurines (R. Ruka), via the Barç tumulus (R. Kurti), to Apollonia – its earliest history (S.R. Stocker and J.L. Davis), the Bonjakët excavations of 2004–05 (Davis, Stocker *et al.*), stelae (J.-L. Lamboley; O. Ceka), and Amazonomachy (I. Pojani). Thence to Roman colonies in southern Illyria (S. Shpuza), Roman era road-stations (J.J. Wilkes), excavations and reconstruction at Butrint (N. Ceka; O.J. Gilkes), the necropolis at Phoinike (G. Lepore), the landscape around Phoinike in the Roman period (E. Giorgi), and the Durrës amphitheatre (K. Bowes). Papers continue from the late antique (W. Bowden on fortifications) to the Byzantine (M. Haxhimali on Dyrrhachium) and mediaeval (J. Vroom – Durrës/Dyrrhachium again). A final group is more methodological: O. Lafe providing an overview of surveys undertaken in Albania since 1945, L. Bejko *et al.* on mortuary archaeology, osteology and DNA, P. Pearce on conservation methods etc., S. Martin on 'The Future of Albania's Past' (including a brief history of Albanian archaeology, a review of research, the threat posed by economic development, etc.). A preliminary report on the first season of the Graeco-Albanian expedition at Antigoneia concludes the volume. Well translated, albeit with a slightly uneasy mixture of British and American practice.

*Dalmatia...*²¹ has been offered in honour of J.J. Wilkes, forever associated with this province since the appearance of his *Dalmatia* (London 1969) some 40 years ago. Two of the editors express personal debts to him. The papers gathered here originate in one session of the Roman Archaeology Conference in Glasgow in 2000. Much has happened in the region since Wilkes's book; this volume aims to help reopen it for academic discourse as usual. The 15 papers are arranged in a roughly chronological order, from D. Glogović on 'The prehistoric background to Dalmatia...' to A. Pitesa and 'The Slavs and the Early Croatian State'.

²⁰ L. Bejko and R. Hodges (eds.), *New Directions in Albanian Archaeology. Studies Presented to Muzafer Korkuti*, International Centre for Albanian Archaeology Monograph 1, International Centre for Albanian Archaeology, Tirana 2006, 472 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 99943-923-0-1.

²¹ D. Davison, V. Gaffney and E. Marin (eds.), *Dalmatia – Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001*, BAR International Series 1576, Archaeopress, Oxford 2006, iv+212 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84171-790-6.

The core is Roman Dalmatia, but the temporal and geographical framing is more expansive. B. Kirigin (see below) offers 'The Greek background', S. Bilić-Dujmušić 'The battle at Taurida' and 'Promona: the site and the siege', M. Sanader 'The Roman legionary fortress at *Tilurium*...', and P. Mason both 'The Augustan fort at Obrezje, Slovenia' and 'Late Roman Bela krajina'. Salona is covered by E. Marin (urbanism) and J. Mardešić (excavations), rural settlements and islands by V. Gaffney *et al.*, and the countryside in Liburnia by A. Starac. Epigraphy is the province of A. Kurilić; the economy and maritime trade of A. Škegro and M. Jurišić. Some tidying up of the bibliographies, in form and alphabetisation, is called for, especially those of Kurilić and Pitesa. The volume is well illustrated throughout.

B. Kirigin, one of the contributors to the *Dalmatia* volume, has published his own study of the Adriatic Greek (Parian) colony of Pharos (modern Stari Grad, on the island of Hvar off the Dalmatian coast), based primarily on archaeological evidence.²² The first chapter (of 13) deals with geography, geology, climate, flora and names. Chapter 2 covers the pre-history of the immediate area, whilst Chapter 3 examines the island and city of Paros, Parian settlements, the when and why of Greeks in the Adriatic, reasons for Greeks leaving Greece (demographic or political), and how new settlements were created. Chapters 4 and 5 provide an account of the history of archaeological investigation of Paros, describe what has been found, the city defences, land division and the *chora* (the plain of Stari Grad – 'definitely the greatest engineering project of the Greeks on Croatian territory and one of the best preserved in the world' – p. 158). The succeeding chapters deal, sometimes quite briefly, with social organisation and city administration, the economy (agriculture, crafts and fishing), coins and coinage, cults, burial rituals, and pottery and other clay products. Chapter 12 is an account of Demetrius of Pharos; Chapter 13 of Pharos after Demetrius and the indeterminate end of the city. The 'Concluding remarks' touch on the isolation of Pharos, its relations with Issa, the uncertainties about its economic basis, its extent and its appearance, conflict with the local Illyrians, etc., and underline how much is speculative, how insufficient the data, how much still needs to be done – indeed 'how difficult it is to arrive at some dependable starting point' (p. 159). Almost 100 maps, plans, line drawings and photographs complement the text.

Four volumes from Philipp von Zabern would grace a coffee table by their lavish format but a library by their content.²³ All are produced to a uniformly high standard. Two form

²² B. Kirigin, *Pharos. The Parian Settlement in Dalmatia: A Study of a Greek Colony in the Adriatic*, BAR International Series 1561, Archaeopress, Oxford 2006, vi+175 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-991-9.

²³ U. Brandl and M. Vasić (eds.), *Roms Erbe auf dem Balkan. Spätantike Kaiservillen und Stadtanlagen in Serbien*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, 136 pp., 97 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3760-1; R. Ivanov and G. von Bülow, *Thracia. Eine römische Provinz auf der Balkanhalbinsel*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008, 118 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-2974-3; M. Mirković, *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau*, Orbis Provinciarum Römische Provinzen, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, 128 pp., 112 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3782-3; M. Oppermann, *Thraker, Griechen und Römer an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres*, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, vi+122 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3739-7.

part of the series *Orbis Provinciarum* – on Thracia and Moesia Superior. Here relief maps of the Roman empire and of the province under discussion form the endpapers, supplemented by plentiful additional maps within. The text is laced with site plans, numerous (mainly colour) photographs of sites, landscape and objects (coins, jewellery, statuary, pottery), reconstructions, some aerial photographs, etc. A fairly extensive index, notes and a bibliography subdivided by principal themes and places conclude each volume. The formats of M. Oppermann's volume and that edited by U. Brandl and M. Vasić are similar, but lacking notes and an index and the former stinting on maps. Their subjects, notably the latter, are of a slightly different order. *Thracia* offers a brief account of Greek colonies and the Thracian kingdom, then the arrival of the Romans, before dividing the main text into two chronological blocks, within which there are headings such as administrative structure and organisation, society, military, religion, economy, infrastructure, etc., and concluding with a short account of what happened in the half millennium or more after Rome. (The core of *Moesia Superior* is even more subject-oriented.) *Thraker...* has a similar opening, but then, in a series of chronological chapters covering the 7th century BC–6th century AD, each containing a scene-setting introduction to major events, examines individual colonies (Histria) or groups of colonies (Bizone and Dionysopolis, for example). *Roms Erbe...* provides an account of the three 'Illyrian' emperors (A. Eich) and then examines their palaces, villas, etc. individually (with copious site plans and reconstructions): Sirmium/Sremska Mitrovica and Šarkamen (I. Popović); Felix Romuliana/Gamzigrad (Vasić; G. von Bülow; U. Wulf-Rheidt); Mediana (Vasić); and Justiniana Prima/Caričin Grad (B. Bavant and V. Ivanišević).

B.I. Gaydarska's work on prehistoric south-eastern Bulgaria originated as a Durham PhD dissertation.²⁴ The text and appendices are amply furnished with tables and illustrations; the attached CD contains over 500 more. The first chapters set the scene, the objectives and methodology, moving on to describe the history of Bulgarian prehistoric research and interpretative trends, landscape archaeology, micro-regional studies, and the use and methodology of GIS. Chapter 4 is concerned with geology, geomorphology, climate, vegetation and palaeo-environmental reconstruction. Chapters 5–7 examine the Sokolitsa, Ovcharitsa and Drama micro-regions (barrows, cemeteries, tells, pits and flat sites). The final chapter provides a comparison and synthesis of the landscape, material culture and society of the three micro-regions. As with most BAR publications, this one would have benefited from a little more time spent standardising forms and tidying things up.

S. Hansen's *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit*²⁵ is a heavyweight large-format publication, the second volume given over entirely to 532 plates (photographs and line drawings). It will be, for some time, the last word on the anthropomorphic plastic art of south-eastern Europe (from Hungary and the Danube down) and central and western Asia Minor in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic, although more and more objects are being discovered. He investigates

²⁴ B.I. Gaydarska, *Landscape, Material Culture and Society in Prehistoric South East Bulgaria*, BAR International Series 1618, Archaeopress, Oxford 2007, xx+279 pp., illustrations, and CD. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0030-6.

²⁵ S. Hansen, *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur anthropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*, Archäologie in Eurasien 20, Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, in 2 parts: Part 1 – Text, x+440pp., 202 figs., 9 tabs.; Part 2 – Plates, 532 pls. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3773-1.

style, typology and context, spatial and chronological distribution, detaches himself from 19th-century ethnology, religion and an 'obsolete fertility paradigm' (p. 381) in seeking to interpret the objects upon an archaeologically sound basis, and traces artistic and cultural developments and trends, innovations in imagery, etc. (interpretation occupies some 50 pages). The text is complemented by a comprehensive bibliography (95 pages), a series of appendices containing find-spots arranged by category of object, 200 in-text illustrations, maps and tables, and detailed summaries in English and Russian. Another monumental and magnificent endeavour from the German Archaeological Institute (and from von Zabern).

The vivid dust-jacket of *The Transition to Late Antiquity*²⁶ shows a flaming helmet, used to promote the conference here published. A.G. Poulter, the editor, provides both scene-setting chapters, one on the 'Transition to Late Antiquity' in the Danube region and more generally, the other with particular reference to the city of Nicopolis ad Istrum, the fort at Dichin, and the countryside. Three chapters are grouped as 'Historical Context' – J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, 'The Lower Danube under Pressure: from Valens to Heraclius', M. Whitby, 'The Late Roman Army and the Defence of the Balkans', and P. Heather, 'Goths in the Roman Balkans'; followed by three on the Anglo-Bulgarian research programmes and Bulgarian excavations at Nicopolis (L. Slokoska), the Late Roman *agora* and civic organisation (P. Vladkova), and the environmental archaeology programme (M. Beech), and four on Dichin – ceramic evidence (V.G. Swan), conflagration in the grain stores (P. Grinter), mammal- and bird-bone assemblages (C. Johnstone), and coin circulation in the late antique Balkans (P. Guest). The second part of the book has sections to provide context for city, fort and countryside, with chapters on the transformation of cities in late antiquity in Macedonia and Epirus (J.-P. Sodini), the changing nature of urbanism in the central Balkans in the 6th century (B. Bavant) and in the urban character of Ephesus from the 3rd to 7th centuries (S. Ladstätter and A. Pülz), 'Nicopolis ad Istrum: Backward and Balkan?' (M. Whittow), and a comparison of fortress cities on the Lower Danube and Mesopotamia (J. Crow); then the fort at Iatrus in Moesia Secunda and the Late Roman defensive system on the Lower Danube (G. von Bülow), early Byzantine fortresses in Thrace and Dacia (V. Dinchev), and the defence of Pannonia and Italy in the 4th–5th centuries (N. Christie). The countryside section examines field surveys in Bulgaria (I. Turov), field survey methodology (Poulter again), geophysical survey and rural settlement architecture (M.J. Boyd), and 'The Contribution of Regional Survey to the Late Antiquity Debate: Greece in its Mediterranean Context' (J. Bintliff). H. Vanhaverbeke *et al.* provide 'Another View on Late Antiquity' – that of Sagalassos in south-western Anatolia, its suburbs and environs. A well-produced volume, amply illustrated.

Nomads, Central Asia and Beyond

R. Batty's *Rome and the Nomads*²⁷ is a massive work (of long gestation from a doctoral dissertation) covering Roman relations with a multitude of nomadic peoples – what was the actual as opposed to the perceived threat?; how was it dealt with? A lengthy Introduction,

²⁶ A.G. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity, on the Danube and Beyond*, Proceedings of the British Academy 141, The British Academy/Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, xxx+678 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-726402-7/ISSN 0068-1202.

²⁷ R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads. The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, xxiv+652 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-814936-1.

opening with an explanation and justification of the concept of the 'Pontic-Danubian world' (roughly the Aegan to the Caspian), a region long neglected in the West and in Western scholarship for times ancient and modern, leads on to 11 chapters within a tripartite structure. 'Lands and Peoples' covers physical geography, zones of interaction and Pontic-Danubian 'themes', to provide a new assessment of the most important trends in the region, underplayed in much modern writing about it, and how these linked it together: immigration, dispersal, pastoral traditions, rural violence, limited urbanisation. 'Wanderers without Culture or Laws', alongside a principal chapter of the same name, houses 'Strabo on the Pontic Lands' and 'Ovid in Exile'. It attempts to determine how far the chosen themes were present in earlier times. Only then do we reach 'Rome and the Nomads', which contains chapters such as 'Immigration and Empire' and 'Raiders, Rebels, and Thieves' alongside pieces on the pastoral economy and urban development. A short Epilogue concludes with 'The Legacy of Rome', though overall the emphasis is on the early period of Roman rule. Whereas others, notably Horden and Purcell, have discussed the role of seas in binding together interaction between numerous micro-regions,²⁸ in Batty's world the same function is performed by 'seas of grass and corn' (p. 1).

Des Goths aux Huns: Le nord de la mer Noire..²⁹ written by the three authors individually or in various combinations (M. Ščukin most prominent in the first half, M. Kazanski in the second), has a comprehensive bibliography and ample provision of maps and plans, reconstructions, and illustrations of objects. There are seven chapters, each divided into two or three sections. Thus 'Avant les Goths' deals with Sarmatians, the 'enigmatic' Veneti and others and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and 'L'arrivée des Goths' with the Wielbark culture and the formation of Chernyakhov culture. 'Les nouveaux Barbares' continues to focus on Chernyakhov, 'La sarmatie d'Hermanaric' on the Gothic confederacy and Ermanric's conquests (of the Veneti, etc.), the steppe nomads (Sarmatians, Alani, etc.), and Tanais, 'La Crimée et le Taman à l'époque romaine tardive' is divided into the south-western Crimea, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the barbarians on its eastern frontier, and 'L'époque hunnique au Nord de la Mer Noire' considers the arrival of the Huns, their domination over the Sarmatians, and the Black Sea in this period (the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Tauric Chersonesus and the south-western Crimea). The concluding chapter is entitled 'L'époque des Nibelungs'. A comprehensive account written from mainly an archaeological perspective.

The shifts and drifts in nomad-sedentary relations are examined in the eponymous collection,³⁰ based mainly on interdisciplinary research conducted collaboratively at the universities of Halle and Leipzig. The 22 papers (all but one in English) are grouped under 'Features of Nomadic Existence – In Between and Beyond Common Distinctions', 'Constituents

²⁸ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford 2000) (reviewed in *AWE* 3.2 [2004], 385–99); N. Ascherson, *Black Sea* (London 1996); C. King, *The Black Sea: A History* (Oxford 2004). See also the books of M. Van De Mieroop and A. Laronde and J. Leclant reviewed below.

²⁹ M. Ščukin, M. Kazanski and O. Sharov, *Des Goths aux Huns: Le nord de la mer Noire au Bas-Empire et à l'époque des Grandes Migrations*, Archaeological Studies on Late Antiquity and Early Medieval Europe (400–1000 A.D.) 1, BAR International Series 1535, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2006, vi+482 pp., 197 figs. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-756-8.

³⁰ S. Leder and B. Streck (eds.), *Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations*, Nomaden und Sesshafte 2, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2005, xii+503 pp, illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-89500-413-8.

of Interrelation: Military Power, Economy, State Policies', and 'Conceptions and Perceptions of Nomadic Identity'. A majority of papers focus on the Bedouin (mediaeval to modern), Gypsies, 20th-century Arab nationalism and Arab and tribal identity, and 'early modern' Iranian and Ottoman affairs. More relevant for our purposes, although there is some cross-pollination from/with the other papers, are: H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Sedentarism and Nomadism as Criteria of Ancient Egyptian Cultural Identity'; O. Schmitt, 'Rome and the Bedouins of the Near East from 70 BC to 630 AD: 700 years of Confrontation and Coexistence'; C. Schubert, 'The Henschir-Mettich Inscription...' as an example of interaction in Roman North Africa; T. Brüggemann, '... Forms of Nomadic Assimilation in the Late Antiquity of Northern Africa (3rd–5th Centuries)'; and G. Mehnert, 'Images of the Cimmerians and Scythians and the Interpretation of Archaeological Remains in Transcaucasia'. A.M. Khazanov's overview of 'Nomads and Cities in the Eurasian Steppe Region and Adjacent Countries...' takes us from the 1st millennium BC to the 17th century AD. A useful index.

Mehnert's doctoral dissertations on Scythian finds from Transcaucasia has been published in the same series.³¹ It opens, as one would expect, by laying out the theoretical and interpretative background, defining terms, and so forth, then the problems of Transcaucasian chronology, moving on to describe the graves and the finds regionally and at individual sites. A synthesis is made and a typology formulated. The comprehensive catalogue of 1262 items is arranged within the headings of graves, settlements and shrines by place. There are various tables and maps, and 115 plates of objects and related site plans.

P.L. Kohl's overview of the Bronze Age societies of western Eurasia for the *Cambridge World Archaeology* series³² reveals both his familiarity with Russo-Soviet sources, though he downplays it, and his own anthropological and theoretical interests. Few authors would discuss 'Inherent limitations of the present study' (another citation of E.H. Carr here). Developments in archaeological theory (a Western, specifically Anglo-American vice) and scepticism about the identification of archaeological cultures (an Eastern vice) loom large in Chapter 1 – Kohl advocates broad-sweep 'culture-history', macro- rather than micro-. The other chapters are: 'The Chalcolithic Prelude – From Social Hierarchies and Giant Settlements to the Emergence of Mobile Economies..'; 'The Caucasus – Donor and Recipient of Materials, Technologies, and Peoples to and from the Ancient Near East'; 'Taming the Steppe – The Development of Mobile Economies: From Cattle Herders with Wagons to Horseback Riders Tending Mixed Herds; the Continued Eastward Expansion of Large-Scale Metallurgical Production and Exchange'; 'Entering a Sown World of Irrigation Agriculture – From the Steppes to Central Asia and Beyond: Processes of Movement, Assimilation, and Transformation into the "Civilized" World East of Sumer'; leading to 'The Circulation of Peoples and Materials – Evolution, Devolution, and Recurrent Social Formations on the Eurasian Steppes and in West Asia...'. You get what you see: long-term processes and interactions (in husbandry, technology, domestication of horses, metalworking, systems of

³¹ G. Mehnert, *Skythika in Transkaukasien: Reiternomadische Sachkultur im archäologischen Fundkontext*, Nomaden und Sesshafte 10, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008, x+205 pp., 5 tabs., 4 maps, 115 pls. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89500-634-0.

³² P.L. Kohl, *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, Cambridge World Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xxiv+296 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-521-84780-x/13: 978-0-521-84780-3.

exchange and trade, economic development, militarism, political instability, fortifications, weaponry, settlement patterns).

Kohl also provides the Preface to *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, published in the same series.³³ This is the first synthesis in English of the diverse archaeology of a region that had been a closed military zone until 1991 and thus was amongst those least known in the West. It encompasses the latest Russian scholarship and is written by two Ural-based academics. There is a welcome willingness of get on with things rather than wallow in (Western) theory. On the other hand, the Russo-Soviet tendency to make ethnic, linguistic or racial attributions of archaeological cultures is still an undercurrent, though not too obtrusive. The Introduction sets the environmental-climatalogical scene and introduces the chronology, periodisation and terminology (with related problems). First, 'The Bronze Age: The Rise of Economic and Cultural Complexity'. Chapter 1 outlines the development of bronze metallurgy; Chapter 2 looks at the various cultures – Yamnaya, Abashevo, Sintashta, Petrovka – their characteristics, archaeological material, economic and social matters, cultural formation, the Seima-Turbino type of sites, etc. 'Stabilization, Colonization and Expansion in the Late Bronze' follows, focusing on the Andronovo 'family' of cultures, then the 'Bronze Age Trajectory' is summarised, and on to 'The Iron Age – Forming Eurasian Interactions', in effect from mobile cattle-herding pastoralism to mounted nomadism, with chapters such as 'The Southern Urals within the Nomadic World: At the Cultural Crossroads' (the origins, history, social organisation and material culture of Eurasian nomads; the Sarmatians) and 'The Forest-Steppes Cultures of the Urals and Western Siberia...'. The work concludes with 'Social Trends in North-Central Eurasia during the Second and First Millennia BC'. Many plates, figures and tables.

*After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam*³⁴ takes its title from an Anglo-(post-)Soviet archaeological conference organised by the British Academy in June 2004. After John Boardman's scene-setter, 'Central Asia: West and East', which opens with a brief sketch of British academic interest in the region (and a photograph of Sir Aurel Stein's gravestone in Kabul), the other 22 papers are arranged in rather porous groups: 'Nomads' (and the shaping of and migration in Central Asia), the 'City' (in Bactria; Ai Khanum reconstructed; the culture of Parthian Nisa; Termez in antiquity; town-planning or otherwise in Sogdian cities), 'Invasion' (Ardashir's eastern campaign and the numismatic evidence; the Sasanian relief at Rag-i Bibi, Afghanistan; Gobekly-depe; Gorgân and Dehistan; fortifications of Gyaaur Kala, Merv), 'Money' (as a marker of cultural continuity and change; in pre-Islamic Merv; its circulation in ancient Tokharistan; in eastern Central Asia before AD 800), and 'Religion' (iconography on ancient Iranian coins; a fire temple at Tash-k'irman Tepe; a tower of silence at Bandiyan; Buddhism and Buddhist art). The period is the millennium from Alexander to the arrival of Islam; the emphasis, recent investigations in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan; the focus on the symbiosis between the city dwellers of the oases and the nomadic graziers of the surrounding semi-desert. Well illustrated, thoroughly indexed.

³³ L. Koryakova and A.V. Epimakhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Cambridge World Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xxiv+384 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-521-82928-3/13: 978-0-521-82928-1.

³⁴ J. Cribb and G. Hermann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, Proceedings of the British Academy 133, The British Academy/Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, xvi+514 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-726384-6/ISSN 0068-1202.

Volume 19 of *Archäologie in Eurasien*³⁵ is devoted to a comprehensive publication of a high-status grave from Chosheutovo on the Achtuba, an eastern branch of the Lower Volga. It was found by chance in 1986 and is replete with horse furnishings (over 300 items forming 11 harness sets). The inventory and the burial rite are typically Scythian. Well illustrated with 90 line-drawn figures and 15 colour photographs. Summaries in English and Russian; the bulk of the bibliography in untransliterated (and untranslated) Russian. A 35-page catalogue, also fully illustrated, completes the volume.

Another attractive product of the same series, volume 23,³⁶ presents decorative bronzes from East Asia in the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin. The first part contains an introduction to the steppe lands of northern China, well furnished with modern photographs of terrain, flora and fauna, and a short account of the diplomat and collector Hans Bidder; the second a catalogue of the material, some 109 items, given in 1965, after Bidder's death.

Asia Minor, Anatolia, the Near East and Beyond

S. Berndt-Ersöz takes a fresh look at Phrygian rock-cut sanctuaries and offers a new interpretation of them in an updated version of her doctoral dissertation.³⁷ The work is in two parts. The text, following a brief Introduction, has three main chapters: 'Structural Examination of the Archaeological Evidence' (geography, topography, orientation, niches, step monuments, images of Matar and others, inscriptions, etc.), 'Chronology', in which archaeological, decorative and epigraphic evidence is analysed, and 'Analysis of Function and Cult Practice', examining location, the identity of deities, the purpose of the monuments and how they were used, and influences on and parallels to them. A brief 'Summary and Conclusions' looks at Phrygian religion and cult practices from both archaeological and historical perspectives. Then follows a catalogue of 112 entries, divided between rock-cut niches, with or without a surrounding image of a building facade, and rock-cut step monuments and idols, each group arranged geographically. The 137 figures, mostly line drawings, are exemplary.

The German Archaeological Institute continues its meticulous publication of Didyma, well executed by Philipp von Zabern.³⁸ The latest addition to the series, by T.G. Schattner, contains the ceramic finds of the 8th–4th centuries BC, properly introduced and then fully catalogued by type. It is invaluable but necessarily painstaking work such as this that we risk losing amidst the impoverishing short-termism so rife in the modern academy.

³⁵ M.A. Očir-Gorjaeva, *Pferdegesshirr aus Choseutovo. Skythischer Tierstil an der Unteren Wolga*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, Archäologie in Eurasien 19, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2005, viii+184 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-8053-3574-1.

³⁶ M. Wagner and H. Butz, unter Mitarbeit von J. Ehrmann and M. Eckardt, *Nomadenkunst. Ordosbronzen der Ostasiatischen Kunstsammlung Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, Archäologie in Eurasien 23, Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, xxviii+102 pp., 175 figs. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3812-7.

³⁷ S. Berndt-Ersöz, *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 25, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2006, xxiv+410 pp., 137 figs. Cased. ISBN 10: 90-04-15242-3/13: 978-90-04-15242-7/ISSN 1566-2055.

³⁸ T.G. Schattner, with the collaboration of J. Riederer, *Die Fundkeramik vom 8. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Didyma 4, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, xviii+619 pp., 158 figs., 4 colour pls. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3827-1.

Oxbow has helpfully brought together the writings of J.N. (Nicholas) Postgate on the society and administration of the Assyrian state:³⁹ 28 pieces published over a third of a century in journals, edited volumes, conferences proceedings and *Festschriften*, ranging from general surveys on the economy, land or labour, via ideology, the army and administration, to detailed examinations of uniforms, chariots and rings. Most are reproduced just as they were, in a variety of formats, styles and typefaces, thus even the original page numbers survive; a few have minor addenda and corrigenda. The one new piece is the penultimate 'The invisible hierarchy: Assyrian military and civilian administration in the 8th and 7th centuries BC', a conference paper given in 1999, revised and enlarged on several subsequent occasions, which reviews the well-developed but essentially non-bureaucratic ethos and nature of Neo-Assyrian administration. The volume's title is that of Postgate's article in *World Archaeology* 23.3 (1992), no. 17 here. Although burdensome to compile, an index would have been useful.

Achaemenid culture and local traditions in Anatolia, the southern Caucasus and Iran are examined in the eponymous special issue of the journal *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia To Siberia*,⁴⁰ well supplied with colour plates in addition to ordinary illustrations, which publishes material from a conference held at Borjomi in Georgia in 2006 in honour of the late Otar Lordkipanidze. L. Summerer discusses the battle scene on a painted beam from a chamber tomb near Tatarlı, now in Munich, I. Babaev, I. Gagoshidze and E.S. Knauf present a preliminary report on the 2006 excavation of an Achaemenid 'palace' at Qarajamirli in Azerbaijan, and J. Nieling on the Iron Age settlements of Dongus Tapa in eastern Georgia. The continuance of Achaemenid traditions in southern Georgia evident from rich burials at Atskuri attracts V. Licheli's attention. M.Y. Treister writes on 'The Toreutics of Colchis in the 5th–4th centuries BC. Local Traditions, Outside Influences, Innovations', A. Kakhidze more briefly on an 'Iranian Glass Perfume Vessel from the Pichvnari Greek cemetery of the Fifth Century BC', K. Dzhavakhishvili on six 'Achaemenian Seals found in Georgia', and S.M.S. Sajjadi on a 'Wall Painting from Dahaneh-ye Gholaman (Sistan)' in south-eastern Iran. More careful editing would have corrected the spelling 'millenium' and standardised on British or American forms.

Peeters and the British Institute of Persian Studies have combined in this publication⁴¹ of the major buildings of the Median settlement at Tepe Nush-i Jan in central western Iran, discovered in 1965 and excavated between 1967 and 1977; ground-breaking because of the previous paucity of archaeological evidence for the Medes in their own homeland. The publication itself has made fitful progress since 1979. It is pleasing to see this first fascicule emerge, and to emerge attractively set, well illustrated, in large format – and readable. In form there is an Introduction, then chapters on the Central Temple, the Old Western Building, the Fort, the South Court, Cistern and Outer Walls, the northern area, the Columned Hall

³⁹ (J.)N. Postgate, *The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur. Studies on Assyria 1971–2005*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2007, viii+376 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-216-2.

⁴⁰ A. Ivantchik and V. Licheli (eds.), *Achaemenid Culture and Local Traditions in Anatolia, Southern Caucasus and Iran: New Discoveries*, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 13 (2007), 1–2, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2007, 154 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-16328-7.

⁴¹ D. Stronach and M. Roaf, *Nush-I Jan 1: The Major Building of the Median Settlement*, The British Institute of Persian Studies, London/Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2007, 242 pp., 76 figs., 64 pls. ISBN 978-90-429-1850-4 (Peeters)/978-0-901477-06-4 (The British Institute of Persian Studies, London).

and Tunnel, the filling, squatter occupation (in the 6th century BC), architecture, and then Conclusions that enumerate the architectural sequence, place the Central Hall in context, and suggest future work. The site is notable for its architectural remains of the 8th–7th centuries BC, when the Medes dominated this area, particularly for the Columned Hall, a precursor of more famous examples at Persepolis and Pasargadae; and, thanks to the use of stone and mud-brick, the exceptionally good state of preservation of so much (even some ceilings!).

Egypt and North Africa

M. Van De Mierop⁴² has delved into the earliest period for which a ‘states system’ may be thought to have functioned: the Late Bronze Age. His opening chapter describes that world, insofar as it can be described, in the year that Ramesses II succeeded: 1279 BC. Through chapters entitled ‘The Primary Actors: States’ (Mittanni, the New Kingdom, Babylonia Elam, Assyria and Hatti), ‘The Other Actors: On the Fringes of the States’, ‘Political Organization and Social Structure’, ‘Diplomacy and War’, ‘Food and Drink’, ‘Aspects of the Economy...’, and ‘Cultures in Contact’, aided by tables of comparative chronology, maps and illustrations, we are led to ‘A Mediterranean System’ (where the Ramesside present is compared with 1550 BC and Peer Polity Interaction is introduced as an interpretative tool), then the ‘End of an Era’ (the Sea Peoples, or social tension, or natural causes, or even a Dark Age that never was?). In the course of this account the common interests binding the elites of various rival and competitive cultures and civilisations are brought to the fore. Each chapter concludes with a bibliographical essay. An appendix contains helpful ‘King Lists’ and a chronology of Aegean archaeology.

Publication of the Hamburg excavation at Carthage moves forward, again in the safe hands of Philipp von Zabern, with the appearance of this latest *Hamburger Forschungen zur Archäologie* under the direction and editorship of the late H.G. Niemeyer, R.F. Docter, K. Schmidt and B. Bechtold.⁴³ The death of Prof. Niemeyer in September 2007 is a great loss to all classical archaeologists. For detail, work such as this is unparalleled: 130 pages devoted to stratigraphy and chronology, 75 to housing blocks and street, 620 to the finds, plates, illustrations, reconstructions, plans, etc. So much that is new and so much that is important in this *magnum opus*: a great monument to Niemeyer and his memory. At roughly the same time, Ghent University issued *Carthage Studies* I,⁴⁴ composed of Bechtold’s discussion of new evidence on the typology and chronology of ceramics ‘La classe Byrsa 661 a Cartagine...’ and Docter’s observations on the ‘Published Settlement Contexts of Punic Carthage’, much of it tabular, based on his participation in excavations at Bir Messaouda (Algeria), and offered as a tool for those working on the material culture of Carthage.

⁴² M. Van De Mierop, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2007, xiv+297 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4051-6069-8.

⁴³ H.G. Niemeyer, R.F. Docter, K. Schmidt and B. Bechtold, with contributions by H.R. Baldus, C. Briese, F.O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *et al.*, *Karthago. Die Ergebnisse der hamburger Grabung unter dem Decumanus Maximus* *Hamburger Forschungen zur Archäologie* 2, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007, 2 vols., xvi+870 pp., 465 figs., 58 tabs., 17 fold-outs. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3684-0/ISSN 1434-7040.

⁴⁴ R.F. Docter (ed.), *Carthage Studies* 1. B. Bechtold, *La classe Byrsa 661 a cartagine: Nuove evidenze per la tipologia e la cronologia di ceramica calena nella metropoli punica*; R.F. Docter, *Published Settlement Contexts of Punic Carthage*, Department of Archaeology, Ghent University, Ghent 2007, 76 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-788480-1-1/ISSN 1784-343X.

Broad Themes and Broad Areas

The 2006 colloquium of the Villa Kérylos had the theme of classical and peripheral cultures around the Mediterranean.⁴⁵ The 15 contributors addressed such varied topics as: Catherine II's Greek dreams (H. Carrère d'Encausse), the impact of 'classical' models on Syrian urban life between the end of the Hellenistic and the start of the Byzantine period (J.-M. Dentzer), aspects of Hellenism amongst Near Eastern dynasts in the Classical period (Asia Minor, Phoenicia and Cyprus) (T. Petit), Greek dialects in the south of the Mediterranean (C. Dobias-Lalou), Greek ceramics in Africa (J.-J. Maffre), Athens and Cyrene (A. Laronde), Hellenism and Judaism (G. Dorival), aspects of Hellenism in ancient North Africa (J. Desanges), knowledge of Greek among the Jews (3rd century BC–6th century AD) (M. Hadas-Lebel), trade in sculptures in the Roman empire (N. de Chaisemartin), the integration and loyalty of Eastern migrants to Rome and Campania, a prosopographical approach to Egypt and the Black Sea (A. Avram), Isis 'from the Nile to the Mediterranean' (L. Bricault), etc. The concluding piece is on the Mediterranean as barrier or unifier (J. Baechler).

The British School at Athens has produced a sumptuous publication of the bulk of papers given at a conference held in Cardiff in April 2001 in connection with the 'Strategies, Structures and Ideologies of the Built Environment' project.⁴⁶ The many maps and illustrations are of particular quality and clarity. The abstracts are in English and Greek. The papers and participants were heterogeneous – S. Souvatzi on Neolithic households, L.A. Hitchcock on Minoan Crete, B.E. Burns on 'Life outside a Mycenaean palace...', A. Mazarakis Ainian on architecture and social structure in Early Iron Age Greece'. R. Osborne asks 'Did democracy transform Athenian space?', L. Foxhall serves 'unpacking the "kitchen" in Classical Greece', L. Llewellyn-Jones connects female domestic space and female clothing (veils), V. Bylkova digs out Scythian and Olbian settlements in the Lower Dnieper, R. Alston offers 'Some theoretical considerations and a Late Antique house from Roman Egypt'. The geographical coverage stretches from North Africa to the Black Sea; the themes encompass the theory and methodology of analysing and interpreting built space, how the built environment related to socio-political structures and state formations, the development of civic and religious space, how households may be identified archaeologically, the interpretation of domestic assemblages, identifying functional areas within a house, the function and significance of decoration in houses, changing conceptions of public and private, acculturation in the domestic sphere, ethnoarchaeology, how to combine literary and archaeological evidence, etc.

D.W. Harding⁴⁷ makes an attempt to 're-define and re-assess what we mean by Celtic Art' (p.1), in response to the increasing debate about who or what (or if there) were Celts.

⁴⁵ A. Laronde and J. Leclant (eds.), *Actes du Colloque 'La Méditerranée d'une rive à l'autre: Culture classique et cultures périphériques'*, Actes du 17^e colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer, les 20 & 21 octobre 2006, Cahiers de la Villa "Kérylos" 18, Beaulieu-sur-Mer (Alpes-Maritimes), Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Diffusion De Boccard, Paris 2007, xvi+302 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 1275-6229.

⁴⁶ R. Westgate, N. Fisher and J. Whitley (eds.), *Building Communities. House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*, Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001, British School at Athens Studies 15, The British School at Athens, London 2007, xxviii+430 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-904887-56-3.

⁴⁷ D.W. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, Routledge, London/New York 2007, xvi+302 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-415-42866-1/13: 978-0-415-42866-8.

Having put in place definitions and context and examined the materials used and those using them, and examined the later Bronze Age and Hallstatt origins of 'An art with no genesis' (Chapter 2), he focuses on the origins and influences on the early La Tène styles, the development of La Tène, its later relief styles, scabbards from Danubia to Ireland, insular British art prior to the Roman conquest, La Tène and 'non-La Tène' in Ireland, south-western Europe and the Celtiberians, later styles and Romanising influences, and later insular art in Britain and Ireland. The overall perspective is that it is 'careless shorthand' and 'a hindrance' (p. 262) simply to equate Celtic art with La Tène; and that it is more fruitful to examine the social, economic and technological processes and the archaeological context and environment of Celtic art, without eschewing the art-historical. Thus defined more broadly, its origins and distribution spread well beyond the regions of La Tène culture; and that there were Iron Age communities whose self- and historical identification was as Celts and whose art was a medium for expressing and asserting such an identity. Amply illustrated; some photographs in colour.

Identity, memory and landscape are a tool in archaeological research able to provide us with a new key to unlocking people's understanding of their lives. Such is the theme of the volume edited by N. Yoffee.⁴⁸ The contributors are current and recent doctoral students at the University of Michigan, fortified by summarising and concluding pieces by L. Meskell ('Back to the Future...') and J. Davis ('Memory Groups and the State: Erasing the Past and Inscribing the Present...'); and the coverage extends from prehistoric Greece to Athens in the Roman period, Nubia and Egypt to Achaemenid and Hellenistic Armenia, plus mediaeval south India and the Maya. The common theme of the use (and misuse) of the past in the past is brought up to the present by Meskell's views on and from South Africa (where her use of 'colonial' seems confusing) and Davis's focus on modern Greece, Albania and 'Macedonia' and the appropriation of the ancient Greek inheritance. The cleansing of 'barbarian' toponyms by the modern Greek state and its conflation of ancient and modern at the war memorial in Athens, a tendentious past and a tendentious near-present (Megali mania?), form a fitting conclusion.⁴⁹

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THE COPENHAGEN POLIS CENTRE: A REVIEW ARTICLE OF ITS PUBLICATIONS

Part 5

P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5, *Historia Einzelschriften* 138, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2000, 262 pp., illustrations, Paperback. ISBN 3-515-07607-7

⁴⁸ N. Yoffee (ed.), with commentary by L. Meskell and J. Davis, *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson 2007, viii+267pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-8165-2670-3.

⁴⁹ The recent erection here of a large statue of E. Venizelos, a significant bringer of war and disruption to modern Greece, was, it seems, an act devoid of irony.

T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6. *Historia Einzelschriften* 162, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2002, 294 pp. illustrations, Paperback. ISBN 3-515-08102-X

T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 7. *Historia Einzelschriften* 180, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2004, 202 pp. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-08438-X

I conclude here my review of the programme of publications of the Copenhagen Polis Centre.¹ Before offering some final thoughts, I shall cover the final three volumes of the *Papers* of the Centre published as *Einzelschriften* of *Historia*. Please see my earlier treatments for my background commentary on the mission of the Centre and its publications. These volumes are (necessarily) somewhat less coherent than not only the *Acts* (which are more thematically oriented), but also even the earlier *Papers*, with the last volume having the appearance to an extent of a 'catch-all', which is not to say that there is not useful scholarship within.

Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis

Albert Schachter opens the volume with 'Greek Deities: Local and Panhellenic Identities' (pp. 9–17). Recognising the balance of local and panhellenic modalities of divinity and its self-recognition by the Greeks themselves, who assigned to Dark Age poetry a role in consolidation, Schachter focuses on the appreciable record for cult continuity at Thebes from the Mycenaean period. Amid aspects such as continuation, fragmentation and innovation, one can pick out salient developments like the emergence on peripheral sites of Apollo as patron of a land-based elite or the persistence of *dioskouric* male/female pairs or trinities. The next piece is Frank W. Walbank, 'Hellenes and Achaians: "Greek Nationality" Revisited' (pp. 19–33). Walbank revisits his piece on Greek 'nationality',² which he notes reflects a context influenced by German unification and nationalism, while our emphasis on 'ethnicity' reveals preoccupations with recent controversies, such as those in Northern Ireland and Yugoslavia. He responds specifically to Catherine Morgan and Jonathan Hall in *Acts* 3³ (cf. *AWE* 5 [2006], 294–95). Walbank argues that the cult of Zeus Homarios and an Achaean meeting place at its Homarion supplements other evidence indicating the existence of Achaean 'federalism' in the 5th century, ably rebutting the theory of late consolidation of ethnic identity of Hall and Morgan. Perhaps Walbank worries unduly over Pausanias 7. 7. 2, which I do not believe implies that Helike was the initial place of meeting for the Achaeans. That this learned and vigorous contribution follows its predecessor by nearly 50 years stands as marvellous witness to the career of a great classical historian.

In 'Population and Political Strength of Some Southeastern Arkadian *Poleis*' (pp. 35–55), Björn Forsén utilises the range of methodology for demographic estimates concerning Orkhomenos, Tegea, Mantinea and the Mainalian *poleis*. His mobilisation figures are too sketchy to be of much assistance. The data on size of urban areas is ably presented, although a rather low density is in the end adopted. The work of Stephen and Hilary Hodkinson on

¹ Cf. *AWE* 5 (2006), 252–303; 6 (2007), 294–321; 7 (2008), 306–34.

² 'The Problem of Greek Nationality'. *Phoenix* 5 (1951), 41–60.

³ 'Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (Copenhagen 1996), 164–232 (= *Acts* 3).

Mantineia⁴ is then critiqued, but generally sustained in its conclusions. An allocation of modern communities to the territories of the ancient *poleis* permits population estimates based on the census of 1896. Forsén emphasises both that modern appreciations of Tegea and Mantineia as demographic peers are incorrect and that Mainalia was the obvious battleground for Tegean and Mantineian rivalry. In my view, however, the hypothesis of a Tegean hegemony over the Mainalians, matching Mantineia's late 5th-century accomplishments there, lacks sufficient corroboration.

Alan M. Greaves offers 'The Shifting Focus of Settlement at Miletos' (pp. 57–72), which is particularly valuable for its collection of archaeological evidence and for its bibliography. Reconstruction of the history of this important site is complicated by alluviation and changes in water level. The balance between the settlement on the Kalabaktepe hill and on the peninsula of Miletus is on this analysis a continuing factor in the evolution of the city. Other notable findings (well illustrated by maps) are the status of the hills of the peninsula as separate islands for the early *polis*, the situation of the Archaic harbours and the extent of the fortifications of the Late Archaic city, the modesty of the 5th-century restored town, and the eventual abandonment of extra-peninsular habitation.

The next chapter is Jonathan M. Hall, 'Sparta, Lakedaïmon and the Nature of Periokic Dependency' (pp. 73–89), which responds to Graham Shipley's study in *Acts* 4⁵ (cf. *AWE* 5 [2006], 300–01). Hall presents well the various terms to describe the Spartan state and its geographical and civic components, on his way to a hypothesis of two systems of space, one polycentric in which there are multiple *poleis*, and another monocentric, focused on the central *polis* of Sparta. I respond that the discrete character of these systems appears clearest only on the strictest allegiance to Polis Centre's categories. If one rather supposes, as is likely, that Sparta expanded mainly at the expense of pre-*polis* communities, the eventual emergence of the notion of the 'hundred *poleis*' of Lakedaïmon (i.e. the *perioikoi*) may well be owed to urbanisation of sites such as Gytheion, to absorption of *polis*-dwelling *perioikoi* by conquest (Kythera) or by immigration (Asine, Methone), and to internal colonisation (Sellasia), with the last two concepts especially missed here. Nor do the various earlier attempts to envisage the *perioikoi* as Sparta's first allies deserve much attention, as they merely reflect Athenocentric expectations over the integration of the human components within a *polis*. Next Hall introduces new evidence from a Theban Linear B tablet, seemingly mentioning the ethnic or name *Λακεδαίμονιος* (ra-ke-da-mo[mi]-ni-jo). This leads him to argue that the Spartans usurped an older settlement name, legitimising their action through myth and cult. I prefer to think that Lakedaïmon was the region, equalling Laconia, which inhabitants of Sparta and Amyklai presumed to embody and lead.

The next chapter is Thomas Heine Nielsen, 'Epiknemidian, Hypoknemidian, and Opountian Lokrians. Reflections on the Political Organisation of East Lokris in the Classical Period' (pp. 91–120). This is a thorough presentation of the evidence for the Eastern Lokrians, giving particular attention to the application of regional and city ethnics. Hypoknemidian and Opountian Lokrians were the same people, while the Epiknemidians lay north

⁴ 'Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis'. *BSA* 76 (1981), 239–96.

⁵ "'The Other Lakedaïmonians': The Dependent Periokic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen 1997), 189–281 (= *Acts* 4).

and west, beyond Mt Knemis, although the former terms could sometimes describe all East Locrians. A hegemony in East Locris was headed by the chief *polis*, Opous, as demonstrated by Meiggs and Lewis *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 20, although I remain less assured that discussing the nature of this leadership *vis-à-vis* dependency and *autonomia* is feasible, as in finding Theban leadership of the Boeotians the relevant parallel. An interesting tradition presents Opous as the mother-city of all the Locrians. The body of the 1000 was the assembly of Opous or of all the East Locrians, a broad-based institution in my opinion, even if limited to the Opuntians. Yet the Epiknemidians probably belonged as well. A short contribution follows: Pernille Flensted-Jensen, 'The Chalkidic Peninsula and its Regions' (pp. 121–31). Contrary to some other scholars (for example B. Isaac), the author stresses that the entire peninsula ought to be considered a region of Thrace. She proceeds to a description of its regions, reaching the major conclusion that the term Chalcidice was probably not applied to the whole region but simply to its central region, including the Sithonic Peninsula, the area which was actually inhabited by Chalcidians. That helps clarify the issue of colonisation of the entire region.

The rest of this volume is devoted to a series of predominantly short selections on usage of the term *polis*. The attestations so diligently amassed in these chapters will become important resources for future work. The concern, however, with defending the *lex Hafniensis*, as the Polis Centre's semantic schema on the restriction of the term *polis* to town centres of *poleis* is termed, occasionally skews analysis. The first piece is Nielsen, 'Xenophon's Use of the Word *Polis* in the *Anabasis*' (pp. 133–39). He starts with an assessment of the usage of *polis* according to the Polis Centre's categories, finding it to conform to general norms. The *Anabasis* contains over twenty references to non-Greek *poleis* in the urban sense, while there are references to *kōmai* (frequent and often anonymous) and *polismata* (rare). The next such study was authored by Mogens Herman Hansen and Nielsen, 'The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians' (pp. 141–50). A beginning is made with Ephorus, Theopompus and the Oxyrhynchus historian, where only arguably verbatim quotes are admitted. They number 12 cases for Ephorus, with the otherwise unknown Khalisia providing the only problem; 28 for Theopompus, where the debate over the *polis* status of Dystos, a more likely Eretrian civic component, marks a spot where the desire for conformity with the schema has overwhelmed historical interpretation; and 28 for the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, where the issue of the status of Notion and Kolophon appears the most complex (cf. AWE 7 [2008], 326). Next Pherecydes and Hellanicus receive the same treatment, but the standard categories do not do justice to the mythological connotation of *polis* common in these authors (see AWE 7 [2008], 325), wherein sites of symbolic significance for later *poleis* themselves are treated as *poleis*, for example, Thetidion, Ereuthalie and Lerne in Pherecydes. Thus, this mythological meaning exhibits a de-emphasis of settlement size and a blurring of the distinction between Greek and non-Greek community, such as Croton (= Cortona), Tindion and Akele in Hellanicus (cf. AWE 7 [2008], 308, 323–25).

Hansen next offers 'The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Attic Orators' (pp. 151–60), in which Demosthenes and Isocrates garner the most attention in a review of attestations according to the Polis Centre's categories. Leaving aside the vast majority of references to Athens, and, for Isocrates, many to Sparta as well, Demosthenes, Isocrates and other canonical orators (only 36 references to 10 *poleis*) seem well informed and careful in their use of *polis*, as the detailed list of relevant non-Attic examples indicates. Another similar review is

provided by Flensted-Jensen, Hansen and Nielsen in 'The Use of the Word *Polis* in Inscriptions' (pp. 161–72). This documentation is rich, especially for non-Attic material, although the authors prudently warn against considering their review definitive. Usage of *polis* as 'acropolis' is virtually unattested outside Athens, and in the senses of 'country' and 'territory' rare. A detailed catalogue organises appearances of *polis* in the sense of 'town', justifying classification with brief argument. An attempt is made to prove that all were political *poleis* as well (the *lex Hafniensis*), with problem instances being the cities of synoecised Rhodes and Arcadian Helisson. For those who are willing to see ancient usage as more flexible, there are no surprising deployments of *polis* semantics.

The longest of these chapters is Hansen, 'A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources' (pp 173–215). Here the emphasis on the *lex Hafniensis* is forefront, and Hansen devotes several paragraphs to defending such a denomination by analogy to linguistic laws (pp. 203–04). Hansen also squarely faces the problem of composite entries, some items of which may not be *poleis*, such as certain aggregates in Ps.-Scylax (above AWE 6 [2007], 322–23). Philosophical authors remain apart since so many references are generic. Yet Hansen and his colleagues claim 95% coverage of *ca.* 10,000 attestations. A list of attested *poleis* is appended, to which is attached a description of places never elsewhere recorded as *poleis*, those described as such much later, the Spartan *perioikoi*, or those independently manifesting '*polis*' characteristics. I note that the analysis without regard for periodisation in these classes probably attributes *polis* status to some communities without *polis* structure in the chronological context of reference.

A final group of 'problematical sites' receives more detailed treatment. There is much special pleading here, and the intention to treat anomalies as errors rather than exceptions is problematic. I think particularly of the five *poleis* from the *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax. These questions deserved to be posed in consideration of the minimal set of institutions and political processes that would qualify a place for *polis* status, so that this status may be determined for a specific context. Our data are massively deficient for making such classifications, and it is unlikely that even the ancient users of *polis* terminology were always necessarily better informed. Without conducting institutional analysis, ancient writers tended to accord the pan-cultural default designation, *polis*, to any concentration of population, and did not normally dispute specific claims to *polis* status, unless they perceived some partisan challenge in that claim. Despite my admiration for the learning and the vigour of Hansen's arguments for the *lex Hafniensis* – which he admits as violated in Xenophon *Poroi* 4. 50 about creating a 'town' at Attic Laurion – I suspect its rule that *poleis* as 'towns' occur only at the centres of political *poleis* was breached in a sizable minority of cases where the full *polis* structure was not only absent locally, but sometimes also in the wider political context. Once the *polis* had become the normative setting for Greek life, communities that were unconventional when compared with the pioneer *poleis*, such as those ostensible *poleis* that lacked concentrations of population, adopted *polis* institutions. Hence I am equally leery of endorsing the corollary of Hansen's *lex*, namely that every *polis* had an urban centre. In a useful adjunct to this piece, Hansen has provided corrections and amplifications to earlier contributions on *polis* terminology, to wit, on Hecataeus (*Papers* 4),⁶ Herodotus

⁶ M.H. Hansen, 'Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in His *Periegesis*. In T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1997). 17–27 (= *Papers* 4).

(*Acts* 3),⁷ Thucydides (*Acts* 2),⁸ to which is appended a discussion of the *polis* status of Orobai, the *Hellenica* of Xenophon (*Papers* 2),⁹ *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax (*Papers* 3),¹⁰ Xenophon, Aristotle and Pindar.

Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis

Papers 6 starts with a contribution of Hansen, 'The Game Called *Polis*' (pp. 9–15). A reference to a board game called *polis* in Plato *Republic* 422e is explicated through a scholium to the text, paroemiographical entries on the phrase 'to play *polis*', lexicographical notes (the *Suda*, Hesychius, Pollux, Photius), and Eustathius (from Suetonius *On Games*). Contemporary allusions come from Cratinus (*Poetae Comici Graeci* 4. 152, fr. 61), perhaps Aristotle (*Politics* 1253a3–7), and possibly Euripides (*Supplikes* 409–412). This was a war game played through capturing *poleis* or *chorai*.

In 'Was the *Polis* a State or a Stateless Society?' (pp. 17–47), Hansen answers criticisms by Moshe Berent, partly seconded by Paul Cartledge, of his vision of the *polis* in *Acts* 5,¹¹ in which comparisons were made with the modern state (*ibid.* pp. 114–23).¹² See AWE 6 (2007), 297–300 for my own discussion, which, although sympathetic to Hansen's treatment, offered several adjustments that I shall not restate here. He begins by classifying different modes of statelessness, including Marxist formulations, appreciations of pre-modern, non-Western governmental orders, and polities failing tests of statehood based on modern governmental prerogatives. He settles on the criteria of Max Weber, monopoly on the use of force (which Berent stresses) within a territory over a population. Then Hansen astutely collects passages where the *polis* is portrayed impersonally, leading to an array of references (mostly epigraphical) in which the *polis*, and not some collective, is a political agent. An argument to show how a *polis* government imposed its will upon its territory and community through its administration follows. Hansen proceeds with a series of comments on the maintenance of order in the *polis*, opting for enforcement over mere habit and consensus, rehabilitating a legitimate role for self-help and mutual aid, demarcating boundaries where the initiative of citizens was required in apprehension and prosecution, and establishing the ability to carry out punishment (including the ultimate sanction of execution). The issue of the absence of a standing army is addressed by pointing out permanent mobilisations – an unnecessary

⁷ M.H. Hansen, 'ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23) The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*'. In *Acts* 3, 39–54 (as in n. 3).

⁸ M.H. Hansen, 'Boiotian *Poleis* – a Test Case'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State* (Copenhagen 1995), 39–45 (= *Acts* 2).

⁹ T.H. Nielsen, 'Was Eutaia a Polis? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*'. In M.H. Hansen and K. Raflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1995), 83–102 (= *Papers* 2).

¹⁰ P. Flensted-Jensen and M.H. Hansen, 'Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*'. In M.H. Hansen and K. Raflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1996), 137–67 (= *Papers* 3).

¹¹ M.H. Hansen, *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent* (Copenhagen 1998) (= *Acts* 5).

¹² M. Berent: 'Hobbes and the "Greek Tongues"'. *History of Political Thought* 17 (1996), 36–59; 'Anthropology and the Classics; War, Violence and the Stateless *Polis*'. *Classical Quarterly* 50 (2000), 257–89 (this piece has an appendix devoted to it by Hansen). P. Cartledge, review of *Acts* 5. *ClRev* 49 (1999), 467–68.

demonstration – and (more appositely) by upholding the *polis* as ‘a highly militarised community’. A demonstration of a capacity to conduct formalised foreign affairs is necessarily most selective. Here Hansen has upheld a commonsense view on ancient political life; it would be exceedingly counterintuitive if the Greeks, providing our seed stock of political vocabulary and concepts, were to have lacked an approximation of the very states which we, their pupils, now describe for our own time. The vital examination, which this debate continues to lack, concerns how the Greeks achieved relatively complex governmental processes with so limited an economic output per capita.

The next chapter is Nielsen, ‘*Phrourion*. A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus’ (pp. 49–64), which scrupulously examines the semantics of the term *phrourion* in order to strengthen the understanding of the term *polis* in its Polis Centre connotations, and particularly to refute the idea that *phrourion* was an antonym of *polis*. Through an exhaustive survey of attestations, the author establishes the frequent distinction of *phrourion* from *polis*, and that *phrouria* in Classical sources are seldom *poleis*. Similar results emerge when this examination is applied to Diodorus Siculus. Nielsen observes that the *polis* Sestos is a *phrourion* in Thucydides 8. 62. 3, and that Diodorus describes as *phrouria* six sites otherwise known as *poleis*: Aetna, Kephaloïdion, Lasion, Mylai, Naupaktos and Stageira. While admitting his point for Lasion, Mylai and perhaps Stageira, I would suggest that there is no evidence for the *polis* status of Aetna during 404–396 BC, when it is described as *phrourion*. The status of Kephaloïdion is too weakly evidenced to be determinable. Naupaktos may well have been a Locrian *polis* that was allied with Athens, but that would not alter the fact that the Messenians there, who were assuredly viewed as citizens of Messene in the Peloponnese, occupied *phrouria*, and did not constitute *poleis*, on Kephallenia and at Naupaktos (Diodorus Siculus 14. 34. 2).

My main objection, however, is over the formulation of the issue. Were there cases of fortified sites called *phrouria*, in which the members of *poleis* happened to be living, which not only lacked all the socio-political structures of a *polis* – as the mere garrisons which Nielsen has so usefully compiled seem to – but also cases for which the institutional armature of *polis* life was so imperfect as to justify the designation of *phrourion* in contradistinction to *polis*? To respond affirmatively is hardly to envisage the *phrourion* as the antithesis of the *polis*, an institution that is the normative framework for classical Greek existence. Hence one must be sensitive to the lessons taught by Diodorus’ invocation of Leontinoi in 427, where the award of Syracusan citizenship to the inhabitants rendered the *polis* a *phrourion*, or by the bold metaphor of Thucydides 7. 28. 1–2, in which the effects of the occupation of Dekeleia in 413 transform Athens from *polis* to *phrourion*, or, finally, by, Plutarch *Timoleon* 22. 4–6, discussing Sicily in 339–337 BC. In this passage, not treated by Nielsen, we note how existence in a *phrourion* can be deprived of the meaningful features of *polis* life: ...ὑπήκουε [the summons of Timoleon to restore Syracuse] δ’ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ φρουρίοις κατοικοῦντων, οὐδὲ κατέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ μῖσος εἶχε πάντας ἀγορᾶς καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀνέφυσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων....

In the ‘The Greek Theatre. A Typical Building in the Urban Centre of a *Polis*?’ (pp. 65–124), Rune Frederiksen offers a useful study of the cultural phenomena surrounding theatres. His short analysis of theatre’s structure is based on archaeology and is followed by a semantic investigation. There exists some slight terminological ambiguity, chiefly with *odeia* and the seating of *stadia*. Frederiksen next discusses the regional incidence of theatres – some

regions, such as Crete, show little theatre building – and their appearance outside *poleis*, where the construction of theatres at major sanctuaries and in Attic demes is noteworthy. Secondary uses of theatres can be political, religious and symbolic, but the performance of drama within the context of Dionysiac cult was primary; these subjects are exhaustively documented here. The significant correlation between *polis* size and theatre construction is explored, with Boeotia and Arcadia as case studies. Detailed appendices present the data on 306 theatres, including 251 archaeologically attested, 69 literarily attested and 76 epigraphically attested, with 77 confirmed by at least two evidentiary types. His conclusions about the incidence of theatres appear a bit speculative given the spottiness of the archaeological evidence. There are probably many more to be discovered.

Tobias Fischer-Hansen provides a detailed study of regional site evolution: 'Reflections on Native Settlements in the Dominions of Gela and Akragas – as Seen from the Perspective of the Copenhagen Polis Centre' (pp. 125–86). This presentation, which is well assisted by maps and plans, summarises the pattern of site configuration subsequent to Greek colonisation in south-central Sicily, starting from a systematic contrast with the situation in southern Italy. Receiving specific treatment are Ariaitos, Kamikos, Butera (Omphake?), Lavanca Nera, Monte Bubbonia (Omphake?, Maktorion?), Monte San Mauro (Euboea?), Monte Desusino (Phalarion?), Monte Saraceno (Kakylon?), Vassallaggi (Motyon?), Monte Gibil Gabib, Monte Castellazzo di Marianopoli (Mytistratos?), Balate, Monte Sabucina, Monte Capodarso and Terravecchia di Cuti. The next section deals with eight sites that are helpful as comparanda, including Morgantina. All these sites ought to have been identified on a map. Fischer-Hansen sums up by describing varying degrees of Hellenisation and by noting the likelihood that the category of *phourion* was significant for site hierarchies. That we desperately need a systematic typology of the modes of Hellenisation in the penumbrae of Greek colonies will hardly count as criticism of this fine piece. The author has valuably achieved the synthesis of a wealth of archaeological scholarship.

The study of Paula Perlman, 'Gortyn. The First Seven Hundred Years. Part II. The Laws from the Temple of Apollo Pythios' (pp. 187–227), follows on an instalment in P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen and L. Rubenstein, *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History* (Copenhagen 2000), 59–89. In *AWE* 2.1 (2003), 176–78, I had already criticised the appearance of parts of the same study in such disparate venues. The first section summarises the disposition, structure and organisation of the inscriptions of the Pythion, along with observations on subject matter. Perlman adds sensible remarks meant to rebut the view confining Cretan literacy in the 6th century to scribes. In Crete, law-giving and Apollo were associated. Unlike Dreros, Gortynian laws provide no authority or enactment formulas. Faced with interpretative complexities, Perlman is suitably modest in her claims. Vocabulary permits surmise in 8 of 16 inscriptions, and seems to point toward procedure. Seven laws note fines or compensatory payments in *lebetes* 'cauldrons', already perhaps a 'money of account' (converted into coins for actual payment). *Inscriptiones Creticae* 4. 14 deals with civic life, while 4. 20–21 cover family law. Ten laws touch on property issues. There follow comments on the organisation of Gortyn that note the *polis* with its *phulai*, *andreia*, adopted children, legitimate children, servile classes, foreigners, the magistracies (*kosmoi*, *gnomon*, *ksenios kosmos*, *mnamones* and *titas*) and rotation of office.

This volume concludes with two contributions of James Roy, the first of which is 'The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis. The "Eight Poleis"' (pp. 229–47). Naturally, this piece is to

be read with Roy's contribution on Elis (*Acts* 4)¹³ and Nielsen's on Triphylia (*Papers* 4)¹⁴ bordering Pisatis to the south. Roy reviews Pisatan communities, including those undeniably assigned to the 'eight *poleis*' (Harpina, Heracleia, Kikysion, Salmone), and the other candidates (the Alasyes, Dysponton, Lenos, Pharaia/Pheraia). Political classification is challenging, since the Pisatans tend to be referenced as a totality and activity of their towns as *poleis* is lacking. And the question whether these towns were dependent *poleis* may not be apposite in light of the actual political structure. Unsurprisingly for the region of Olympia, prominent myths were localised in the Pisatis, and involved Salmoneus and his daughter Tyro, Oinomaos and his daughter Hippodameia, and heroic *oikists* of the region. Political mythography was set in play here in ways no longer recoverable. The status of components of the Elean state, such as in the Pisatis, is clouded, with *dēmoi* and *poleis*, to which Roy would apply a more flexible standard for qualification, as attested titles. In my view, it may be that the Elean *dēmoi* could subsume *poleis* and *kōmai*.

Roy's second contribution is 'The Synoikism of Elis' (pp. 249–64), which begins by reviewing the attestation of the synoecism, with the suggestion that the main references of Strabo and Diodorus possibly descend from Ephorus. Roy stresses that the Elean *perioikoi*, including some communities known from inscriptions found at Olympia, were gathered into a *summakhia*, an arrangement preceding synoecism and continuing thereafter centring on a site (Elis) already long inhabited. The 16 demes were associated with the cult group of the Sixteen Women (Pausanias 5. 16. 2–8). Roy offers candidates for the synoecised communities, including some where habitation continued. The Elean penchant for scattered, rural settlement is noted by Polybius 4. 73–75. Different theories about the nature of the Elean synoecism are next explored, an examination notable for its negative results about earlier hypotheses.

Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis

In *Papers* 7, Hansen opens with 'The Concept of the Consumption City Applied to the Greek *Polis*' (pp. 9–47) that adds further detail to his discussion in *Acts* 4¹⁵ (cf. AWE 5 [2006], 298). Hansen systematically criticises the 'consumption city', as envisaged in the work of Werner Sombart,¹⁶ which, though thoroughly outmoded in its methodology and evidentiary basis, remains influential (shockingly, by my lights). He attacks the hypothesis of *poleis* with small urban populations as compared with rural by adducing surveys on Keos, in the southern Argolis, at Methana, in Boeotia and on Telos, by introducing urban area and house numbers at Priene and Olynthus, and by exploring the social implications of the Theban attack on Plataia in 431. Next, literary attestations on town-dwelling agriculturalists are presented that undermine an equation of the rural/urban division with an agricultural/non-agricultural divide. Moreover, relatively few town dwellers were absentee landlords. For Hansen, Sparta approximates a 'consumption city', although I would characterise the Spartan villages as a concentration of caste warriors, who subsisted upon and recirculated

¹³ 'The *Perioikoi* of Elis'. In *Acts* 4, 282–320 (as in n. 5).

¹⁴ 'Triphylia. An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation'. In *Papers* 4, 129–62 (as in n. 6).

¹⁵ 'The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence'. In *Acts* 4, 9–86 (as in n. 5).

¹⁶ *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (Leipzig 1902).

agro-political rents and engaged in inter-group barter (i.e. a social form quite external to Sombart's classification).

Hansen argues that Athens was a 'merchant city', which certainly accounts for many economic phenomena there that the 'consumption' city 'paradigm' does not. However, Athens is distinctly unlike what Sombart or Max Weber would mean by 'merchant city', and there is no particular sense in replacing one out-of-date simplism with another. Sparta and Athens possessed massively more similarities with contemporary *poleis* than with 'city-states' or cities in other cultures, which demonstrates that Sombart's schema of classification lacks analytic power for understanding the *polis* form. Hansen further offers a review of urbanism that indicates a relatively high level of demographic concentration. This chapter concludes with appendices and additional notes. One appendix usefully summarises the areas enclosed by *polis* and *acropolis* walls where reported for the Polis Centre's *Inventory*.¹⁷ A second briefly criticises K. Bucher's minimisation of the scale of Attic foreign trade as implied by Andocides 1. 133–134. The yield of an import/export 2% tax farmed in the Peiraieus right after the Peloponnesian War was certainly depressed. Our information on the *eikostē* that replaced the *phoros* in 413 would support high levels for commerce in the Aegean basin.¹⁸ The third appendix offers seven 'models' for the population of Mantinea based on a figure of 3000 in Lysias 34. 7 that range from 9000 to 28,000 for all citizens (male and female). The additional notes concern the balance of rural to total population on Keos and at Metapontion. This contribution shows a relatively high number of typological errors in comparison to earlier volumes,

The next contribution is Nielsen, 'The Concept of *Patris* in Archaic and Classical Sources' (pp. 49–76). This is an excellent review of the usage of *patris* 'fatherland', which starts with an array of *topoi*. Fatherland is juxtaposed with family members, charged with intimate connection, identified as one's appropriate place in life and death, a place from which it is painful to be separated or excluded, and something deemed worthy of being fought for at risk of death. A second section considers which entities may be called *patrides*. Attestations are collected for 85 cities. Each is provided with references to its status as a *polis*, with some more problematic or complex instances then discussed. The less frequent references to other entities are surveyed, including sub-political units, regions and all Greece (especially in a memorable passage of Isocrates 4 [*Panegyricus*] 81). These transparent and rather obvious usages arouse some unnecessary disquiet under the Polis Centre parameters for the *polis*, for their indications that anything except a *polis* might be a *patris*. Some cases describe regions performing *polis* functions externally. I would also emphasise that *patris* seems to work semantically at higher emotional register than *polis*, which explains Isocrates' glorification of the patriots of the Hellenic League or the Arcadian Lycomedes evoking the unique relationship to the Peloponnese of his autochthonous people (Xenophon *Hellenica* 7. 1. 23). The final part of this chapter collects the examples where *patris* stands for 'territory', 'town' or 'political community' in just the manner demonstrated for the Polis Centre's *polis*.

Bjørn Paarman contributes 'Geographically Grouped Ethnics in the Athenian Tribute Lists' (pp. 77–109), in which he examines the common methodology of fixing the location

¹⁷ M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis* (Oxford 2004).

¹⁸ See T.J. Figueira, 'The Imperial Commercial Tax and the Finances of the Athenian Hegemony'. *Incidenza dell'antico* 3 (2005), 83–133, especially 35–36.

of Attic allies whose sites are obscure by exploring the contexts on the lists of payers of the *aparkhē*. This investigation entails a survey of the organisation of entries on the lists. The data is usefully compiled, with some features helpfully described for the first time. There is some crudity of interpretation here, as in the simplistic treatment of the political nature of *syn-tely*. Paarmann offers a sketch of previous research in which he isolates a major interpretative key in his predecessors' belief that patterns in the order of neighbouring states reflect order of tribute payment. For him, a significant adjustment is needed recognising that the lists may reveal the order of payment of the *aparkhai*, not tribute payments themselves. He shows that the task of reconstruction is complicated by the tendency of scribes or inscribers to copy the format of an earlier list – a phenomenon that may in fact constitute imitation of an assessment decree. A restricted group of significant juxtapositions of cities of known location remain valid after this analysis. He next sensibly warns against seeking geographical evidence from assessment decrees by noting indications of organisation according to a descending order of assessment amounts, based on the previous assessment period. He concludes by conceding a limited probative force in juxtapositions on the list for determination of the placement of poorly attested sites.

In 'Sane on Pallene' (pp 111–16), Hansen argues for the existence of two *poleis* with the name Sane in the Chalcidice, one on Athos, another on Pallene. This was doubted by A.W. Gomme but supported by Michael Zahrnt. A *communis opinio* does, however, exist in favour of identifying the Sanaioi of the tribute list with the city on Athos. This hypothesis is enshrined in a restoration in *IG I³ 259.II.25–26* that has them paying jointly with Olophyxos and Dion. I judge Hansen's argument, that Sane's changing payments fit better in the western Chalcidice than on Athos, overplays the relevance of the issue of payment variation. Sane was also small and close to the disturbed base of the Chalcidice. The Peace of Nicias provides that the Mekybernaioi, Sanaioi and Singioi are to inhabit their *poleis*, just like the Olynthians and Acanthians (5. 18. 6). Hansen prefers to see Sane on Athos, having been incorporated into Olynthus, and Singis on Sithone, absorbed by Acanthus, as restored to their earlier status. I prefer the *communis opinio*, because Singos lies closer to the Chalcidian rebel towns of Mekyberna and Assera to its north-west and north-east respectively. That requires Sane to be in the process of separation from Acanthus in the Peace. Moreover, Sane is treated gently in the Peace of Nicias, a result scarcely likely for a city on Pallene, where the rest of the cities had already been recovered and Scione had been treated so harshly.

The remaining pieces are offered by Hansen himself. While the amassing of material here has some real utility, the various topics have been covered in other Polis Centre publications, with the result that this section has the appearance of a grab bag of residua. 'The Use of Sub-ethnics as Part of the Name of a Greek Citizen of the Classical Period: The Full Name of a Greek Citizen' (pp. 117–29) provides a brief survey of patterns of Greek naming where patronymics are supplemented by ethnic, regional ethnics and sub-ethnics like demotics. Special attention is given to the last through a short presentation of the evidence. Hansen parallels his treatment in *Papers* 3,¹⁹ for which see my remarks in *AWE* 7 (2008), 323–24. This synthesis may also be considered alongside the examination by Peter Fraser in *Acts* 2²⁰ (*AWE* 5, [2006], 284–85).

¹⁹ 'City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity'. In *Papers* 3, 169–96 (as in n. 10).

²⁰ 'Citizens, Demesmen and Metics in Athens and Elsewhere'. In *Acts* 2, 64–90 (as in n. 8).

Next is 'Was Every *Polis* State Centred on a Polis Town?' (pp. 131–47). The *lex Hafnien-sis* of Hansen maintained that each site described as a *polis* in its connotation of 'town' was in fact the urban centre of a *polis* as state. I have viewed his dogma with some scepticism in *AWE* 5 [2006], 290–92 and above (pp. 265–66). Hansen usefully collects all the evidence here, where a summary is followed by one table of places described as *poleis* in political terms and another surveying states that minted in Campania and southern Italy, Boeotia and the Troad. Hansen admits as exceptions Epitalion in Triphylia and Delphi. I would also have explicitly classified as exceptions the splinter communities, which were tributary allies during the 5th-century Athenian *arkhē* that became discrete units through *apotaxis*. I would also have incorporated the issue of the Phocian communities, explored by Susan Alcock (*Acts* 2,²¹ with *AWE* 5 [2006], 290) and Lene Rubinstein (*Papers* 2,²² with *AWE* 7 [2008], 317–18), since Phocian Panopeos and Ledon seem candidates for *polis* status without town centres. For the perioikic *poleis* of the Lakedaimonians, see just below. Nonetheless, Hansen is doubtless correct that *poleis* usually had town centres, with a comparable array of 'essential' facilities such as *prytaneia*. If we do admit the existence of un-nucleated *poleis*, however, is it possible that these did not belong to the primary manifestation of the *polis* form, being secondary, possibly imperfect, essays at conforming to the paradigmatic polity only after it had become culturally normative? Moreover, the fissiparous quality of the *polis* was bound to generate communities that were identified as *poleis* by their participants but not so by other Greeks (cf. *AWE* 5 [2006], 262).

'The Perioikic *Poleis* of Lakedaimon' (pp. 149–64) responds to a piece on the communities of the Spartan *perioikoi* by Norbert Mertens, a promising young German scholar who has since decided to pursue a career outside academe.²³ See above on the piece of Hall on the *perioikoi* (*Papers* 5) that covers some of the same ground. In his restatement of earlier conclusions, Hansen concedes that Mertens's concerns extend misgivings stated in various reviews of the Polis Centre's publications. He explains away Herodotus 2. 178. 2–3, where pre-synoeicised Rhodes is a single city, by invoking the principle that the plural *poleis* is found, as here, used as a heading. This objection could as easily be cited against Hansen himself on the status of perioikic communities, because most of the invocations of them are precisely in such collective references. Hansen next restates the substantial evidence for *perioikic poleis*. Yet none of this really speaks to their evolution as components of the Archaic Sparta state, the very creation of which suggests that the Spartans, organised as a pioneering *polis*, and exploiting the hoplite warfare so well adapted to that political form, had consolidated their state at the expense of pre-political elements. If some constituents of Sparta crystallised as *poleis* below Sparta in imitation of it, that process, very possibly uneven in its course, would become an important finding on the development of the early city-state. Hansen comes near to conceding the existence of *perioikic kōmai* (pp. 156–57). Hence, the debate over the nature of the components of the Spartan state could be reduced in final significance to the distinction lying between those who want to widen the application of term *polis* and blur the boundaries of the genus '*polis*' and the Polis Centre authorities who choose

²¹ 'Pausanias and the *Polis*: Use and Abuse'. In *Acts* 2, 326–44 (as in n. 8).

²² 'Pausanias as a Source for the Classical Greek *Polis*'. In *Papers* 2, 211–19 (as in n. 9).

²³ N. Mertens, 'οὐκ ομοῖον, ἀγαθὸν δέ, the *Perioikoi* in the Classical Lakedaimonian *Polis*'. In A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.) *Sparta; Beyond the Mirage* (Swansea 2002), 285–303.

to treat outliers of the semantic range of *polis* as 'errors' (like the supposed 'mistake' of Theopompus in calling Dystos a *polis* in *FGH* 115 F 149).

Mertens tellingly cites Isocrates 12 (*Panathenaicus*) 179: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διελόντας τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὡς οἶόντ' ἦν εἰς ἐλαχίστους εἰς τόπους κατοικίσαι μικροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς, ὁνόμασι μὲν προσαγορευομένους ὡς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐλάττω τῶν δήμων τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν. Although Hansen interprets this remark as support for the status of the perioikic communities as *poleis*, surely Isocrates interprets that denotation as being insufficient by Attic standards. These political components scarcely qualify as Attic demes. To be sure, Isocrates is exaggerating maliciously, but there had to be a factual basis for such a condemnation to be telling. One would scarcely expect to find universally in the communities of *perioikoi* the characteristic *polis* elements. Thus Mertens was justified in stressing the absence of evidence for *prytaneia*, *bouleuteria* and law courts.

Hansen continues to discuss *autonomia*, a subject not much emphasised by Mertens, and, in particular the encounter between Agesilaus and Epaminondas, so that I shall content myself with a reference to my earlier criticism (*AWE* 7 [2008], 309–11, 321–22). The appointment of *perioikic proxenoi*, cited in support by Hansen, tends rather to support Mertens. Gnosstas of Oinous (identified by his ethnic), appointed ca. 475 BC *proxenos* of Argos, does not speak to the identity of Oinous as dependent *polis*, but to an Argive pretension to treat Oinous as a diplomatic peer in disregard of the Spartan government (*SEG* 13. 239). The *perioecic proxenoi* from Epidauros Limera, Kyphanta and Pellana, who were appointed in a decree of Karthaia on Keos (*IG* XII.5 542. 20–22), might speak to the *polis* character of those towns, and just those towns, but only if we could be sure that their proxeny on behalf of a minor *polis*, deep in the Attic sphere of influence, was not meant to be active through indirect means at Sparta itself. Indeed, I would go beyond Mertens to propose that two theses of the Polis Centre with regard to the *perioikoi* are unlikely both to be true. If each and every perioikic community was a *polis*, it is unlikely that every *polis* had a town centre, because some perioikic communities do seem rather to have been non-nucleated or polycentric cantons.

Conclusion

I would like to start my final remarks with some reflections on the reception of the publications of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. In the course of my survey of its publications, I purposefully avoided seeking out others' reviews in order to contemplate the whole project without appeal to broader scholarly authority. I should now like to comment briefly on some elements of the evaluation of this important body of work. The reviews of these publications are conveniently listed on the Centre's web-site: http://www.teachtext.net/bn/cpc/cpc_overview-001.html. This enumeration appears to be based on *L'année philologique*. The reviews demonstrate the respect with which this enterprise has been received, although the natural anticipation for the *Inventory* did seem somewhat diluted by the steady stream of Polis Centre publications. Several reviewers, scrutinising a single volume, especially in the *Papers*, expressed their impatience over the absence of programmatic material in that volume and over the seemingly disparate character of the contents when taken in isolation. As with other productive collaborative projects, there has also been a danger that the attention of the primary audience, academic ancient historians, felt saturated by these *parerga* and a degree of ennui then set in. Several commentators seem to evince such sentiments.

Yet, amid a kaleidoscope of agreements and disagreements on particular points, the general verdict endorsing the work of the Centre is manifest. The Copenhagen vision of the *polis* is likely to remain the starting line for Greek constitutional studies for the foreseeable future. Our next generation of scholars, who are bound to be trained within contexts that mingle agreement or dissent with views expounded by the main authorities of the Polis Centre, will likely experience an oscillation back toward specific *poleis*, *ethnē* and regions. Some of these studies may well constitute direct attempts to interrogate and critique Polis Centre findings in light of epichoric evidence on individual *poleis* – much of my criticism above was motivated by dissatisfaction over a perceived failure of the Polis Centre hypotheses and schemata to confront places, institutions and social dynamics that I had studied. More tightly focused research will doubtless insist additionally on greater nuance and complexity in our understanding of social structure and processes on a culture-wide perspective. I reiterate my concern that such prospective work must always confront the *polis* as an internal psychological order as well as a structure of socio-political processes and physical facilities, as I have observed repeatedly in this review article. Doing justice to that concern entails investigating the co-evolution of *polis* and *politēs*, because behavioural patterns and institutions for so complex an ordering of existence as the *polis* advanced reciprocally.

However, it was also welcome confirmation of some of the misgivings outlined above that they find forerunners and echoes in the appraisals of others. Reviewers were willing to accept polyvalent semantics for *polis* and related terms that admitted much more conflict and ambiguity.²⁴ As I have noted above, such ambiguity over the specific status of a *polis* sometimes rests on ancient controversies where acceptance or denial of *polis* status rested on partisan or ideological grounds, a phenomenon sometimes reaching such intensity that two different groups of people in different places might stake claim to the identity of one and the same *polis*.²⁵ Sceptics, those with a reluctance to embrace wholeheartedly the strictest Polis Centre delineations on *polis* terminology, often appeal to the expert ‘testimony’ of the authorities in these volumes who stood outside the core group of contributors, and noted the variegated quality of their conclusions (some of which are noted above at length and below in brief as well). As I asserted in my excursus in Part I (AWE 5 [2006], 261–62), our investigation of the *polis* must carefully seek its analogues and differences with other city-state cultures. While the Greek conceptualisation of the *polis* provides our inevitable ground lines for exploration, we cannot limit analysis to their precedents.²⁶

Some reviewers have wished to see a greater role for *autonomia* in *polis* ideology.²⁷ They concede, as did the majority of expert opinion before the foundation of the Polis Centre,

²⁴ H. van Wees in *GrRom* 42 (1995), 231–32 (on *Papers* 1); S. Goldhill in *BMCR* 1996.10.11 (on *Papers* 2); L. Burckhardt in *Klio* 89 (1998), 513–14 (on *Acts* 2), P. Cartledge in *ClRev* 49 (1999), 465–69 (on *Acts* 4 and 5, and *Papers* 4); W. Schmitz in *Historische Zeitschrift* 269 (1999), 449–51; M. Moggi in *Gnomon* 71 (1999), 668–74 (on *Acts* 2), also emphasising changes in status over time. Also, in brief, C. Mossé in *RA* 99 (1997), 348–50 (on *Acts* 2); P. Brun in *REA* 99 (1997), 245–46; P. Cabanes in *REA* 101 (1999), 254–55; and A. Duploux in *AntCl* 71 (2002), 420–21.

²⁵ See also P.J. Rhodes *ClRev* 46 (1996), 309–11 (on *Papers* 2).

²⁶ Goldhill (as in n. 24) vigorously and helpfully stresses this point.

²⁷ D. Viviers in *AntCl* 66 (1997), 578–80 (on *Acts* 1); H. van Wees in *GrRom* 44 (1997), 230–31 (on *Acts* 3 and *Papers* 3); Goldhill (as in n. 24); P.J. Rhodes in *JHS* 117 (1997), 236–38 (*Acts* 3 and *Papers* 3); L.G. Mitchell in *ClRev* 49 (1999), 149–51.

that *poleis* existed without *autonomia* (under its varying definitions), but would attribute to the *polis* a tendency toward *autonomia*, and envisage the attrition of the prerogatives or perquisites of the autonomous *polis* as a process threatening a community's very identity as *polis*. Here I once again emphasise the issue of the degree of psychological investment by *politai* in their *polis* in comparison to other social entities. Moreover, some reviewers insisted on the existence of intensely partisan claims for and against *autonomia* in contexts where hegemonic authority was exercised.

Furthermore, the *lex Hafniensis* acted as a lightning rod for the negative reception of Hansen's work, with his piece from *Acts* 3 ('ΠΟΛΛΑΞΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ...') drawing particular fire.²⁸ The diagnostic quality for *polis* status of the use of ethnics also drew some fire.²⁹ I was a little disappointed, however, that reviewers did not address with greater clarity whether the prevalence of certain regional ethnics did not sometimes indicate allegiances, psychological investments, and even identities that were divided or shared with *poleis*.

Although I consider such an evolution understandable, I would stress how much more methodologically broad, conceptually varied, and interpretively multifarious the earlier volumes of the Centre's output appear when compared with the offerings later in the series.³⁰ Therefore, it is important to respect the role in these publications of the pieces that contribute to our understanding of the *polis* without commitment to the full set of 'dogmas' eventually promulgated. If I were to choose some of these pieces for anthologising, I might offer K. Raaflaub, W. Schuller, P.J. Rhodes and P. Gauthier from *Acts* 1;³¹ P.M. Fraser, P.J. Rhodes, W. Schuller and S.E. Alcock from *Acts* 2;³² and W. Burkert from *Papers* 2.³³ From *Acts* 7, I would select P.E. Easterling, R.T. Long and O. Murray.³⁴ *Acts* 7, however, is an extraordinarily energetic and inclusive exercise, standing out among the later productions of the Centre, notwithstanding my comments in *AWE* 6 (2007), 309–21. From *Papers* 5, I note F.W. Walbank, 'Hellenes and Achaeans: "Greek Nationality" Revisited' (see above p. 263). Some discussion of specific political institutions is also most impressive: note especially P. Perlman from *Acts* 2³⁵ and S. Hodkinson from *Acts* 7.³⁶

²⁸ Hansen (as in n. 7). From: van Wees (as in n. 27); A. Chaniotis in *BMCR* 1997.07.16 (on *Acts* 3 and *Papers* 3), who also highlights the use of 'error' to denote semantic variation; Rhodes (as in n. 27); Cartledge (as in n. 24).

²⁹ van Wees (as in n. 27); Chaniotis (as in n. 28), focusing on Nielsen on Arkadian ethnics.

³⁰ J.-C. Decourt situated the particular value of the early volumes in their debates (review of *Acts* 1, *Papers* 1 and *Papers* 2 in *Topoi* 6 [1996], 245–51).

³¹ 'Homer to Solon: the Rise of the *Polis*. Written Sources', 41–105; 'Die *Polis* als Staat', 106–28; 'The Greek *Poleis*: Demes, Cities and Leagues', 161–82; and 'Les cités hellénistiques', 211–31. In *Acts* 1 = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-States* (Copenhagen 1993).

³² 'Citizens, Demesmen and Metics in Athens and Elsewhere', 64–90; 'Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees', 91–112; 'Poleis im Ersten Attischen Seebund', 165–70; and 'Pausanias and the *Polis*: Use and Abuse', 326–44. In *Acts* 2 (as in n. 8).

³³ 'Greek *Poleis* and Civic Cults: Some Further Thoughts'. In *Papers* 2, 201–10 (as in n. 9).

³⁴ 'The Image of the *Polis* in Greek Tragedy', 49–72; 'Aristotle's Egalitarian Utopia: The *Polis* *Kat' Euchen*', 164–96; and 'Zeno and the Art of *Polis* Maintenance', 202–21. In *Acts* 7 = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Imaginary Polis* (Copenhagen 2005).

³⁵ 'ΘΕΩΡΟΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ. Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status'. In *Acts* 2, 113–64 (as in n. 8).

³⁶ 'The Imaginary Spartan *Politeia*', 222–81. In *Acts* 7 (as in n. 34).

The physical aspects of the *polis* were rightfully considered an important area for investigation, and a number of contributions assembly a wealth of evidence (literary, epigraphical and archaeological): S.G. Miller and P. Ducrey from *Acts* 2;³⁷ T. Fischer-Hansen (*Acts* 3);³⁸ C. Morgan and J.J. Coulton (*Acts* 4);³⁹ G. Shipley (*Acts* 7);⁴⁰ M.H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen (*Papers* 1);⁴¹ S.G. Miller and T. Leslie Shear from *Papers* 2;⁴² and R. Frederiksen (*Papers* 6: see above pp. 268–69). The interface between urbanism and the structure of the *polis* is recurring focus of these chapters, and deserved our careful attention.

Another valuable line of thrust of the Polis Centre has been its archaeological/historical regional surveys. Examples include M.H. Hansen on Boeotia, and C. Morgan and J.M. Hall on Achaia and Achaean Italy (*Acts* 3);⁴³ P. Funke on Aitolia, G. Shipley on *Lakōnikē*, M. Piérart on the Argolid, D. Knoeffler on Eretria and southern Euboea, and G. Reger on the Cyclades (all *Acts* 4);⁴⁴ P. Flensted-Jensen on the Bottike (*Papers* 2);⁴⁵ G.R. Tsetskhladze on the Crimea and the Taman Peninsula, and J. Hind on the northern Pontus (*Papers* 4);⁴⁶ A.M. Greaves on Miletus, and T.H. Nielsen on East Locris (*Papers* 5: see above pp. 264–65); and T. Fischer-Hansen on the hinterland of Gela and Akragas (*Papers* 6: see above p. 269). If any region of Greece other than Attica may be considered especially well covered by the Centre, it would be Arcadia and its outliers, to which the Polis Centre contributors have returned repeatedly, whether out of personal research interests or motivated by appreciation of the importance of the region for understanding the interplay both of *polis* and *ethnos* and of *poleis* with larger regional and panhellenic political forces.⁴⁷ On *Acts* 6,⁴⁸ which is devoted to Arcadia, the review of G.L. Huxley in *Hermathena* 170 (2001), 81–85 is most helpful in correction and amplification.

³⁷ 'Architecture as Evidence for the Identity of the Early *Polis*', 201–44; 'La muraille est-elle un élément constitutif d'une cite?', 245–56. In *Acts* 2 (as in n. 8).

³⁸ 'The Earliest Town Planning of the Western Greek Colonies with special regard to Sicily'. In *Acts* 3, 317–73 (as in n. 3).

³⁹ 'The *Polis* as a Physical Entity'. In *Acts* 4, 87–144 (as in n. 5).

⁴⁰ 'Little Boxes on the Hillside: Greek Town Planning, Hippodamos, and *Polis* Ideology'. In *Acts* 7, 335–403 (as in n. 34).

⁴¹ 'Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance'. In D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius* (Stuttgart 1994), 23–90 (= *Papers* 1).

⁴² 'Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens', 133–56; 'Bouleuterion, Metroon, and the Archives at Athens', 157–90. In *Papers* 2 (as in n. 9).

⁴³ 'An Inventory of Boiotian *Poleis* in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. In *Acts* 3, 73–116 (as in n. 3); Morgan and Hall (as in n. 3).

⁴⁴ '*Polis*genese und Urbanisierung in Aitolien im 5. und 4.Jh.v.Chr.', 145–88; '"The Other Lakedaimonians": The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia', 189–281; 'L'attitude d'Argos à l'égard des autres cites d'Argolide', 321–51; 'Le territoire d'Erétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité (*dēmoi*, *chōroi*, *phylai*)', 352–449; 'Islands with one *Polis* versus Islands with Several *Poleis*', 450–92. In *Acts* 4 (as in n. 5).

⁴⁵ 'The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*'. In *Papers* 2, 103–32 (as in n. 9).

⁴⁶ 'A Survey of the Major Urban Settlements in the Kimmerian Bosphoros (With a Discussion of Their Status as *Poleis*)', 39–81; 'Colonies and Ports-of-Trade on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea: Borysthene, Kremnoi and the "Other Pontic *Emporia*" in Herodotos', 107–16. In *Papers* 4 (as in n. 6).

⁴⁷ Note the enumeration of these contributions in AWE 6 (2007), 303.

⁴⁸ T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia* (Copenhagen 1999) (= *Acts* 6).

A number of studies offered primarily by Hansen himself dealt with the structure and institutions of the *polis*. In particular, *Acts 5* is a storehouse of this material.⁴⁹ These offerings may be read in conjunction with Hansen's recent monograph, *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State* (Oxford 2006) which distills their conclusions and is available in a handy paperback format. A major accomplishment of the Polis Centre has been the sequence of studies devoted to political/institutional terminology, both those of *polis* semantics in particular authors and genres (for example Hecataeus, Pausanias, Ps.-Scylax, Stephanus of Byzantium, Xenophon, the other major historians and orators; *corpora* of inscriptions) and of other important signifiers (for example, *emporion*, *kōmē*, *patris*, *phrourion*).

I would like to tender a final note of appreciation, speaking as an American classical historian who is actively engaged in training both undergraduate and graduate Greek historians.⁵⁰ Our Danish colleagues have given us a remarkable gift in the publications of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, the vast majority of which are in English and thus accessible to non-specialist humanists and social scientists. They have also furnished our students in training with a veritable tool-chest of instruments of our profession, especially for the early stages of their disciplinary studies. Toward this purpose, Mogens Herman Hansen and his collaborators have achieved an enviably high standard of composition and editing in English, so much so that it would be ungracious indeed to have mentioned their very occasional lapses.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF PETRA

J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Petra*, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 1, originally published for the British Academy, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History by Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York 1990, reprinted by Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005, xxii+209 pp., 245 pls., 9 maps. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-164-X

S.M. Rababeh, *How Petra was Built. An Analysis of the Construction Techniques of the Nabataean Freestanding Buildings and Rock-Cut Monuments in Petra, Jordan*, BAR International Series 1460, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, xii+237 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-898-X

Der 'hellenistische Osten' ist längst nicht mehr ein Randgebiet in der Erforschung antiker Kunst und Kultur. Gerade die Architekturen der hellenistisch-römischen Städte etwa in Syrien und Jordanien wurden längst als Meilensteine antiker Baukunst erkannt und bewertet.¹

⁴⁹ Note my cross-references in *AWE* 6 (2007), 295–303.

⁵⁰ Rutgers University in New Brunswick offers an undergraduate History-Classics option in the Department of History and an Ancient History and Interdisciplinary Studies option for MA and PhD students in the Department of Classics.

¹ Grundlegend schon E. Weigand, 'Baalbek und Rom, die Römische Reichskunst in ihrer Entwicklung und Differenzierung'. *JdI* 29 (1914), 37–91.

Schon für die Reisenden vergangener Jahrhunderte war dabei insbesondere die Ruinenstadt von Petra im heutigen Jordanien ein magischer Anziehungspunkt. Zahlreiche aus dem Felsen gehauene Fassaden und zu großen Teilen erhaltene öffentliche Bauten bieten einen unmittelbaren Einblick in das Stadtbild der Zeitenwende.

Mit den Architekturen dieser Stadt beschäftigt sich das Buch von Judith McKenzie, das in seiner Erstausgabe 1990 erschienen ist. Die hier rezensierte Ausgabe ist ein Nachdruck von 2005, der daher leider auch nicht die in der Zwischenzeit erschienene Literatur berücksichtigen konnte, auch nicht die Beiträge der Autorin selbst.²

In Kapitel 1 wird die Forschungsgeschichte rezipiert, insbesondere die von Brünnow und Domaszewski vorgelegte Chronologie und Typologie der Grabbauten von Petra.³

Als Vergleiche für diese Bauten können fast alle übrigen Regionen ausgeschlossen werden, lediglich die Gräber von Medain Saleh in Saudi Arabien geben Aufschlüsse für die Fassaden in Petra, zumal hier zahlreiche Inschriften Datierung und relative Chronologie erschließen lassen. Dementsprechend werden von McK. auch zunächst diese Gräber besprochen (Kap. 2).⁴

Über die bisherigen Zuweisungen zu Handwerkerfamilien hinaus wird der Versuch unternommen, Bauten und Fassaden verschiedenen 'Schulen' zuzuweisen. Dies bleibt aber methodisch zunächst unbefriedigend: so wird nicht diskutiert, wie Größe und Struktur solch einer Schule aussähen; auch lässt sich jede Schule fast nur mit einem einzelnen Bauwerk verbinden, womit die Aussage einer solchen Zuteilung an Bedeutung verliert. Weiters wäre hier die Stellung einer 'Schule' innerhalb des antiken Bauwesens zu diskutieren, also Fragen zur Existenz von Mustern, zu den Auftraggebern und Architekten zu stellen.

Relevant für die von McK. getroffenen Unterscheidungen in verschiedene Schulen ist offenbar in erster Linie die 'Syntax' eines Bauwerkes, also die Kombination verschiedener, versatzstückartiger Elemente (etwa Kapitell Typ B, Türe Typ A, Gebälk Typ C usw.). Gerade hier ist die Frage nach Mustervorlagen und Verfügbarkeit derselben unerlässlich. Die Bindung eines Musters an nur eine Werkstatt oder 'Schule' ist jedenfalls keineswegs gesichert.⁵

Wertvoll ist die Beobachtung, daß alle Fassadentypen der Gräber gleichzeitig vorkommen können und daß eine chronologische Entwicklung insbesondere in der Abnahme von Qualität und Plastizität der Elemente zu bemerken ist. Damit ist ein bedeutender Schritt über das lineare Entwicklungsmodell, wie es noch von Brünnow – Domaszewski vorgeschlagen worden ist, hinaus gemacht. Ebenso wichtig ist die Feststellung, daß Entwicklungsunterschiede kaum in einer Zeitspanne von unter 20 Jahren wahrzunehmen sind. Wenn auch Architekturen in antiken Zentren wie Rom, Alexandria oder Ephesos sicher schnelleren Veränderungen unterworfen gewesen sein mögen, hat diese Beobachtung jedenfalls als Warnung vor zu engen Datierungen sicher über Petra hinaus Gewicht.

² Vgl. etwa J. McKenzie, 'Keys from Egypt and the East: Observations on Nabataean Culture in the Light of Recent Discoveries'. *BASOR* 324 (2001), 97–112.

³ R.E. Brünnow und A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia auf Grund zweier in den Jahren 1897 und 1898 unternommener Reisen und der Berichte früherer Reisender I* (Straßburg 1904).

⁴ Vgl. dazu McKenzie (n. 2), und A.T. Reyes und A. Schmidt-Colinet, 'Faces in the Rock at Petra and Medain Saleh'. *PEQ* 130 (1998), 35–50.

⁵ Vgl. ähnliche Überlegungen zu 'Bauhütten' in Kleinasien: G.A. Plattner, 'Transfer von Architekturkonzepten und Ornamentformen zwischen Kleinasien und Rom in der Kaiserzeit'. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 46 (2004), 17–35.

Das aus der Erforschung von Hegra/Medain Saleh entwickelte Modell von diachronen Veränderungen und 'Schulen' versucht McK. in weiterer Folge auf Petra zu übertragen und anhand datierter Monumente zu überprüfen (Kap. 3). Genau hier liegt aber auch eines der wesentlichen Probleme sowohl der Erforschung Petras als auch des Buches: Letztlich sind nur zwei Bauwerke wirklich datiert,⁶ die chronologische Einordnung des Theaters oder des Tricliniums 21 ist bereits hypothetisch. Die Säulenstraße kann auch flavisch datiert werden, der Löwengreifen-Tempel ist nur über Inschriften *ex situ* zeitlich einzuordnen.⁷ Daß etwa die Datierung der Khazne al Firaun in der Forschung viel diskutiert ist – die Ansätze reichen von späthellenistischer Zeit bis in das 2. Jh. n. Chr.⁸ – geht aus der recht knappen Behandlung dieses zentralen Monumentes nur ungenügend hervor.

Mit den hier dennoch als weitgehend gesichert angenommenen Datierungen wird dann in weiterer Folge das Hegra-Modell an den peträischen Architekturen angewandt. Erneut werden die Bauten nach der Syntax geordnet; Gruppe A bilden etwa Gebäude mit korinthischen Kapitellen und Gebälken, B jene mit nabatäischen Kapitellen und dorischen Gebälken, C solche mit nabatäischen Kapitellen vom Typ 2 und einer sich wiederholenden Sequenz von Profilen am Gebälk. Innerhalb dieser Gruppen wird dann mittels Proportionen relativ datiert, intensive Untersuchungen zu Stil und Stilentwicklung der Ornamente bleiben hingegen aus. Auch ist zu hinterfragen, ob die kleine Nekropole von Hegra wirklich mit der durch Handel reichen und 'globalisierten' Königsstadt Petra zu vergleichen ist.

Auf der Suche nach Vorbildern für die peträische Architektur wird der Blick nach Alexandria gerichtet (Kap. 4). McKenzies Verdienst war es, erstmals eine große Menge von Architekturfragmenten der antiken Stadt in Ägypten katalogartig vorzulegen; in der Zwischenzeit ist unser Kenntnisstand um den reichen *repertorio* erweitert, der aber für den Nachdruck des Buches nicht berücksichtigt werden konnte.⁹

Mit dem Abschnitt über Alexandria und über den 2. Stil der Pompejianischen Wandmalerei (Kap. 5) weist die Verf. weit über Petra hinaus und zeigt eindrucksvoll die Bedeutung der Auseinandersetzung mit der Architektur des 'hellenistischen Ostens' für den gesamten Mittelmeerraum. Überzeugend werden hier vergleichbare Architekturelemente genannt oder Grundrisse nabatäischer Bauten mit den gemalten Perspektiven in den italischen Häusern zusammengebracht. Nicht in letzter Konsequenz diskutiert ist aber auch hier die Datierung sowohl der pompejianischen Gemälde als auch – mit den oben genannten Schwierigkeiten – jene der Bauten in Petra oder in Alexandria, womit letztlich der unmittelbare chronologische Zusammenhang unklar bleibt. Schade ist auch, daß die Abbildungen gerade der Wandmalereien in schlechter Auflösung und dunklen Graustufenbildern wiedergegeben sind, worunter manchmal die Nachvollziehbarkeit leidet.

Die Abhandlung der Bauornamentik beschränkt sich bei den Vergleichen im wesentlichen auf Petra, Alexandria und die Wandmalereien, ohne daß etwa die reichen Kapitellformen ausführlich mit hellenistischen kleinasiatischen Formen oder mit italischen Kapitellen verglichen

⁶ Selbst hier wurde bei dem Grab des Sex. Florentinus die in der Inschrift genannte Datierung bezweifelt und als sekundär angesehen, vgl. K.S. Freyberger, 'Zur Datierung des Grabmals des Sextius Florentinus in Petra'. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 5 (1991), 1–8.

⁷ P. Parr, 'The architecture of Petra: review article'. *PEQ* 128 (1996), 63–70.

⁸ Vgl. zuletzt A. Schmidt-Colinet, 'Grundzüge der nabatäischen Grabarchitektur'. In T. Weber und R. Wenning (Hrsg.), *Petra* (Mainz 1997), 92.

⁹ P. Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti egiziani* (Rom 1993).

würden.¹⁰ Auch für die Akanthus-Schmuckbasen liegen inzwischen weiterreichende Publikationen vor.¹¹

Gerade die gebogenen, gesprengten Architekturen werden oft von der Bautechnik in Alexandria abgeleitet, wo man mit gebogenen Rohrstöcken gebaut hätte; umgekehrt wurde aber gerade die Datierung alexandrinischer Architektur oft über die Wandmalerei hergeleitet, sodaß die Gefahr eines Zirkelschlusses besteht. Mit der Vorlage der alexandrinischen Architektur und den zahlreichen Publikationen zur Wandmalerei wäre hier eine neue Synopse möglich und erwünscht.

Nur wenige Seiten umfasst die Darstellung der antiken Stadt Petra (Kap. 6), also neben Wohnhäusern¹² vor allem auch öffentliche Monumente und Heiligtümer. Diese werden zwar für das chronologische Gerüst teilweise diskutiert, aber nur äußerst knapp besprochen. Ohne Zweifel stellt die Behandlung der Grabarchitekturen einen wesentlichen Aspekt für die Erforschung von Petra dar, es wäre dann aber wohl ehrlicher gewesen, den Titel des Buches nicht so allgemein zu halten. Auch hier lassen sich inzwischen einige jüngere Zitate nennen, die im Nachdruck des Buches nicht berücksichtigt werden konnten.¹³

In einem kurzen Abschnitt wird auch auf die Gräber selbst eingegangen, also auf die Bestattungen hinter den Fassaden sowie die zugehörigen Triklinien (Kap. 7). Auch hier wird nochmals darauf hingewiesen, daß Grabtyp und Fassadengestaltung keineswegs einer linearen Entwicklung folgen sondern primär auch vom sozialen Status des Bestatteten abhängen.

In einer Zusammenfassung (Kap. 8) werden die wichtigsten Ergebnisse genannt. Als früheste 'barocke' Architekturen sind jene des ptolemäischen Alexandria zu verstehen, diese wurden in den Wandmalereien des 2. Stils abgebildet und in den Fassaden Petras rezipiert.

Der Katalog geht in seiner Ausführlichkeit über das Mindestmaß hinaus und nennt etwa auch die magnetische Himmelsrichtung der Fassaden. Die Maße wurden aus einfachen photogrammetrischen Anwendungen herausgelesen und sind laut eigenen Angaben bei einer Höhe von 9 m auf 10 cm genau. Literatur und auch Abbildungsverweise vervollständigen die Katalogeinträge. Angeschlossen ist auch eine Bibliographie auf dem Stand der Erstausgabe.¹⁴

Neben dem Index sind insbesondere die Diagramme hervorzuheben, die besser als ein Glossar die komplexen Architekturbegriffe (etwa die vielen verschiedenen Varianten 'gesprengter' Giebel) verdeutlichen.

¹⁰ Dazu inzwischen McKenzie (n. 2), 98–102.

¹¹ C. Schreiter, 'Hellenistische und römische Kelchbasen'. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 9 (1996), 113–41.

¹² Vgl. inzwischen: A. Bignasca *et al.*, *Petra – Ez Zantur 1: Ergebnisse der Schweizerisch-Liechtensteinischen Ausgrabungen 1988–1992* (Mainz 1996); D. Keller und M. Grawehr, *Petra – Ez Zantur 3: Ergebnisse der schweizerisch-liechtensteinischen Ausgrabungen* (Mainz 2006).

¹³ Etwa die Überblickswerke: Weber und Wenning (n. 8); M.G.A. Guzzo und E. Equini Schneider, *Petra* (München 1998); G. Markoe (Hrsg.), *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of the Nabataeans* (New York 2003); E. Netzer, *Nabatäische Architektur* (Mainz 2003).

¹⁴ Eine ausführliche und aktuelle Literaturliste bietet A. Schmidt-Colinet, 'L'architecture funéraire de Nabatène et de Palmyre: une bibliographie'. In J.C. Moretti und D. Tardy (Hrsg.), *L'Architecture funéraire monumentale: la Gaule dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 2006) 181–89; vgl. auch S.G. Schmid, 'The "Hellenistic" Tomb Façades of Nabataean Petra and their Cultural Background'. In V.P. Christides und T. Papadopoulos (Hrsg.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Graeco-Oriental and African Studies, Nicosia 30 April–5 May 1996* (Nicosia 2000), 485–509.

Die 245 Tafeln, im Umfang fast das halbe Buch, stellen einen wesentlichen Teil des Bandes dar. Ungewöhnlich ist vielleicht die Anordnung der Abbildungen. So werden nicht einzelne Monumente zusammen dokumentiert, sondern etwa zuerst alle Türsteine gezeigt, dann die Fassaden usw. Die Profile der peträischen Gräber sind ebenso den Fassaden vorangestellt, dabei auch in sehr unterschiedlichen Maßstäben nebeneinander wiedergegeben, was die Vergleichbarkeit erschwert. Auch die Qualität der Abbildungen entspricht nicht dem Standard, der heute drucktechnisch zu erreichen ist. Viele der Bilder sind dunkel, mit harten Kontrasten, die Strichzeichnungen der (oft unüberarbeiteten!) Photogrammetrien reißen an den Rändern aus. Unbenommen bleibt die Tatsache, daß hier viel Material zusammengetragen und nebeneinander gezeigt wird, wenn auch die Bildvorlagen etwa für die alexandrinischen Bauteile mitunter ein halbes Jahrhundert alt sind.

Einen ganz anderen Zugang zu den Architekturen in Petra hat Shaher Rababeh in seinem Buch gewählt, das die überarbeitete Fassung der Oxforder Dissertation des Autors darstellt. Untersucht werden hier Bautechnik und Baumaterialien der öffentlichen Bauten und der Grabmonumente. Konstruktive Details werden analysiert und führen R. zu dem Ergebnis, daß neben importierten Techniken vor allem lokale Lösungen gefunden worden sind, um lokale Materialien effizient zu verarbeiten.

Zunächst wird die Geschichte der Nabatäer in einer ausführlichen Einleitung abgehandelt (Kap. 1). Es geht dem Autor darum, zu zeigen, in welchem Umfeld das Königreich existiert hat, um gegebenenfalls Einflüsse auf Bauweise und Bautechnik entsprechend bewerten zu können. Im Abschnitt über den nabatäischen Architektur-Stil referiert der Verf. ausführlich den vorliegenden Forschungsstand zu Grab- und Tempelbauten.

Ein großer Abschnitt (Kap. 2) ist den Baumaterialien gewidmet, die in Petra verwendet worden sind. Richtungsweisend ist hier die Zusammenschau der geologischen Gegebenheiten der Region von Petra und den verwendeten Baumaterialien, die vorwiegend aus der unmittelbaren Umgebung zu stammen scheinen. Selbst für die etwa in Vertäfelungen oftmals verwendeten Marmore können Steinbrüche in der nahen Umgebung genannt werden. Holz scheint vor allem als Armierung und Zuganker gegen Erdbebenschäden oder für Gerüste in Verwendung gewesen zu sein. Zurecht wird darauf hingewiesen, daß in der Antike der Baumbestand in der Region sicher größer gewesen sein wird als heute. Bei der Nennung der Baumaterialien wird auch auf Metall (in Form von Klammern oder Nägeln) nicht vergessen und die mögliche Herkunft des Tons diskutiert, aus dem die unzähligen Lehmziegel hergestellt worden sind.

Ein eigenes Kapitel ist den Steinbrüchen gewidmet (Kap. 3), die bisher kaum in die Betrachtung der antiken Stadt einbezogen worden sind. Aufgrund der Farbe und teilweise der Beschaffenheit des Materiales (Sand- und Kalkstein) lassen sich Bauteile der Tempel einzelnen Brüchen zuordnen, sodaß damit auch Datierungsansätze für die Nutzung zu gewinnen sind. Vielleicht wären auch hier über den Materialvergleich hinaus durch die diachrone Beobachtung der Bruchtechnik Hinweise zur Zeitstellung der Brüche und der mit dem entsprechenden Material gebauten Architekturen zu gewinnen gewesen, wie dies für Palmyra versucht worden ist: Unterschiedliche Werkzeuge und Bearbeitungsspuren lassen sich an den fertigen Bauteilen in der Stadt wiederfinden, auch Rationalisierungsmaßnahmen (etwa Brechen einer Säule in horizontalen Trommeln oder als vertikaler Monolith) lassen sich zeitlich fassen und geben Hinweise auf bisher nicht näher datierte Monumente.¹⁵

¹⁵ A. Schmidt-Colinet (Hrsg.), *Palmyra. Kulturbegegnung im Grenzbereich*³ (Mainz 2005), 86–90.

Im Abschnitt zur Bruchtechnik, der mit zahlreichen Abbildungen und Skizzen anschaulich verdeutlicht wird, wird insbesondere auch auf die ‘Steinbrucharbeiten’ an den späteren Grabfassaden eingegangen. Nicht nur der Abbau des Materials vor diesen Flächen wird ausführlich diskutiert sondern insbesondere der Vorgang der Herstellung der Fassaden selbst, also das Anlegen und Errichten von Gerüsten oder kleinen Treppenläufen im Felsen. Als Ergebnis ist besonders hervorzuheben, daß die Errichtung großer, materialintensiver Gerüste vermieden worden ist. Vielmehr scheint die Architektur von oben nach unten von zwischenzeitlich erreichten Arbeitsplattformen aus in die Felswände geschlagen worden zu sein, ehe man das Steinmaterial vor dem Grab weiter abgebaut und damit eine tiefer liegende Plattform geschaffen hat. Damit werden auch die kleinen Löcher an den Rändern der Fassaden zurecht nicht als Rüstlöcher angesprochen sondern als Steighilfen interpretiert.

Die Steinbrüche lagen in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Stadt, was den Aufwand für den Transport deutlich reduzierte. Überraschend ist der Gedanke, die Betriebe hätten darauf geachtet, einen Steinbruch bzw. ein Bruchgebiet so zu verlassen, daß es optisch gefällig und für das Stadtbild nicht abträglich sei. Dieser Vorschlag ist jedenfalls vor dem Hintergrund der auch in R.s Buch mehrfach erwähnten Effizienz und größtmöglichen Wirtschaftlichkeit solcher Unternehmungen zumindest erstaunlich.

Der Abschnitt über die Bearbeitung der Steinblöcke (Kap. 4) stellt eine gute Zusammenfassung zum Steinmetzwesen der Antike dar, auch die Diskussion um die Verwendung des Bohrers ist angerissen. Das Herstellen von kleinteiligen, unterschrittenen Detailformen etwa an Kapitellen ist ohne Verwendung eines Bohrers nicht vorstellbar, zu hinterfragen wäre also nicht die Verwendung des Bohrers sondern eher die Technik; es handelte sich wohl eher um ein jeweils im rechten Winkel angesetztes Schlageisen als um den vieldiskutierten ‘laufenden Bohrer’, der hier erwähnt wird.¹⁶

Aufschlussreich ist die Aufstellung der unterschiedlichen Ausarbeitungsgrade der Oberflächenglättung mit Überlegungen zum Werkzeug und zur Arbeitsökonomie. In Winkeln und schlecht erreichbaren Abschnitten bleiben die Fassaden entsprechend ungeglättet. Weiters werden Meß- und Hebewerkzeuge diskutiert.

Die Behandlung der Mauertechniken (Kap. 5) geht weit über die Aufzählung unterschiedlicher Mauerwerke hinaus. Zunächst wird ausführlich die Logistik und die Bauplanung besprochen, dann entsprechend dem Bauvorgang zunächst die Fundamentierungen. Auch die Beschreibungen des aufgehenden Mauerwerkes beschränken sich nicht auf eine typologische Einordnung (‘isodom’, ‘pseudoisodom’ und ähnliches), sondern beziehen den Bauvorgang und die technischen Verbindungen ausführlich mit ein. Bezeichnend ist, daß ein eigenes Unterkapitel die Verbindung der Mauerblöcke bespricht, die in Petra meist ohne Klammern und Dübel vorwiegend im Mörtelverband hergestellt worden sind. Es folgt die Besprechung von Verputz, Stuck und Wandmalerei, jeweils in technischer Hinsicht, ohne den Anspruch zu stellen, auch kunstgeschichtliche Einordnungen zu erreichen.

Von großem Interesse sind technische Besonderheiten an den Säulen, etwa die nur in Stuck angebrachten Kanneluren oder die marmornen ‘Ring-Basen’, an denen nur die Profile ausgeführt und als Ring um unkannelierte Kalksteintrommeln gelegt sind. Auch bei der Besprechung der Böden stehen die Techniken der Mosaik- und *opus sectile*-Pavimente im Vordergrund. Überzeugend ist auch die Erklärung zahlreicher Einzelbeobachtungen zu

¹⁶ Zur Diskussion vgl. M. Pfanner, ‘Vom “Laufenden Bohrer” zum “Bohrlosen Stil”’. *AA* 1988, 667–76.

Verzahnungen von Quadern oder zu Holzankern, die R. als Maßnahmen zur Sicherung der Gebäude gegen Erdbeben versteht.

Der Abschnitt zu den Dächern (Kap. 6) beschäftigt sich zunächst mit der Überspannung der Räume mit scheinbaren Bögen oder Keilsteinbögen bzw. Keilsteinbögen. Ein Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte, der sicher über Petra hinausreicht, ist insbesondere die Vorstellung der Kuppeln aus dem antiken Bad in Petra. R. bemerkt, daß Pendentivkuppeln wie jene in Petra gewöhnlich erst im späten 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. belegbar sind und damit – folgt man der Datierung des Bades durch McK. – die peträische 150 Jahre älter sein müsste. Umgekehrt wäre aber wohl gerade dieses bautechnische Detail ein wichtiger Anhaltspunkt, um die auffallend frühe Datierung des Bades zu hinterfragen.¹⁷

Charakteristisch für den Raum Jordanien-Südsyrien ist auch die Konstruktion der Überdachung durch einen oder mehrere Gurtbögen, die einen hölzernen oder steinernen Balken tragen. Daneben kann eine große Zahl hölzerner Dachstühle aus den vielen Balkenlöchern rekonstruiert werden, teilweise sogar aus unterschiedlichen Bauphasen.

Einer knappen Zusammenfassung folgt eine ausführliche Bibliographie.

Die Abbildungen sind durchwegs in den Text integriert und von unterschiedlicher Qualität, besonders die reproduzierten Bilder sind dabei nicht immer gut wiedergegeben. Ohne Zweifel stellt aber das Buch von R. einen wichtigen Beitrag in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Architekturen in Petra und dem Vorderen Orient dar.

Abgesehen von der Bautechnik wären vielleicht noch weitere nabatäische Besonderheiten in den Bauformen zu diskutieren, was in beiden Büchern nicht passiert. So wurde kürzlich erneut auf die charakteristischen Schildmauern zwischen den Säulenstellungen in Tempelinnenräumen oder die oftmals sehr unterschiedlichen Proportionen der Säulen von Grabbauten und Tempelbauten hingewiesen.¹⁸ Ebenso ließen sich die technischen Beobachtungen noch tiefer gehend auswerten und etwa wirtschaftliche Hintergründe mit einbeziehen. So bedingen die vor Ort vorhandenen Steinressourcen per se, daß Säulen aus Trommeln gebaut werden müssen, da sich hier keine Monolithen brechen lassen; auch sind damit die in den Fels gehauenen Fassaden wohl bedeutend kostengünstiger als gebaute Architekturen,¹⁹ zumal beim Herrichten der Wände auch noch Steinmaterial gewonnen worden sein kann.

In jedem Fall haben beide hier diskutierten Bände weit über die Region Petra hinaus Bedeutung und werden dementsprechend in der Forschung gewinnbringend rezipiert werden.

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung

Georg A. Plattner

¹⁷ Damit würde das Buch von Rababeh eben jene Forderung erfüllen, die Parr (n. 1), 66–67. vorgebracht hat, nämlich durch bautechnische Überlegungen einen Beitrag zur Datierung zu leisten; umstritten ist auch die frühe Datierung des Bades in Si'a im syrischen Hauran und des Bogentores von Lattakia, die beide 'trotz' der *caementicium*-Kuppeln in die frühe Kaiserzeit datiert werden: K.S. Freyberger, *Die frühkaiserzeitlichen Heiligtümer der Karawanenstationen im hellenisierten Osten* (Mainz 1998), 15, 53–54, 79; I. Kader, *Propylon und Bogentor* (Mainz 1996) 72–94, 142–43; dagegen A. Schmidt-Colinet 'Book Review (Kader, I., 1996. *Propylon und Bogentor*. Damaszener Forschungen 6. Mainz: Zabern). *AJA* 103 (1999), 719–20.

¹⁸ C. Kanellopoulos, 'The Temples of Petra: An Architectural Analysis'. *AA* 2004, 221–39.

¹⁹ Kanellopoulos (n. 18), 236, Anm. 55.

JORDAN IN THE LATE BRONZE AND EARLY IRON AGE: A REVIEW ARTICLE

E.J. van der Steen, *Tribes and Territories in Transition. The Central East Jordan Valley in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages: A Study of the Sources*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 130, Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2004, viii+332 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-429-1385-1

Van der Steen's volume is a lightly edited version of her 2002 Groningen doctoral dissertation, and considers much of the published archaeological evidence bearing on the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age (*ca.* 1300–1100 BC) in Jordan, a critical period of transformation for all societies inhabiting the south Levantine arm of the Fertile Crescent. Although van der S.'s study is wide ranging, her primary database is located in and around the East Jordan valley site of Deir Alla, the centre of Dutch excavation and research in Jordan for nearly 50 years. She regards Jordan's process of transformation from the Imperial colonial status of the Bronze Age into the independent ruralised society of the Iron Age as best understood through a close comparison with modern Jordanian Bedouin tribal history, documented via 19th- and early 20th-century ethnographic records. She views all her Bronze and Iron Age archaeological data firmly through this more recent ethnographic lens.

There is much to like about the book. It is clearly written, and carefully edited. The first two chapters attempt a potted intellectual history of Biblical archaeological research and what might be called an evolutionary anthropology of the region. The 'data' chapters (Chapters 3–9) are useful summaries of research on Jordan in the Late Bronze/Early Iron period, although there is a generic lack of critical assessment of the many often conflicting claims pertaining to the data. Van der S.'s procedure is to present data as originally published, while offering a minimal commentary on what is a decidedly uneven and often contradictory database. We offer some additional commentary on salient points raised in van der S.'s presentation of the data (Chapters 3–9) before turning to a consideration of her new synthesis (Chapters 10–12) on the archaeology and history of the period.

Van der S.'s presentation of the excavated database bearing on the Jordanian Late Bronze/Early Iron period is a more or less accurate description of previously published data. What is missing is a good history of research chapter (as Miller presents for Moab),¹ which should have highlighted the fitful growth of knowledge east of the Jordan in the years before the Hesban Project catalysed research in the central uplands.² Van der S. lost an opportunity to identify critical discoveries and how these shaped understanding of the period in question. She does offer a reasonably thorough (if occasionally dated) survey of major excavation projects, but rarely does she seek to assess critically the relative importance of the materials she details. This often leaves one with a feeling that good and bad data are being combined to no good purpose.

For example, when reviewing evidence for early settlement in Moab, her comments on the occupational history in and about the crucial site of Balua (p. 48) are largely out of date,

¹ J. Miller, 'Ancient Moab: Still Largely Unknown'. *Biblical Archaeologist* 60 (1997), 194–204.

² W. Dever, 'Syro-Palestinian Archaeology "Comes of Age": The Inaugural Volume of the Hesban Series. A Review Article'. *BASOR* 290–291 (1993), 127–30.

ignoring much survey data and Worschech's recent publication of Middle Bronze–Early Iron tomb materials from the Balua region,³ which implies a considerably longer occupational span in the area than suggested in her summary. As well, her statements on Dhiban (p. 50) should now be read in conjunction with Routledge's thoughtful statements on the earliest materials at the site, which (*contra* van der S.) may well date from before Mesha's reign.⁴ When considering the evidence from Madaba, van der S. states that the earliest materials uncovered in Harrison's excavations date to the Iron II (p. 51). However, Harrison has placed some emphasis on the massive very probably Early Bronze Age city walls at the site.⁵ He makes it clear that premature judgments on the duration of settlement at Madaba would be unwise, given the evident (and hitherto unsuspected) occupational time-depth at the site.

When speaking of work at Umeri, van der S. seems to imply that the Late Bronze/Early Iron horizon at that site is in some way unusual – 'one of the earliest' (p. 53) – containing material apparently unknown east of the Jordan except at Madaba Tomb A and in the Baq'ah valley. This is nonsense, as the Madaba Plains Late Bronze/Early Iron assemblage, although not without distinctive elements, is broadly similar to other regional Late Bronze/Early Iron assemblages. Characterising Umeri bowl types as 'Manasseh Bowls' is both misleading and unhelpful. Choosing to associate these bowl forms with a hypothetical Biblical tribal geography is unwise to say the least, especially in what is ostensibly an archaeological study. Van der S.'s review of the Sahab evidence (p. 54) is also problematic. It seems unlikely that the city walls date from the early Late Bronze Age, notwithstanding the presence of Thutmose III scarab impressions on the site. The fortifications are much more likely to date to the later Middle Bronze Age, although the site was certainly occupied (and defended) during the early Late Bronze Age. Concerning the Amman Airport building, the structure probably dates from the 13th century BC, not the 15th as stated (p. 56), as there is Mycenaean IIIB pottery in the foundation trenches.⁶ Although there is some Late Bronze/Early Iron pottery recovered from the vicinity of the Airport Temple excavations,⁷ this did not come from secure contexts.⁸ However, van der S. is correct to draw attention to the Mesopotamian (specifically the still enigmatic Kassite) elements in the assemblage, and to reject interpretation as either fortress or temple. All evidence is consistent with an elite-lineage crematorium.

Van der S.'s summary of the more than forty years of Dutch work at Deir Alla highlights the slow move away from Franken's interpretation⁹ of the Late Bronze/Early Iron levels as consisting of a regional 'nomadic' shrine.¹⁰ Clear domestic occupation contemporary with

³ U. Worschech, *A Burial Cave at Umm Dimis, North of el-Balu'a* (Frankfurt 2003).

⁴ B. Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology* (Philadelphia 2004).

⁵ T. Harrison *et al.*: 'Urban Life in the Highlands of Central Jordan: A Preliminary report of the 1996 Tell Madaba excavations'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 44 (2000), 211–30; 'The Tall Madaba Archaeological Project: Report on the 1998–2000 Field Seasons'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003), 129–48.

⁶ J. Hennessy, 'Excavation of a Late Bronze Age Temple in Amman'. *PEQ* 98 (1966), 155–62.

⁷ Z. Kafafi, 'The Local Pottery'. In L. Herr (ed.), *The Amman Airport excavations 1976 (= AASOR 48)* (Cambridge, MA 1983), 33–45.

⁸ Hennessy, personal communication.

⁹ H. Franken, *Excavations at Tell Deir Alla 2: The Late Bronze Age Sanctuary* (Leuven 1992).

¹⁰ A. Frendo, *The Stratigraphic and Ceramic Changes at Tell Deir Alla towards the end of the Second Millennium BC and a possible explanation for them* (Dissertation, University of London 1986).

the temple (p. 62) is now admitted, and (*contra* van der S.) does significantly impact on Franken's earlier conclusions.¹¹ Van der S.'s characterisation of the site's Early Iron Age inhabitants as 'newcomers' (p. 62) must be questioned, as the data as published does not indicate a foreign origin for them. New pottery manufacturing techniques can be explained in ways other than the presence of new peoples. Altered cuisine choices, toiletry habits and burial customs do not necessarily mandate the presence of newcomers. Indeed, close by at Tell es-Saidiyeh and Pella, the Late Bronze/Early Iron destruction horizon is currently viewed as probably the result of an earthquake, which has always been Franken's stated explanation for the Deir Alla Phase F destruction.¹² Destructive newcomers were never indicated by the archaeological evidence. When speaking of Tell Mazar (p. 64), van der S. correctly focuses on the key 'temple' structure north of the tell. One wonders if the association of enclosed courtyard, benches, feasting residues, offering installations and burials may not suggest a broad functional parallel with the Lachish Fosse Temple, which Bietak¹³ recently suggested to be a mortuary chapel in the service of nearby cemeteries. It therefore seems probable that van der S. is wrong to view the Mazar temple structure as a farmhouse (p. 64).

The long summary of Tubb's work at Saidiyeh and others' commentary on it broadly supports Tubb's own pronouncements, but misses the crucial point of Negbi's chief criticism, which is that Tubb identifies typical 10th-/9th-century BC assemblages as Late Bronze/Early Iron in date,¹⁴ thus rendering much data van der S. wishes to use (the Governor's Residence and the Well Staircase) suspect. Either the pottery published by Tubb is not associated with these structures, or they are 10th century BC in date. Greene's recent doctoral study on the British Museum cemetery excavations in the Lower Town has revealed a considerably longer time depth to the cemetery's use, with distinct Late Bronze/Early Iron, Iron I and Iron II components.¹⁵ Van der S. cannot be blamed for being unaware of this new and vitally important work, but it is nonetheless critical to any accurate assessment of the Late Bronze/Early Iron period in the central Jordan valley. Van der S.'s commentary on identifying 'Egyptians' and 'locals' via differential technology uptake, in this case specifically mummification and metallurgy, seem crude in the extreme. The idea that Egyptian garrisons would consist solely of Egyptians, which can be identified by correct technology transfer (thus Egyptian) or not (thus local), betrays a woeful ignorance of the very large literature on the subject of technology transfer and cultural uptake.¹⁶

¹¹ M. Ibrahim and G. van der Kooij, 'Excavations at Tall Deir Alla: Seasons 1987 and 1994'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 42 (1997), 95–114.

¹² Franken (as in n. 9). J. Tubb, P. Dorrell and F. Cossing, 'Interim Report on the Ninth Season (1996) of Excavations at Tell es-Saidiyeh, Jordan'. *PEQ* 129 (1997), 54–77.

¹³ M. Bietak, 'The Function and Some Architectural Roots of the Fosse Temple at Lachish'. In S. Ahituv and E. Oren (eds.), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume* (Beersheba 2002), 56–85.

¹⁴ O. Negbi: 'Were there Sea Peoples in the Central Jordan Valley at the Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age?' *Tel Aviv* 18 (1991), 205–43; 'Were there Sea Peoples in the Central Jordan Valley at the Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age once again'. *Tel Aviv* 25 (1998), 184–207.

¹⁵ J. Greene, *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Tell es-Saidiyeh* (Dissertation, University of London 2004).

¹⁶ For example A. Shortland (ed.), *The Social Context of Technological Change: Egypt and the Near East 1650–1550 BC* (Oxford 2001).

Turning to the review of work at Pella, one notes several confusions. Van der S. (p. 69) seems confused in associating new work in the southern temple precinct Area XXXII,¹⁷ with the 1990s excavation of the Governor's Residence complex (Area III), some 150 m to the east.¹⁸ The two complexes are not associated spatially or chronologically, the one being Middle/Late Bronze (Area XXXII) and the other Late Bronze IB/IIA (Area III) in date. Turning to the recently excavated Migdol temple,¹⁹ the structure dates from 1650 BC, not 1450 BC as stated. The Late Bronze Age occupational sequence was brought to an end in a site-wide destruction, probably to be dated to the later 12th century BC, and not the 13th. An even later date may prove necessary given Harrison's recent publication of the Chicago Megiddo VI destruction assemblage,²⁰ which appears to contain many close parallels with Pella Phase IA destruction materials. If Harrison's 10th-century BC destruction date for Megiddo VI gains acceptance, then the Pella Phase IA destruction horizon may well have to be considerably downdated. Potts presaged this possibility when commenting on apparent 9th-century BC storage jar types within the Phase IB post-destruction assemblage.²¹ The lamp and bowl deposits²² are associated with the construction of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Phase IA stone-paved room complex, located directly above and within the courtyard area of the Governor's Residence complex.²³ This element of explicit Egyptianisation should date from the 12th century BC, but may date even later. If one accepts Negbi's comments on the date of the Saidiyeh XII pottery (10th century BC), but retains Tubb's association with a structure displaying considerable evidence for Egyptianisation (the Governor's Residence), then we may well have evidence for a much later phase of 'Egyptianisation' in the Jordan valley than previously acknowledged.²⁴ As Harrison has already suggested the Philistines to be the purveyors of this late wave of Egyptianisation in the central Jezreel valley,²⁵ one wonders if the Pella and Saidiyeh evidence, taken together, might not further support his views, and suggest a major Philistine expansion into the central Jordan valley in the 11th/early 10th century BC. It only remains to add that Dothan firmly associated the Grotesque Coffin burials with a Philistine presence at Beth Shan,

¹⁷ S. Bourke *et al.*, 'Preliminary Report on the University of Sydney's Sixteenth and Seventeenth Seasons of Excavations at Pella (Tabaqat Fahl) in 1994/95'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 42 (1998), 194.

¹⁸ S. Bourke *et al.*, 'Preliminary Report on the Fourteenth Season of Excavation by the University of Sydney at Pella in Jordan'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 38 (1994), 104–07.

¹⁹ For which see S. Bourke *et al.* 'Preliminary Report on the University of Sydney's Eighteenth and Nineteenth Seasons of Excavation at Pella (Tabaqat Fahl) in 1996/97'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003), 344–53; S. Bourke, 'Cult and Archaeology at Pella in Jordan: Excavating the Bronze and Iron Age Temple Precinct (1994–2001)'. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 137 (2004), 1–31.

²⁰ T. Harrison, *Megiddo 3. Final report on the Stratum VI Excavations* (Chicago 2004).

²¹ T. Potts, 'The Iron Age'. In A. McNicoll *et al.*, *Pella in Jordan*, vol. 2 (Sydney 1992), 100.

²² S. Bunimovitz and O. Zimhoni, 'Lamp and Bowl' Foundation Deposits in Canaan'. *IEJ* 43 (1993), 99–125.

²³ A. McNicoll, R. Smith and J. Hennessy, *Pella in Jordan*, vol. 1 (Canberra 1982), 56.

²⁴ S. Bunimovitz, 'Socio-Political Transformations in the Central Hill Country in the Late Bronze–Iron I Transition'. In I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeology and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (Washington 1994), 179–202.

²⁵ Harrison (as in n. 20).

dating them to the 11th century BC,²⁶ a date recently supported by Aston's re-analysis of Egyptian data.²⁷

When considering Jordanian survey results (Chapter 4), van der S. begins by acknowledging the many real problems in employing survey data to chart variations in settlement patterns over time, particularly comparing data collected using different methodologies (p. 79). She then proceeds to use just such a variety of different survey databases in a largely uncritical way throughout her discussion. Interpreting survey data is particularly problematic if the generally heavily eroded pottery assemblages are not clear cut in their form/fabric differences (i.e. telling Bronze Age from Roman pottery is generally unproblematic, but telling Late Bronze II from Iron IA is not). Glueck's seminal survey work east of the Jordan has long been recognised as chronologically flawed,²⁸ particularly when trying to identify Early Iron Age materials. Indeed, many more recent projects have claimed much, and produced little by way of Iron I material.²⁹ Some recognition of the inherent difficulties in telling Late Bronze II from Iron Age I survey assemblages might have been expected,³⁰ given the admitted difficulties in defining adequately the relatively pristine excavated assemblages (above), but van der S. barely acknowledges the problem, and does not reflect on how this critical difficulty might impact on all her assessments.

More specific criticisms include van der S.'s comments on Worschech's North West Kerak survey methodology. Here she takes Worschech to task for his failure to differentiate between Late Bronze II and Iron I survey pottery. In this he is almost certainly correct to 'lump' together what are by no means clearly defined assemblages, especially given the absence of authoritatively dated stratified assemblages from northern Moab. Her stated doubts on Worschech's claimed Late Bronze Age settlement presence (p. 82) are unlikely to be correct.³¹ Miller's far more problematic Kerak survey³² has been rightly criticised by Finkelstein,³³ for its poor ceramic methodology. Van der S.'s approach to Miller's data is to believe Miller's assessments when five or more sherds of any given period were recovered (p. 83), but this procedure will not work if the target pottery (Late Bronze II and Iron Age I) has been more or less completely misidentified, as seems likely. Here van der S.'s inability to assess Miller's database critically robs her comments of any utility. If the pottery is wrongly assessed,³⁴ then the settlement patterns are illusory, however much they appear to support continuity across the Late Bronze/Early Iron boundary.

²⁶ T. Dothan, *The Philistines and their Material Culture* (New Haven 1982), 274.

²⁷ A. Galal and D. Aston, 'New Kingdom Anthropoid Pottery Coffins from Kom Abu Rady and Sedment'. *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 37 (2001–02), 127–80.

²⁸ J. Sauer, 'Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages: A Critique of Glueck's Synthesis'. *BASOR* 263 (1986), 1–26.

²⁹ B. MacDonald *et al.*: *The Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey 1979–1983, West-Central Jordan* (Waterloo, Ont. 1988); *The Southern Ghors and Northeast Arabah Archaeological Survey* (Sheffield 1992). P. Bienkowski *et al.*, 'Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbet Dubab in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan'. *Levant* 29 (1997), 41–70.

³⁰ S. Mittmann, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Wiesbaden 1970); R. Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan* (Sheffield 1988).

³¹ Worschech (as in n. 3).

³² J. Miller (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau* (Atlanta 1991).

³³ I. Finkelstein, 'From Sherds to History'. *IEJ* 48 (1998), 120–31.

³⁴ Finkelstein (as in n. 33).

Van der S.'s treatment of the Hesban survey data is similarly uncritical. No amount of commentary on the sudden appearance and rapid spread of apparently Iron IA settlement in the northern Hesban region can withstand Prag's simple statement that Iron I occupation was entirely absent from the excavated assemblages at Iktanu.³⁵ As Iktanu was one of the key sites where the Hesban survey identified Iron I material, yet again it appears that Iron II pottery was misattributed to the Iron I. While Iron II settlement is indeed ubiquitous throughout the south Jordan valley,³⁶ Iron I settlement is virtually unknown. Within the Hesban survey database, ceramic forms that can be demonstrated to be exclusively Iron I in date are rare indeed. Underlining this observation, the recent and more carefully considered Madaba Plains survey data, directly sourced to the excavated Iron I sequence at Umeri, reported a very limited Iron I settlement horizon in the region, and minimal evidence for continuity across the Late Bronze/Early Iron boundary (p. 85). Again, settlement continuity in the very few verdant econiches on the plateau is not particularly surprising, as settlement has concentrated in these few rich loci ever since it first began. However, even in the few favourable econiches, continuity across the Late Bronze/Early Iron boundary is rare. More importantly, there is no evidence for a widespread horizon of new Iron I settlement in the region. Van der S. rightly highlights McGovern's identification³⁷ of an early polity centred on Amman (p. 89), but excavations in and around the citadel suggest the inception of this settlement cluster dates from the second half of the Middle Bronze Age,³⁸ and not the Late Bronze Age as van der S. seems to suggest. She summarises the plateau survey database as both problematic and generally unreliable, but then goes on to state that modern work has failed to invalidate Glueck's early conclusions, which saw the region uninhabited in all but the final phase of the Late Bronze Age (p. 89). Few today would agree with this curious statement.

When turning to Jordan valley survey projects, we approach the core area of van der S.'s concerns. Commenting on the seminal work of the East Jordan Valley survey (1975–76), she immediately identifies a concentration of sites in the region of Deir Alla and Tell es-Saidiyeh as significant (p. 90). While she is certainly correct to contrast the settlement densities between the Wadis Kafrinjeh and Zarqa with those further south down the valley, this differential density is a well-recognised function of lateral wadi placement, rainfall pattern and

³⁵ K. Prag: 'Preliminary report on the Excavations at Tell Iktanu and Tell el-Hammam, Jordan 1990'. *Levant* 23 (1991), 55–66; 'A Walk in the Wadi Hesban'. *PEQ* 123 (1991), 48–61; 'Bronze Age Settlement Patterns in the South Jordan Valley: Archaeology, Environment and Ethnology'. In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, vol. 4 (Amman 1992), 155–60; 'Ethnicity and warfare in the South Jordan Valley: Is there Relevance to Studies of Nomad/Settled Relations on the Desert Frontier of Syria and Jordan?'. *MedArch* 16 (2003), 65–71.

³⁶ M. Ibrahim, J. Sauer and K. Yassine, 'The East Jordan Valley Survey'. *BASOR* 222 (1976), 41–66; 'The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1976: Part 2'. In K. Yassine (ed.), *Archaeology of Jordan: Essays and Reports* (Amman 1988), 189–207. Prag 1992 and 2003 (as in n. 35).

³⁷ P. McGovern, 'Settlement Patterns of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the Greater Amman area'. In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, vol. 4 (Amman 1992), 179–83.

³⁸ A. Abu Dayyah *et al.*, 'Archaeological Survey of Greater Amman, Phase I: Final Report'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 35 (1991), 361–95; M. Najjar, 'A New Middle Bronze Age Tomb at the Citadel of Amman'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 35 (1991), 105–30; 'The Jordan Valley (East Bank) During the Middle Bronze Age in the Light of New Excavations'. In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, vol. 4 (Amman 1992), 149–54.

geomorphology, and is a constant feature of settlement patterns throughout the ages.³⁹ However, when Van der S.'s seeks to contrast high settlement density in the Kafrinjah-Zarqa region with apparently much lower densities in the Jordan valley to the north, specifically between the Yarmouk and the Kafrinjah, she is certainly incorrect. Her coverage of the Wadi Yabis survey,⁴⁰ is grudging and inadequate. The carefully considered findings have been confirmed by Fischer's excavations at Kharaz⁴¹ and Lovell's at el-Khawarij⁴². Van der S.'s negative commentary on Mittmann's Biblically inspired conclusions (p. 93) would have been more forceful had she avoided a similar interest in 'Manasseh Bowls'. She fails to point out that the Zeraqon survey was undertaken by Mittmann's students to test his original observations, although she does acknowledge their far more cautious results (p. 96) with respect to Late Bronze II and Iron I settlement, a caution confirmed by Lamprichs's⁴³ excavations at Tell Johfiyeh. Yet again, it seems Iron II pottery was being confused with Iron I, a constant hazard when dealing with heavily eroded survey pottery.

What is completely missing from van der S.'s commentary on the north Jordan valley survey data is any consideration of Kouky's Wooster College survey work in and around Pella (1992),⁴⁴ or Watson and O'Hea's far more detailed Pella hinterland survey (1994–96).⁴⁵ As van der S. later seeks to show that the key area of settlement in Late Bronze II and Iron I was the Kufrinjah-Zarqa region, to be sharply contrasted with that in and about Pella and Kharaz, such failure to consider results of a broadly similar nature to her own impacts significantly on all her conclusions. If the density of settlement between the Kufrinjah and the Zarqa is to be understood as primarily agriculturally based (larger/richer agricultural zone), one might wonder why this was not also the case earlier in the Middle Bronze Age. Equally, if the area around Pella was so impoverished, why was this area the main locus of Egyptian concern throughout the Late Bronze Age? Watson and O'Hea make it abundantly clear that the settlement spread throughout the hinterland region of Pella is as dense and site-filled as adjacent regions to the south. Settlement is simply more concentrated in the foothill/tafaqat zone than on the narrower ghor. Any suggestion that settlement in the Pella hinterland is significantly less dense than elsewhere in the valley is simply incorrect.

³⁹ J.W. Flannigan, D. McCreery and K. Yassine, 'Tall Nimrim: Preliminary Report on the 1995 Excavation and Geological Survey'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 40 (1996), 271–92; S. Bourke, 'The Origins of Social Complexity in the Southern Levant: New Evidence from Teleilat Ghassul, Jordan'. *PEQ* 134 (2002), 5–6.

⁴⁰ J. Mabry and G. Palumbo: 'The 1987 Wadi el-Yabis Survey'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 32 (1988), 275–305; 'Environmental, Economic, and Political Constraints on Ancient Settlement Patterns in the Wadi al-Yabis Region'. In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, vol. 4 (Amman 1992), 67–72.

⁴¹ P. Fischer, 'Tall Abu al-Kharaz. The Swedish Jordan Expedition 1994. Fifth Season Preliminary Excavation Report'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 40 (1996), 101–10.

⁴² J. Lovell *et al.*, 'The First Preliminary Report of the Wadi ar-Rayyan Archaeological Project: the Survey of al-Khawarij'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 49 (2005), 189–200.

⁴³ R. Lamprichs, 'Tell Johfiyeh: An Archaeological Site in Northern Jordan. A Preliminary Report on the 2002 Field Season'. *Occident & Orient* 7.2 (2002), 1–42.

⁴⁴ F. Kouky, 'The Environs of Pella: Roads, Fords and Occupational Sites'. In A. McNicoll *et al.*, *Pella in Jordan*, vol. 2 (Sydney 1992), 199–204.

⁴⁵ P. Watson and M. O'Hea, 'Pella Hinterland Survey 1994: Preliminary Report'. *Levant* 28 (1996), 63–76.

Van der S.'s wrongheaded attitude to the Pella hinterland data disfigures much of her following argument.

Van der S. follows her site and survey chapters with an interesting review of the 19th- and early 20th-century history of Jordan, primarily from a Bedouin tribal perspective. Here she seeks to detail the lifeways of times past and the dominant role of the Bedouin in socio-economic matters. Much of what she outlines seems reasonably true to the historical record, but this reviewer remains unconvinced that late Ottoman Jordanian settlement history and economic activity is overwhelmingly mediated through Bedouin power relationships.

Van der S. has it that the collapse of Ottoman settlement in the 17th-century AD Jordan valley is due to the Bedouin presence and not the changes brought on by West Indian sugar production, the burgeoning European trade with India via the Cape, and the titanic struggles taking place in the Balkans between the 'weak' Ottomans (attempting to storm Vienna!) and the Hapsburg alliance. Bedouin history is invariably myopic, and settled peoples always move away from Bedouin lands because of their might and authority, not because new economic opportunities on the coast, in Cairo or in Beirut encouraged population movement into these cities. It seems odd therefore that whenever the 'weak' central powers chose to exercise their influence in the region (Mohammad Ali in the early 1820s, Ottoman Damascus in the 1890s), they were invariably successful.⁴⁶ Might it be that the Egyptian or Ottoman powers of the day simply had little use for what was an economically marginal periphery of empire? But if and when they chose to exercise power, it was always a relatively easy matter to break Bedouin control with disciplined troops and well supplied forts.

All this is important because van der S. very decidedly wants this 'Bedouin model' to serve when interpreting Late Bronze/Early Iron settlement patterns east of the Jordan. One is in danger of viewing the 19th-century world through the picturesque lens of the Bedouin tribal chief. Although van der S. would deny it, we are none too far from the 'eternal East' and the 'noble Bedo' tropes that cluttered 19th-century thinking. Until there is a greater effort to demonstrate a more comprehensive similarity between 12th-century BC and 19th-century AD Jordan (settlement densities, ecofactual data, climatic and geophysical conditions, population sizes, precursor conditions, imperial parallels), the case for socio-cultural parallelism will remain weak, no matter how often the word 'tribe' is mentioned in ancient textual data, or pot marks are invoked as tribal icons.

The sixth chapter contains a review of pottery assemblages from some of the key sites discussed in the third chapter, and would most probably have been better integrated with that section as a single unit. The review is competent, if rarely insightful. Van der S. publishes a very small but apparently representative sample of pottery forms deemed to be Late Bronze/Early Iron in date from a select number of key sites. Her adjudication of chronological placement is firmly based around the presence/absence of apparently diagnostic types in each given assemblage. Little attention is given to the differential depositional context (tomb/tell or civic/domestic) of her target assemblages, nor is there any discussion of the key role form frequency (rather than mere presence/absence) plays in the determination of relative chronology and comparative stratigraphy. Both these deficiencies rob her otherwise painstaking analysis of any force. Although van der S. is aware of the problems of comparing tomb and tell assemblages, she still proceeds to do so for want of better. In the end her ceramic

⁴⁶ N. Lewis, *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan 1800–1980* (Cambridge 1987).

analyses achieves little more than highlighting the occasional distinctive elements in admittedly regional assemblages.

The apparently key assemblages highlighted are simply inadequate for the task set them. The scattered tombs, and very preliminarily published tell materials do not provide an adequate database on which to adjudicate nuances of chronology. The presence of slurried white slip bowls, carinated amphorae, Submycenaean stirrup jar and pyxides, upright cooking vessels and varieties of collared rim jars may be significant, but there simply is no good quantitative data on the relative chronological importance of these featured elements in each individual regional assemblage. Van der S. seems to recognise this, and employs the partially (and inadequately) published Late Bronze/Early Iron sequence from Deir Alla to adjudicate on all matters chronological. Whilst Deir Alla is a useful sequence in Jordan valley deliberations, one must doubt its primacy when assessing Moabite and Ammonite assemblages. Van der S. reports a complex pattern of interactions indicated by comparative analysis, but falls back on the 'mobile potter' model much beloved by Franken's functionalist school. What is missing from this section of the analysis, curious given van der S.'s interest in anthropology, is any discussion of what Bryant Wood has called 'the sociology of pottery production'.⁴⁷

All indications are that the vast majority of pottery was locally produced, and it seems unnecessary to propose itinerant specialists as the producers of generic functional assemblages, often more variable in execution in the Late Bronze/Early Iron than in earlier times, which would (if anything) seem to argue against professional itinerant potters. If one abandons the idea of professionals, then such factors as marriage alliances might better explain widespread similarities in certain functional types (for example cooking vessels) across regions. Once function is allowed for, exploring similarity and differences in assemblage elements via the medium of differential access to complex social networks, seems more profitable than invoking itinerant specialists whenever a similarity between regions is detected. Frequency of association builds cultural homogeneity, which in turn leads to sub-regional assemblage similarities, here characterised through a Biblical lens as 'Moabite' and 'Ammonite'. There are distinctive elements in often widely separated assemblages which are indeed cause for comment, but van der S.'s analysis, too fixed on chronology, does not adequately explore the possibilities.

The seventh chapter reviews the archaeology of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Deir Alla, largely according to Franken.⁴⁸ The 8-phase (A–H) Late Bronze Age sequence is followed, apparently after a short break, by a 13-phase (A–M) Iron Age sequence, the latter the product of 'newcomers'. While van der S. does not openly criticise Franken's 'nomadic tribal sanctuary' interpretation of the Late Bronze Age sequence, this has effectively been overturned by new work under Ibrahim and van der Kooij.⁴⁹ Franken's differentiation of an early Late Bronze Age well-fashioned pottery (Phases A–D) assemblage, from later more crudely formed materials (Phases E–H) is probably well founded, as a similar tendency can be seen up and down the valley in Late Bronze II.⁵⁰ However, Franken's suggestion that altered pottery

⁴⁷ B. Wood, *The Sociology of Pottery in Ancient Palestine* (Sheffield 1990).

⁴⁸ Franken (as in n. 9).

⁴⁹ Ibrahim and van der Kooij (as in n. 11).

⁵⁰ Frendo (as in n. 10); S. Bourke, 'Pre-Classical Pella in Jordan: A Conspectus of Ten Year's Work (1985–1995)'. *PEQ* 129 (1997), 94–115.

manufacturing techniques from Phase E onwards must indicate the presence of new potters (rather than new techniques) is unnecessary, and given this change is characterised as a move away from a sophisticated professional system to a more localised non-specialist production, it more likely reflects the economic decline of the Jordan valley in the troubled times of the Late Bronze IIB period, when the 19th Dynasty repeatedly devastated the region under Seti, Ramesses and Merneptah.⁵¹ Van der S.'s stratigraphic analysis of Late Bronze Age pottery forms sourced to functional classes (pp. 174–76) is a necessary corrective to Franken's overly technology driven analyses. Her conclusions indicate that significant functional change can be identified between Phases F and G in the later 13th century BC, not surprising if this change marks the end of the sanctuary and the development of a fortified rural settlement. Van der S. also views initial Iron Age occupation as representing a sharp functional break with the Late Bronze Age past, with an emphasis on bulk storage of commodities.

The next section reviews excavations at Tell el-Hammeh, a small hamlet less than 3 km east of Deir Alla, directed by van der S.⁵² She states that the excavations aimed at investigating the existence of a Late Bronze/Early Iron trade route running up the Zarqa to the highlands. Given this aim, she spends an inordinate amount of time discussing the apparently anomalous Middle/Late Bronze period occupation at the site. The presence of Chocolate-on-White ceramic and other fine wares should not be cause for so much surprised comment. Even small villages are likely to have at least one elite residence/sanctuary at their heart,⁵³ and the 3 km distance from the Middle/Late Bronze regional centre at Deir Alla hardly presents an insurmountable barrier to the purchase of elite goods. One therefore strongly doubts van der S.'s argument that the early Late Bronze Age represents a temporary camp-site (pp. 201–02), with the later Late Bronze Age (characterised by pits only) representing a more permanent village lifeway. The archaeological evidence suggests exactly the opposite, and this is in keeping with survey/excavation results further north up the valley, suggesting a well integrated Middle/Late Bronze period settlement landscape, which breaks down only towards the end of the Late Bronze Age.⁵⁴ One does not need to invoke elaborate trade

⁵¹ K. Kitchen, 'The Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan'. In P. Bienkowski (ed.), *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginnings of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan* (Sheffield 1992), 21–34; Bunimovitz (as in n. 24); I. Singer, 'Egyptians, Canaanites and Philistines in the Period of the Emergence of Israel'. In I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy, Archaeology and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (Washington 1994), 282–338.

⁵² E. van der Steen, 'Excavations at Tall al-Hammah'. In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, vol. 7 (Amman 2001), 229–32.

⁵³ R. Gophna, 'A Middle Bronze Age II Village in the Jordan Valley'. *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 28–33; B. Magness-Gardiner and S. Falconer, 'Community, Polity and Temple in a Middle Bronze Age Levantine Village'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7 (1994), 127–64; A. Faust, 'The Canaanite Village: Social Structure of Middle Bronze Age Communities'. *Levant* 37 (2005), 105–25.

⁵⁴ S.E. Falconer and S.H. Savage, 'Heartlands and Hinterlands: Alternative Trajectories of Early Urbanisation in Mesopotamia and the Southern Levant'. *American Antiquity* 60 (1995), 37–58; A. Maeir, *The Material Culture of the Central Jordan Valley during the Middle Bronze II Period: Pottery and Settlement Pattern* (Dissertation, Hebrew University Jerusalem 1997); S. Bourke forthcoming, 'Pella and the Jordanian Middle and Late Bronze Ages'. In P. Fischer (ed.), *The Chronology of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in the Jordan Valley* (Vienna, SCIEM 2006), 243–56.

networks to explain fine wares moving 3 km east of central sites.⁵⁵ Even so, the data from the Tell el-Hammeh excavations (plans, sections and pottery) are a welcome addition to our very few rural excavations in this period,⁵⁶ although one might wish for better drawn sections and properly illustrated pottery, rather than the Frankensque sketches that serve for illustrations in most Dutch publications.

The ninth chapter is concerned with a detailed analysis of the pottery from survey work in the hinterland of Deir Alla. This work is extremely useful, as it compares results from much earlier surveys in the region with those more recently carried out (p. 214), which allows for limited (but valuable) cross referencing and a new assessment of earlier work. Twenty new and seven previously assessed sites are described and compared, and even allowing for the inadequate pottery illustrations, this is still valuable work. Van der S.'s interpretation of site function is however rather idiosyncratic. Viewing Late Bronze Age Deir Alla as a nomadic sanctuary, Katerat es Samra as a nomad cemetery and Tell el Hammeh as a trader's house all sounds more than a little odd (p. 232), as there is no good reason to suspect anything other than rural settlements in the hinterland of a regional centre. Given the small scale of excavations in the region, anything beyond presence/absence analysis should be eschewed. Van der S.'s determination to view the area as the base for semi-mobile groups, hangs on absence of knowledge rather than any positive indication of their presence, and this argument from silence will not do.

Van der S. clearly views Late Bronze IIB as the period in which a previously largely nomadic population sedentarises, but no evidence is presented to support any differentiation of 'nomadic' Late Bronze I sites from 'sedentary' Late Bronze II settlements on functional grounds. There does appear to be an increase in hinterland settlement numbers in Late Bronze II, although van der S.'s own caveats concerning reliability of survey results, given the unexpected Middle/Late Bronze presence at Hammeh, should have counselled greater caution. The Tell el-Hammeh evidence gives one every reason to doubt the exclusively Late Bronze II date of the many settlements in the Deir Alla hinterland. However, even if van der S. is correct in her dates, one wonders why this expanded Late Bronze II settlement landscape need be seen as anything other than another of the well attested ruralisation episodes, prevalent in this marginal region in times of socio-economic (and perhaps climatic?) stress.⁵⁷ Changes in the valley settlement landscape are probably occurring in Late Bronze II, but whether these can only be due to sedentarising nomads remains in doubt. There is too much nodding towards the unmentioned but well-known Biblical texts in this scenario.

And so to the three concluding chapters, where van der S. summarises general theories concerning the Late Bronze/Early Iron periods (Chapter 10), more specific ideas on the Late Bronze/Early Iron sequences in the major sub-regions of Jordan treated in earlier chapters

⁵⁵ S.E. Falconer, 'Village Economy and Society in the Jordan Valley: A Study of Bronze Age Rural Complexity'. In G. Schwartz and S. Falconer (eds.), *Archaeological Views from the Countryside: Village Communities in Early Complex Societies* (Washington 1994), 121–42.

⁵⁶ A. Maeir, 'Hamadiyeh-North: A Rural MB II Settlement in the Bet She'an Valley'. *Atiqot* 39 (2000), 31–42.

⁵⁷ S.E. Falconer, *Heartland of Villages: Reconsidering Early Urbanism in the Southern Levant* (Ann Arbor 1987); I. Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Sheffield 1995).

(Chapter 11), before drawing everything together in a new synthesis (Chapter 12). As these three sections are part of a single more or less coherent argument, we will treat them together. Van der S.'s review of general theories relating to the transitional Late Bronze/Early Iron period concludes that Egyptian control collapsed due to internal socio-economic pressures, with a strictly military conquest denied, and some combination of infiltration and local peasant revolt the primary causes. Such views are normative these days,⁵⁸ but they involve a significant disregard for Egyptian inscriptional sources, and more than a nod towards the *Judges* (infiltration) version of the Hebrew conquest narratives.⁵⁹ The facts on the ground are relatively few and controversial, but what they suggest is reasonably congruent with the Egyptian historical texts, for coastal lands at least.⁶⁰ The archaeological evidence seems to indicate a significant continuity with Late Bronze II (Canaanite) norms for the inland verdant lowlands. One could rightly ask whether there was ever any good evidence for significant political change in these inland lowland regions during the Late Bronze/Early Iron period, especially as we have a growing (albeit still modest) body of 20th-Dynasty Aegyptiaca from the Jezreel,⁶¹ the region about Pella,⁶² and as far inland as Balua.⁶³ Were we to choose to view the coastal Philistines as Egyptian proxies,⁶⁴ it would be possible to argue that while economic decline is suggested by the slowly impoverishing archaeological assemblages, there is little evidence for any abrupt change of political control in the inland lowland regions until the 10th century BC. Arguably this is when highland polities to the west and east of the Jordan began to disrupt trade and local control throughout the inland valleys, which in turn may well have prompted Siamun's and ultimately Shoshenq's interventions, which follow a familiar imperial pattern, with most campaigns viewed as recurring punitive expeditions to keep open the inland trade routes.⁶⁵

When van der S. comes to apply her 'Bedouin model' directly to the Late Bronze/Early Iron transition in Jordan, her first focus is on the territory of Pella in the north Jordan valley. Her view of the Late Bronze/Early Iron history of Pella is not unreasonable, but there are a number of problems with it. Van der S. seems to doubt the ability of the Late New Kingdom pharaohs to project their power across the Jordan. The fords immediately west of Pella are many and broad, and after late spring (when the effects of winter rains have abated) there is little reason to doubt the ability of the Egyptian army to project its power east of

⁵⁸ Bunimovitz (as in n. 24); I. Finkelstein, 'The Emergence of Israel. A Phase in the Cyclic History of Canaan in the Third and Second Millennia BCE'. In I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy, Archaeology and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (Washington 1994), 150–78; Singer (as in n. 51).

⁵⁹ L. Stager, 'The Impact of the Sea Peoples (1185–1050 BCE)'. In T. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (London 1995), 332–48.

⁶⁰ Singer (as in n. 51).

⁶¹ Y. Garfinkel, 'The Early Iron Age Strata of Beth Shean reconsidered'. *IEJ* 37 (1987), 224–28; Harrison (as in n. 20).

⁶² Bourke 2004 (as in n. 19).

⁶³ Worschech (as in n. 3).

⁶⁴ Bunimovitz (as in n. 24); J. Weinstein, 'Egyptian Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean World at the end of the Second Millennium BCE'. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition* (Jerusalem 1998), 188–96.

⁶⁵ Bunimovitz (as in n. 24).

the river. Van der S. suggests that Pella tore itself free from the empire under Seti I (p. 276), but this must be doubted, given the frequency of subsequent major campaigns through north Jordan and the Damascene. The number of Ramesside stelae from this region⁶⁶ does attest to the need for frequent campaigning, but it also attests to consistent Egyptian success. Such seems unlikely to have occurred with an independent and hostile Pella in its midst. Egyptian silence about Pella could either be explained by the city's destruction or neutralisation, although admittedly there is no clear evidence for a 13th-century BC destruction on the tell. The evidence at Pella is consistent with Egyptian control from the time of Thutmosis III/Amenhotep II, with perhaps a more firm authority and increasing Egyptianisation from the 13th century BC.⁶⁷ There is a sharp fall in luxury imports in the post-Amarna period,⁶⁸ consistent with destruction or impoverishment under Seti, rather than the formation of a robber 'den', as van der S. would have it (pp. 275–77).

While Tell es-Saidiyeh does seem to have flourished from the 13th century BC, there is no good evidence that initial settlement dates from this period (p. 277). It seems probable that any putative Egyptian presence is part of a campaign to open alternative routes to the Jordanian plateau and Mesopotamia (down the Wadi Farah and up the Kufrinjeh), perhaps as more northerly east–west routes (up the Yarmouk) became problematic as the 13th century unfolded. When viewing Late Bronze II Deir Alla, van der S. makes claims for imperial Egyptian control without presenting sufficient evidence for same. Settlement density itself is not an argument for Egyptian involvement (p. 278). Returning to Pella, van der S. claims that the hinterland of Pella '...was practically devoid of settlements...' (p. 279). This statement is referenced to the poorly integrated early Jordanian Antiquities Data Bank and Information System data,⁶⁹ which in any case was made irrelevant by Watson and O'Hea's detailed survey work in the hinterland of Pella.⁷⁰ Watson and O'Hea report a number of villages in the near hinterland of Pella, entirely consistent with similar findings in the eastern Jezreel.⁷¹ So when van der S. then seeks to contrast an Egyptian-mediated dense settlement in the Deir Alla region with a robber-barony at Pella, there is little reason to believe her.

Van der S.'s view of the Amman region in the Late Bronze Age is decidedly slanted towards Sahab (p. 280). While Sahab has been the most extensively excavated settlement,⁷² it is difficult to imagine a polity not centred on the citadel region of Amman, where major settlement dates back to the Early Bronze Age.⁷³ Van der S. views all such upland settlement as the result of trade, and regards Sahab as the controller and gateway to areas further east.

⁶⁶ S. Wimmer forthcoming, 'A New Stele of Ramesses II in Jordan and the Context of Egyptian Royal Stele in the Levant'. In P. de Miroschedji *et al.* (eds.), *Proceeding of the Third Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Paris); J. Yoyotte, 'La stèle de Ramsès II à Keswé et sa signification historique'. *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 144 (1999), 44–58.

⁶⁷ Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (as in n. 22).

⁶⁸ Bourke (as in n. 50).

⁶⁹ G. Palumbo, *JADIS. The Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System. A Summary of the Data* (Amman 1994).

⁷⁰ Watson and O'Hea (as in n. 45).

⁷¹ Maeir 1997 (as in n. 54); Maier 2000 (as in n. 56).

⁷² M. Ibrahim, 'Archaeological Excavations at Sahab'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 17 (1972), 23–36.

⁷³ Najjar 1991; 1992 (both as in n. 38).

While this is not unreasonable, it is to be doubted that Egyptians or 'northerners' had much to do with trade regulation out in these border lands. However, the presence of a multitude of burial customs (pithos, coffin, cremation, and multiple inhumation burials, all apparently contemporary) alerts us to the cultural heterogeneity on the settled peripheries in the later phases of the Late Bronze Age,⁷⁴ perhaps implying a lack of imperial oversight. While van der S. sees (by implication international) trade at the heart of plateau settlement patterns, there is little evidence provided in support of this contention. Few northern or eastern products are in evidence in the region, and the tiny amount of Mediterranean produce indicated by late Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery can only ever have played a minor role in the local economies.

Agriculture and livestock production lay at the heart of the plateau settlements, and if trade played any role in sustaining settlements, then it must have been largely trade in these less visible perishable products. Perhaps not unrelated, it is just this sort of agricultural produce that the later New Kingdom garrison troops demanded in ever larger quantities, if our scanty textual indications⁷⁵ of an increased military presence in the region are in any way accurate.⁷⁶ Van der S. views the terminal Bronze Age in the Amman region as a period of economic recession if not outright collapse. As a response, she advocates significant emigration from the east into the Jordan valley (pp. 288–91), this last based largely on ethnographic parallels and the increase in settlement numbers in the Deir Alla hinterland, although conversely she admits that the plateau settlement at Sahab actually expanded over the Late Bronze/Early Iron period (p. 306).

Van der S. acknowledges the rise in Egyptian concern with Moab during the later 19th Dynasty (pp. 302–04). She views the spread of settlement across the Moabite plateau as most probably occurring under Egyptian influence, although the chronology of settlement spread and any putative Egyptian involvement in it is poorly articulated, and Egyptian textual sources would seem to imply intervention only after settlement was well established.⁷⁷ While the Balua stele has often been held to indicate some sort of Egyptian-inspired coronation of a Shashu chieftain, little about the chronology, context and character of this stele is known with any certainty,⁷⁸ and invoking it as key evidence for Egyptian involvement with sedentarising Shashu is unwise. An alternative view might see the Egyptians moving to regulate the western end of a settlement network which owed more to a strengthening camel-based trade across the Arabian Peninsula.⁷⁹

Finally, van der S. views the spread of settlement in the Early Iron Age as predominantly a move of people west off the Jordan plateau down into the Jordan valley, and ultimately up into the western highlands of Palestine. She offers little evidence in support of this movement of 'new peoples' beyond vague allusions to population movements in recent times (p. 307),

⁷⁴ Ibrahim (as in n. 72).

⁷⁵ Kitchen (as in n. 51).

⁷⁶ Singer (as in n. 51).

⁷⁷ Routledge (as in n. 4).

⁷⁸ W. Ward and M. Martin, 'The Balu'a Stele: A New Transcription with Palaeographical and Historical Notes'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 8–9 (1964), 5–29.

⁷⁹ P. Parr, 'Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and its Historical Implications'. In D. Potts (ed.), *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology* (Copenhagen 1988), 73–89.

and the apparent introduction of new ceramic and bronzeworking technologies into the Jordan valley. From this van der S. moves rapidly to a discussion of the 'people Israel' and the Merneptah stele, even though the events described therein are not easily located geographically, with a variety of areas beyond the western highlands implicated in the narrative.⁸⁰

Van der S.'s foregoing argument on population movements from east to west is clearly viewed as an appropriate context for understanding 'Israel', whatever this term means, with the clear implication that large-scale population movements west out of Jordan are firmly indicated by the archaeological evidence. Van der S.'s view is decidedly Biblical in this respect, and not likely to win widespread acceptance outside the Biblical fraternity. Her reading of the evidence is not impossible,⁸¹ merely unnecessary. The growth and decay of settlement landscapes in the Jordan valley and on the plateau may or may not involve the periodic influx of new peoples, the varying influence of imperial powers, or changes in trade routes and climate. The key point is that van der S.'s case depends more on advocacy of recent ethnographic parallels than on the presentation of what is still a threadbare archaeological database. Van der S. has painted an entertaining picture of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age Jordan, but not a compelling one.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON ROMAN LIFE AND AFTERLIFE

C. Mattusch with H. Lie, *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2005, xxiii+390 pp., 220 colour and 280 black-and-white illustrations, 3 maps. Cased. ISBN 0-89236-772-9

D. Mazzoleni, *Domus. Wall Painting in the Roman House*, essays and texts on the sites by U. Pappalardo, photographs by L. Romano, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2004, 416 pp., 350 colour illustrations and 3 fold-outs. Cased. ISBN 0-89236-766-0

These two recent publications by the J. Paul Getty Museum are both large, lavishly illustrated volumes. The first, *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House*, is a translation of *Domus. Pittura e architettura d'illusione nella casa romana*, published by Arsenale in 2004. It is sumptuously produced and what is immediately striking about it is the sheer quality of the colour illustrations, most of them by Luciano Romano, along with some from the Archaeological Superintendency of Pompeii, the Vatican Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The photographs, which serve to illustrate the 28 sites or houses in the catalogue, are of two types: photographs of the settings, the exteriors of the houses and the general views of the rooms, on glossy paper; and detailed photographs of the wall

⁸⁰ D. Redford, 'The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela'. *IEJ* (1986) 36, 188–200; F. Yurco, 'Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign'. *JARCE* 23 (1990), 189–215; Singer (as in n. 51); Stager (as in n. 59).

⁸¹ A. Zertal, 'To the Land of the Perizzites and the Giants. On Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh'. In I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy. Archaeology and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (Washington 1994), 47–69.

paintings printed on high quality textured matt paper. This system generally works well except where there is the overall view of the room is lacking, as in the case of the House of Livia on the Palatine. Looking at some of the remarkable details captured in these photographs one becomes sadly aware that one of these days, when the originals have deteriorated further, photographs like this will become the primary source for Pompeian painting. Indeed Mazzoleni notes the recent collapse of the concrete roof over the famous oecus of the Casa del Labirinto, a fact which once again reminds us that the photographs like those in this book are now our only evidence for the original state of these paintings. The rapidly deteriorating state of the frescoes is a theme also taken up by Ludovica Bucci de Santis towards the end of the book (p. 409, n. 2).

It would be easy to see this as simply a coffee-table book, but it is more than that. The introductory essays by Donatella Mazzoleni, Professor of Architectural Design at the University of Naples, and Umberto Pappalardo, Professor of Geoarchaeology at the Istituto Universitario Suor Orsola Benincasa at Naples and an Inspector at the site of Pompeii, are serious pieces of writing. It may be observed that the translator, A. Lawrence Jenkins, has done extraordinarily well in rendering Mazzoleni's complex concepts into English, but her Introduction, which is an elegant piece of writing of a type which works well in Italian, becomes evanescent when translated into English. It explores the entire philosophy of both painting and Pompeii, but only towards the end does it give us some practical insight into some of the paintings and their meaning. Even then the discussion of the Roman house in terms of 'The skin of the house', 'The house inside a house', 'The play of the senses', 'Fictions of fiction', 'A Theater of Power', etc. has a mystical quality about it which does not work well in translation. In some cases it does not work well at all, if we take as an example the assertion that the subject matter of the paintings is related to the direction the houses face. On p. 20 Mazzoleni maintains that the 'imaginary sea on the back wall of the garden in the House of the Marine Venus [II.2.3]... is orientated in the direction of the real sea'. This is simply not the case, as a glance at the plan of Pompeii will show.

Pappalardo explains how wall paintings were made, takes us through Mau's four Pompeian styles, looks at the subject matter of the paintings and the influence Roman painting has exerted since the 16th century. None of this is new to the specialist and indeed the specialist will be irritated by the lack of footnotes and lapses like the reference to Loreius Tiburtinus on p. 49 (the owner of the house is now known to be Decimus Octavius Quartio and it is referred to as such on p. 300). However this section offers an adequate, if slightly disjointed, background to Roman painting.

A final section, by Bucci de Santis, explains the process of creating three-dimensional representations of Roman illusionistic wall paintings using computer technology. De Santis belongs to the 'literalist' school and believes that what is depicted in the paintings can be physically reconstructed. Certainly three-dimensional reconstructions of the *trompe l'oeil* architecture of Pompeian paintings, mainly of the Second Style, are enjoying a certain vogue at the moment. Richard Beacham's team has produced a number of them, but in his case his work has the clear aim of relating the paintings to stage sets. De Santis has no such agenda. While her work may be a challenge to traditionalists, like Roger Ling,¹ one is left wondering what the purpose of the exercise is.

¹ R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991).

Most of the book is taken up by the catalogue, also written by Pappalardo. The paintings are drawn mainly from Pompeii, Herculaneum and the surrounding area, but there are also a few well-known examples from Rome. The descriptions of individual sites and houses are a brief but on the whole reasonably adequate introduction to the sumptuous pictures which follow. However it is very surprising that the Pompeian houses are not given their standard tripartite number which is the normal way of identifying them. As well as descriptions the catalogue includes plans of each building, glossy photographs showing overall views of them and the individual rooms, and then the opulent detailed photographs printed on matt, textured paper. The promotional blurb of the original Italian edition explains this: 'Grazie a un particolare tipo di carta che restituisce anche le qualità materiche degli affreschi, il lettore può avvicinarsi alla percezione reale delle pitture.' One must however remember that the original wall paintings are in fact shiny. Nonetheless the pictures are strikingly immediate and, if they are intended to inspire, inspire they do. Looking at this section one cannot help thinking that the photographs, not the wall paintings, are the real *raison d'être* of the book.

Carol Mattusch's book on the sculpture collection of the Villa of the Papyri is another lavishly produced Getty volume, but it could never be confused with a coffee-table book. M. is a renowned expert on Classical bronzes with many important books to her credit and this book is masterly. Furthermore, although it is full of beautiful illustrations, they are used in a strictly scholarly way – to serve the text. There are six chapters, every one well researched, finely written, carefully annotated and full of insight. The first chapter is a beautifully lucid account of the discovery of the villa, a brief discussion of the country villa in general and life in the villa. It is interesting to note that she accepts the old view that the villa's owner was in fact Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus.

The second chapter is very long (pp. 32–123). It begins with the discovery of Herculaneum, Karl Weber's plan (of which there is a larger copy in the back pocket of the book), the scorched papyri (which still seem to be confined to the works of the obscure philosopher, Philodemus, and which so disappointed and irritated Johann Winckelmann), and the recent excavations of the Villa of the Papyri which started in 1993. The latter and the scandals that attended them are briefly touched upon (pp. 53–54), but there is scant mention of new finds. The chapter continues with an account of the foundation of the Royal Museum at Portici and the visits of Winckelmann (in 1762) and others. Most illuminating is the account of Joseph Canart's restorations of the marble and bronze sculptures, Ottavio Bayardi's much reviled catalogue of them and the publication of *Delle antichità di Ercolano* (1757–92). Next comes the establishment of the Real Museo Borbonico at Naples and the reorganisation of its collections in turn by Giuseppe Fiorelli (1863–75), Paolo Orsi (1900–01), Ettore Pais (1901–04) and Amedeo Maiuri (1924–61). Perhaps the most interesting event described in this section is the removal of several of the bronzes to Monte Cassino in September 1943. Later 15 cases of them were sent to Berlin where they were intended as a surprise birthday present for Goering on 12th January, 1944. After the war the Seated Hermes was sent to Munich and somewhere on the way the head was broken into more than 40 pieces. On p. 88 there is a photograph of the headless statue. Finally this already long chapter goes off at a tangent with a long excursus about the Grand Tour, which, although fascinating in itself, tends to interrupt the flow of the book.

Chapter 3 gives very clear and well-illustrated account of how ancient bronzes were cast and then goes on to explain the technical analysis of the sculptures. Both with the marble

sculptures and the bronzes, the first task was to distinguish original work from 18th-century repairs. Henry Lie from the Harvard University Art Museums worked on more than 63 bronzes and 22 marble sculptures from the Villa of the Papyri between 1997 and 2000. The stable isotope ratio analysis of the marble sculptures proved inconclusive, but other information, such as grain size suggested that a considerable number of the statues examined were of Pentelic marble. In the case of the bronzes X-radiography revealed the joins in the casting process and was valuable in confirming or clarifying what was revealed by direct examination. It also showed up internal reinforcements and additions to the original bronzes. The alloy analyses were also most illuminating, especially in the case of the famous Seated Hermes. The photographs taken during these examinations and used throughout the book are of high quality. They are especially valuable in the catalogue sections.

Chapter 4 is a catalogue of the marble statues and contains technical observations, a discussion of the present condition of each piece and any restorations, and its proposed identification. Chapter 5, on the bronze statuary shows many of the X-rays which were taken in the course of the analysis and provides useful diagrams to illustrate the cast sections. The results provide remarkable insights into the bronzes, their composition, manufacture and repair. For example they showed that the two boy athletes (NM 5626 and 5627) were cast from different batches of metal at different times. Further examination of the pieces showed that the measurements of 5626 are consistently slightly smaller than for 5627, an indication that 5626 was cast from 5627. Photographs on p.190 show that 5627 is also more finely detailed than 5626. The alloy analyses revealed how extensively restored is the famous statue of Seated Hermes (NM 5625) and seem to indicate that it is not an early 3rd century BC original as Rhys Carpenter believed.² However M. generally does not make attributions and prefers to provide analogies for a particular sculpture rather than hard dates.

Chapter 6, entitled 'Afterlives', discusses casts and cast-making. The Getty Museum at Malibu of course features prominently and its acquisition of record numbers of bronzes from the Fonderia Chiurazzi in Naples. There is also some discussion of why these particular statues and statuary groups were chosen to decorate the villa, and whether they stood where they were found.

M. has done a great service in writing this book. She has taken a look at a well-known group of sculptures and examined them with a practised eye and with the help of a great deal of technical expertise. The result is an entirely new insight into their production and manufacture, and the correction of many earlier misapprehensions about them. Now we know them much better and are in a position to approach them from a more objective standpoint.

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Frank Sear

STUDIES ON THE ORIGINS OF CENTRAL CAUCASIAN SITES OF THE LATE BRONZE-EARLY IRON AGE

Three valuable monographs devoted to South Ossetian antiquities of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age have been published in the recent past by one of the most prominent

² R. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture* (Chicago 1960), 184–85.

modern experts on Caucasian archaeology, Prof. B.V. Tekhov.¹ To a degree, these sum up his long-term work on the Tli burial ground and other sites located on the southern slope of the mountains of the central Caucasus. Perusal of them has aroused some reflections which I would like to share with my colleagues.

My focus is on the origins of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age culture in the central Caucasus and the ethnic identification of sites of this period in the area examined by T. At the centre is his book of 2000 devoted to the full publication of material from the Stryfz cromlechs. This remarkable Late Bronze Age site has been known to archaeologists since the 1960s but, due to circumstances beyond T.'s control, complete publication could not take place for over 30 years.

In considering the funeral rite at Stryfz, T. points out that both pit graves and the stone circles-cromlechs surrounding them are well known in the Caucasus from the Bronze Age up to middle of the 1st millennium BC. Male burials in cromlechs were, in the main, tightly flexed on the right side; women lay on the left side. A similar practice may be observed at the Mtskheta and Treli burial grounds in eastern Georgia. As T. notes, in some other Caucasian sites, the side on which the body was positioned has chronological implications: in Dagestani sites of the end of the 2nd millennium BC women were placed on the right side and men on the left, while during the Scythian period in south-east Chechnya and Kabardino-Balkariya the positions were reversed (p. 34).² It should be noted that, according to V.I. Kozenkova, the arrangement of the body with men on their right side and women on their left also occurred in sites of the western variant of Koban culture from the end of 2nd millennium BC, not only during the Scythian period.³ It seems that a southerly or south-easterly orientation of bodies prevails to some extent.

Cattle bones were found in cromlech burials 9–11. T. traces this tradition to Mtskheta burials since the Middle Bronze Age, placing it within the context of many Transcaucasian and North Caucasian Bronze Age–Early Iron Age cultures and follows it down to classical antiquity. A distinctive feature of the Stryfz burial rite is the 'fire ritual', identified by the charcoal and ochre remains. But this is well known in tribes of the Koban and Kayakent-Kharachoy historical-cultural communities, so it can hardly be connected with only one cultural or ethnic tradition. T. rightly points out that ritual was common for many peoples in antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Although a fire cult is, according to T., well known in

¹ *Novyi pamyatnik epokhi pozdnei bronzy v Yzhnoi Osetii* (Vladikavkaz/Tskhinval 2000); *Kobanotliiskoe graficheskoe isskusstvo naseleniya Tsentralnogo Kavkaza v kontse II i v pervoi polovine I tysyachiletya do n.e. (po bronzovym pojasam iz Tli)* (Vladikavkaz/Tskhinval 2001); *Tainy drevnikh pogrebenii* (Vladikavkaz 2002). My discussion focuses principally on the first.

² T. wrongly believes that the Zandak burial ground is dated only to the end of the 2nd millennium BC. Date of site – 12th–5th centuries BC (V.I. Markovin, *Zandakskii mogil'nik epokhi rannego zheleza na reke Yaryk-Su [Severo-Vostochnyi Kavkaz]* [Moscow 2002], 148). Like the Shakhseger and Akyar burial grounds, it is attributed to the transitional period from Bronze to Iron, which in Dagestan some experts date to the 12th–5th centuries BC (I. Abakarov and O.M. Davudov, *Arkheologicheskaya karta Dagestana* [Moscow 1993], 54, 60).

³ V.I. Kozenkova, *Kobanskaya kul'tura. Zapadnyi variant* (Moscow 1989), 79; A.B. Belinskii, *Mogil'nik Klin-Yar III kak istochnik po izucheniiu kul'tury naseleniya Kavminvod v rannem zheleznom veke* (Dissertation, Moscow 2004); S.L. Dudarev, 'Belorechenskii mogil'nik – pamyatnik epokhi rannego zheleza Kavkazskikh Mineral'nykh Vod'. *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii Severnogo Kavkaza* 3 (2004).

Ossetian ethnography, magic rituals connected with fire are also known for other Caucasian peoples.⁴

The Styrfaz ritual is also characterised by the presence of flint flakes. They are well known in sites throughout the area of Koban culture. Their relative abundance in some pre-Scythian Kavminvod ('Caucasian mineral water spa') monuments might result from the influence of the early nomads of the Eastern European steppe,⁵ but known examples relate to a later period and a different geopolitical, historical and cultural situation rather than that on the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus at the end of the 2nd millennium BC.

One further detail of the ritual was deliberate damage to grave-goods, for example the smashing of clay vessels. T. finds parallels to this detail with the Sarmatians and then with the Ossetians. One should remember that intentional damage to burial objects is well attested in many other Caucasian tribes of the Early Iron Age.⁶

In his analysis of finds of beads in the burial ground, T. points out that they were discovered not just in female burials but in male ones too, both as parts of intact necklaces and scattered. T. correctly interprets these as 'funeral gifts', which can be traced in the traditions of the population of Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia during the Bronze Age. They are known from excavation of Early Iron Age sites in the Northern Caucasus; they are also met with in the ethnography of various peoples of the region down to the 14th–18th centuries AD.⁷

That most pottery found at Styrfaz is wheel-made is a sign of its high level. T. draws close analogies between pottery found in sites in South Ossetia and in inner, western and eastern Georgia (Tli, Ozhora, Mtskheta-Samtavro, Uplistsikhe, Kaspi, Naokhvamu, etc.) and most categories of that uncovered at Styrfaz. What is important is that pottery with more southerly roots is represented more widely in graves dated to the end of 2nd millennium BC, i.e. in the 'Kobano-Tli' type of complex.

It is impossible to give an exhaustive account of T.'s analysis of the rich Styrfaz bronze collection within the framework of this review. Nevertheless, I shall indicate his basic approach and correlate it with my interpretation of the material published, first of all in respect of its place in the origins of the local Late Bronze-Early Iron Age culture, called Koban by most scholars and 'Kobano-Tli' by T.⁸ T. determines where various bronze products from the

⁴ B.V. Tekhov, *Tsentral'nyi Kavkaz v XVI-X vv. do n.e.* (Moscow 1977), 66; V.I. Kozenkova, *Kobanskaya kul'tura. Vostochnyi variant* (Moscow 1977), 22; V.I. Markovin, *Dagestan i gornaya Chechnya v drevnosti* (Moscow 1969), 39–40; Markovin (as in n. 2), 111; Dudarev (as in n. 3), 36.

⁵ S.L. Dudarev, *Vzaimootnosheniya plemen Severnogo Kavkaza s kochevnikami Yugo-Vostochnoi Evropy v predskifskuyu epokhu* (Armavir 1999), 40–83.

⁶ E.I. Krupnov, *Drevnyaya istoriya Severnogo Kavkaza* (Moscow 1960), fig. 11; M.M. Trapsh, *Trydy 2: Drevnii Sukhumi* (Sukhumi 1969), 25, figs. 6–7; O.M. Davudov, *Kyl'tury Dagestana epokhi rannego zheleza* (Makhachkala 1974), 182, tabs. 24–25; S.L. Dudarev, K.M. Mamaev and Z.I. Khasbulatova, 'Novye nakhodki srifskogo vremeni iz selenyi Elistanzhi i Mairtup'. In V.B. Vinogradov (ed.), *Novye materialy po arkhologii i etnografii Checheno-Ingeshetii* (Groznyi 1987), 13; Dudarev (as in n. 3), 36.

⁷ Markovin 1969 (as in n. 4), 106; V.B. Vinogradov and S.L. Dudarev, 'Elementy semeino-bytovoi obryadnosti v pogrebeniyakh II-I tysyacheletii do n.e. (Gornaya Chechnya)'. In V.B. Vinogradov (ed.), *Semeino-bytovaya obryadnosti vainakhov* (Groznyi 1982), 10–11; V.I. Kozenkova, 'U istokov gorskogo mentaliteta: mogil'nik epokhi pozdnei bronzy – rannego zheleza u aula Serzhen-Yurt, Chechnya'. *Materialy po izucheniyu istoriko-kul'turnogo naslediya Severnogo Kavkaza* 3 (2002), 49.

⁸ B.V. Tekhov, 'Kobano-tliiskaya arkhologicheskaya kul'tura. K 130-letiyu otkrytiya'. *Donskaya Arkheologiya* 3–4 (1999), 6–13.

Styrfaz burials originated, which reveals the wide contacts of the local population, specifically with the northern Black Sea littoral and Asia Minor.

One of the most prominent innovations connected with the appearance of Koban culture is the bronze vessels from grave 5 of cromlech 10, which can be counted as typical products of the workshops of the central Caucasus. Weaponry is dominated by daggers with compound hilts, though some with one-piece hilts occur (grave 2 of cromlech 10), as do spearheads. Maces are much less common (seven overall, though six come from grave 1 of cromlech 5), but axes (one find with combined Colchian-Koban features) and arrowheads (one bone example) are especially rare. The weapons from Styrfaz have features known from Tli (daggers, one of the main weapons, and maces; arrowheads rarely) and its eastern Georgian neighbours (spears, which in Tli graves are much rarer than in those of Styrfaz). Many of the dagger blades find wide analogies in eastern Georgia, also in Armenia and other parts of Transcaucasia (Kobala, Chala, Samtavro, Mukhatgerdi, Ozhora, Arich, etc.).⁹ Sets of arms of the end of the 2nd millennium BC are locally specific (but axes, numerous in Tli, are scarce), or are in a stage of formation (from the point of view of a classical embodiment of those in Tli in burials of the 12th–10th centuries BC).

Household objects, such as bone spindle-whorls, bronze needles, awls, tweezers, etc., have a wide chronological and territorial range, although they are more common in sites of the Caucasian Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age. Parts of deer antlers have been found. T., supported by T.N. Neradenko, suggests that they were used in agriculture as mattocks or similar implements.¹⁰

The collection of bronze ornaments from the Styrfaz cromlechs is quite representative. There is no opportunity to consider them in detail here. Some categories of ornament demonstrate that there was an appreciable change in funeral costume (including head ornament, a major ethnographic attribute) between early and late Styrfaz complexes. Pins of T.'s Types I–IV are found in abundance in Tli graves of the pre-Koban period,¹¹ while they are absent from Styrfaz graves of the end of 2nd millennium BC, giving place to pins of Types VI–VIII (with twisted heads, mushroom heads, etc). Diadems and so-called 'zhukoviny' (beetle-shaped pendants) disappear, as do bracelets of Type III and a few other ornaments. In 'Kobano-Tli' complexes, bronze belt and belt-clasps, new types of bracelet (Types I and II), fibulae and buttons appear. Some ornaments from the earlier cromlechs 4 and 5 are connected with later ones, for instance pins of Types V and IX (so-called nail-shaped and umbrella-shaped).

In other words, despite the presence of certain continuities, it is obvious that innovation is occurring. To understand this development we need to examine the work of specialists in North Caucasian funeral costumes of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age.¹² T. rightly considers Type I bronze bracelets (with volute curls on the ends) as one such innovation. He regards them as predecessors of Koban bracelets with a cut surface and spiral terminals (Type V in

⁹ K. Picchelaury, *Waffen der Bronzezeit aus Ost-Georgien* (Espelkamp 1997), Taf. 49, 62, 65, 67, 70, 79–82.

¹⁰ T.N. Neradenko, 'Ob odnoi raznovidnosti orudii truda drevnikh kobantsev'. In V.B. Vinogradov (ed.), *Arkeologiya i voprosy khozyaistvenno-ekonomicheskoi istorii Severnogo Kavkaza* (Groznyi 1987), 18–19.

¹¹ B.V. Tekhov, *Tsentral'nyi Kavkaz v XVI–X vv. do n.e.* (Moscow 1977), 14, etc.

¹² Tekhov (as in n. 11), 14, etc.

Kozenkova's classification).¹³ T. counts Early Luzhits bracelets of the types of the 13th–11th centuries BC as prototypes of Styrfaz Type I bracelets. Kozenkova herself considered the roots of Type V bracelets to lie in the west, and that there was a 'gradual transformation of a once-borrowed form'.¹⁴ For my part, I would like to draw T.'s attention to his own thoughts about the Andronovo roots of the Styrfaz bracelets, stated in the 2000 book. These are quite plausible: on the northern slope of the Great Caucasus there is material which reinforces this interpretation.¹⁵

T. comes to the conclusion that Styrfaz, Tli, Tsois and Racha together 'form a particular cultural-production branch of the Late Bronze Age culture of the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus range... [and] it is possible to speak about an historical and cultural unity...', marked by such elements as Type II–V pins, diadems, daggers and bronze vessels, which reflect a localised group of one cultural generality (p. 109). T.'s analysis of the Styrfaz bronze objects available to him shows a transition in the alloy from the use of arsenic to that of tin. Yet another of his basic conclusions is that details of burial rites have echoes in those of the Sarmatians. He supports this by citing Strabo – that the mountainous part of Iberia was inhabited mainly by aggressive warriors whose way of life was similar to that of the Scythians and Sarmatians (p. 110) – although this is retrojecting data from someone writing more than 1000 years later(!). His chronology for the cromlechs he has investigated places cromlechs 4 and 5 between the end of the 14th and the first half of the 12th century BC, part of cromlech 10 in the second half of the 12th–11th century BC, and the rest of it at the end of the 11th–10th century BC. Two male burials in cromlech 11 are dated to the end of the 11th–beginning of the 10th century BC, and female burial complexes from the same cromlech are dated to the end of the 10th–beginning of the 9th century BC.

There is no doubt about T.'s primary conclusion – that Styrfaz and Tli burial grounds exhibit unifying elements. But if we examine the burial rites and rituals of Styrfaz and compare them with Tli, we must pay attention to T.'s analysis: though cromlechs appear for the first time on South Ossetian territory at Styrfaz (which already distinguishes the local rite from that of Tli), the construction of graves within the cromlechs barely differs between the two places. In both the graves were faced with cobbles and filled up with stones. Of course this is so, but as T. points out, in Tli there is no rule by which bodies are positioned on different sides according to their sex, as there was at Styrfaz. All the dead of Tli in the earliest 'Koban' burials of the 12th–10th centuries BC were laid exclusively on the right side with heads oriented to the north (sometimes slightly westward), whilst in Styrfaz, in a group of graves of the end of the 2nd millennium BC, as remarked above, there is a prevalence of a southerly or south-easterly orientation. As to the earliest cromlechs, 4 and 5, the original position of the bodies cannot be identified because they were disturbed by later burials. For this reason, it is impossible to trace the development of the burial rites of the Styrfaz cromlechs for much of their existence. The only evidence is that in grave 11 of cromlech

¹³ V.I. Kozenkova, *Material'naya osnova byta kobanskikh plemen. Zapadnyi variant* (Moscow 1998), 52–53.

¹⁴ Kozenkova (as in n. 13), 53.

¹⁵ S.L. Dudarev, 'O svyazyakh basseina r. Kubani s kazakhstanskimi stepyami v epokhu pozdnei bronzy – nachale rannego zheleznogo veka'. In V.B. Vinogradov and E.I. Narozhnyi (eds.), *Desyatye chtenya po arkheologii Srednei Kubani (kratkoe soderzhanye dokladov)* (Armavir 2003), 15–17.

10 bracelets of T.'s Type I have been found, which is the prototype of Koban Type V. Grave 11 is dated to the 12th century BC (probably early 12th century, which is actually 'pre-Koban' – and I would move this date further back) (p. 24). The body was placed on its left side with the head oriented to the south-east, just like the majority of actual 'Koban' burials in Styrfaz. At the same time, we should remember that in Tli burials of the 16th–13th centuries BC the deceased lie flat on their back, heads oriented either north or south, in single or double graves.¹⁶

The fact that cromlechs 4 and 5 had been separated from the others by a stone wall indicates, in T.'s reasonable opinion, the presence in the burial ground of graves of members of two tribes belonging to one overall grouping but distinguished by specific details of their material culture. Here again it is very pertinent to recall the criteria used by T. to describe cultural units, groupings and edifices (p. 109). Although claiming to apply throughout, they actually characterise different stages in these development and additional research is required. Burial rites and grave-goods suggest, as T. tries to prove, that there is a continuity between the culture of South Ossetia that developed and blossomed in the Late Bronze Age and that which came before it, whilst demonstrating how complex the ethnic, social and cultural situation was in the territory of Tli-type sites and the impossibility of adopting any simple framework for their interpretation.

As to chronology, I agree in the main with T.'s approach and the conclusions he reaches from analysing the Styrfaz material, but it is my opinion that the male and female graves from cromlech 11 are impossible to separate in date, and that Styrfaz complexes of the 'Kobano-Tli' type are older than similar ones in early Tli. It is possible, I feel, to date Styrfaz Koban burials to approximately the 12th–beginning of the 11th century BC.

To sum up, there seem to me to be no grounds for revising the dating of 'Kobano-Tli' antiquities, something which was attempted in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁷

In his 2002 book, in which he presents the material of the Tli burial ground, T. now dates the majority to the 7th–6th centuries BC, stressing that many of the complexes had a rather late dating and providing scholars with first class data for revising the chronology of those parts of the site previously dated earlier. I undertook such work in 1991,¹⁸ but it received little attention from experts, including, T. Meanwhile, his new datings for the burials excavated in the 1980s validate unequivocally the approach I adopted and which I shall pursue in further research.

Another point, on which I have recently written,¹⁹ is that T. at many points throughout these volumes prefers to connect the material culture and *ethnos* of those dwelling on the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus with the Iranian world. But in view of evidence published elsewhere (switching and decoration of bronze belts), this seems to me no more convincing than other versions, including those previously offered by T.²⁰ The complex of material from South Ossetia sits strongly within the Caucasian historical and cultural context,

¹⁶ Tekhov (as in n. 11), 15.

¹⁷ S.L. Dudarev, *Iz istorii suyzazei naseleniya Kavkaza s kimmeriisko-skifskim mirom* (Groznyi 1991), 84–85.

¹⁸ Dudarev (as in n. 17), 84–92.

¹⁹ S.L. Dudarev, 'Iranskii mir i Kavkaz: nekotorye voprosy etnicheskoi atributsii kobanskoi kul'tury'. *Voprosy yuzhnorossiiskoi istorii* 11 (2006), 5–10.

²⁰ For example in Tekhov (as in n. 11), 192–93.

and specifically 'Iranian' features frequently dissolve among the material and spiritual culture of the peoples of the Caucasus of non-Iranian origin.

The main result of T.'s new research and publications consists in his highly skilled positioning of unique data which are our most valuable source for studying the material culture of the population of the central Caucasus in the Late Bronze Age–beginning of the Early Iron Age.

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P. Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting in the Art of the Assyrian Empire*, Cuneiform Monographs 28, Brill-Styx, Leiden/Boston 2005, xiii+148 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14154-5/ISSN 0929-0052

The 'ornamental wall painting' with which this book deals consists of the friezes and other types of repetitive banded decoration which, either on their own or as frames for figured scenes, are characteristically Assyrian. The main text, with indices and about 50 smallish black-and-white illustrations, occupies some 148 octavo pages. So the book should be an expanded version of the discussions of the same material which appear in A. Nunn's *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im Alten Orient* (produced in 1988 by the same publishers, Brill, before they acquired the Styx imprint used for this book). Since such paintings are not very abundant, we might at least have expected a full catalogue of them (citing the best illustrations and the locations and museum numbers of examples that still survive) and a systematic review, incorporating wide-ranging references to previous work, of the techniques, designs, symbolism, evolution and chronology of ornamental paintings, and of their relationships to other forms of decoration and to architecture.

There are bits and pieces of these things in Albenda's book. After an introductory Chapter 1, Chapter 2 is an overview of the evidence, listing many of the friezes and describing them in detail, with particular attention to the colours. The same treatment is applied in Chapter 3 to the important Til-Barsip wall paintings; in describing these, the author has been able to use the surviving modern copies by Lucien Cavro, which are preserved at the Louvre, and she includes a useful account of their current condition (pp. 33–34). Chapter 4 deals at length with the individual frieze designs, how they were combined, and the degree to which they may be regarded as symbolic or ornamental. Chapter 5 is a short conclusion including aesthetic assessments, since A. claims that these 'paintings ultimately must be appraised according to their artistic merits' and, less controversially, 'based upon these evaluations, and relying on the available archaeological evidence, that ornamental wall painting must rank as an important category in the visual arts of Assyria' (pp. 135–36).

A classic art-historical technique freely used by the author is to accumulate descriptive passages whilst leaving any interrelationships unspecified. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the descriptions are thought to have any significance beyond that of the simple list, but interesting parallels are drawn between some of the garment patterns on the friezes and on larger figures (pp. 70–72). There are also, however, features which detract from one's confidence. For instance, wall paintings in a bathroom area of the Governor's Palace at Nimrud resembled in colour and design some from a bathroom area at Arslan Tash; both versions are mentioned by Nunn, but A. does not seem to mention the Governor's Palace version when she is listing the primary Nimrud evidence. Instead she inserts a later mention like an afterthought (p. 31), with the unsupported speculation that this may be an example

of a style introduced to metropolitan Assyria from the west. Elsewhere, when discussing the chronology of the Til-Barsip paintings, she says that 'a more precise date of production may be assigned to several wall paintings, particularly since in the past scholars have cited one or more Assyrian kings responsible for the painted murals, although a date first assigned by the French excavators to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III is generally accepted for the narrative scenes' (p. 69). This sentence reads as if the mention of 'one or more Assyrian kings' was inserted after the author learnt that a Tiglath-pileser date is not 'generally accepted'. Nunn's excellent summary of the chronological debate up to 1986 is indeed credited in a footnote (pp. 34–35), but are we told anywhere that the debate has continued since then?

We are indeed told, on the other hand, that 'An original past conclusion which has recently found renewed acceptance is that the tree scene represents the pollination of the date palm...' (p. 108); but this is not an 'accepted' view, even if some scholars do find reasons to accept it and it is repeated by many others unfamiliar with the evidence. The theme of a kneeling goat is discussed twice (pp. 36–37, 118–20); it seems unsure which date for the painting is really regarded as 'probable'. It is also suggested that red and blue, separated by a black line, were juxtaposed to create an impression of purple (p. 62), but this hypothesis would need to be discussed in connection with the excavators' own observation that red and blue were sometimes deliberately mixed to create an 'aubergine' tint.¹ The novel identification as cotton (pp. 58–59) of some plants traditionally thought to be figs needs to be supported by botanical drawings. Statements such as 'The respective right and left arms of both genies are raised while the left ones are lowered' (p. 127) suggest poor checking of the final draft. Meanwhile the illustrations are classified for no obvious reason as either Figures or Plates. Anyone wanting to consult fig. 7 (a plan of Til-Barsip) while reading p. 33 will find it on p. 94, between pl. 33 on p. 88 and pl. 34 on p. 102. Fig. 7 is 'redrawn' but gives the room-numbers in Roman numerals, although they are Arabic in the text; but the scale is so small that they are barely legible, and Room 22 has lost its number anyway.

Your reviewer regrets that overall he found this book more confusing than instructive. He would advise any student that, for paintings recorded before 1986 (and there have not been many since), Nunn's book is a far better buy. It is sensibly organised, with fuller references, and covers more than Assyrian ornamental friezes; it is written in fairly easy German. The one advantage of A.'s book is that it has a few more Assyrian illustrations, albeit mostly taken from older publications. The money it cost to produce would have been more sensibly spent on a slimmer volume with colour illustrations of Cavro's copies of Til-Barsip paintings in the Louvre.

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Julian Reade

S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Classical Archaeology*, Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2007, xiv+448 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-631-23419-5/13: 978-0-631-23419-7

Once upon a time there was just the *Cambridge Ancient History* and some subject handbooks. Now publishers are vying to offer a variety of global compendia (this is a 'Blackwell Study in Global Archaeology') and reputable scholars are diverted from their work to fill them; so we run from photographs of Furtwängler and Beazley to Roman tombs in Denmark.

¹ F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris 1936), 47.

That the volume has no room for 'Art' as such (briefly subsumed into 'identity'), arguably the most demanding archaeological discipline, is in the mood of an age in which calculation is valued above perception, sadly not the strong point of several archaeologists today, and therefore decried. But there are excellent essays here which might help any student not too preoccupied with a specialism. I single out the chapters on Ecology and Countryside (Foxhall, Jones, Forbes, Alcock and Terrenato), on Urban Spaces (Hölscher – excellent, Purcell), on the Wider World (Morris, Webster). I would defend my 'learning in the east and south, teaching in the west and north' as an accurate indication to a general reader of what Greeks overseas were doing in the early period; and challenge anyone to offer anything of serious cultural importance and influence travelling the other way.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

S. Babić, *Poglavarstvo i polis. Starije dvozdjeno doba tcentralnog Balkana i grichki svet* (Chiefdom and Polis. Early Iron Age of the Central Balkans and the Greek World), Balkanološki Institut, Srpska Akademiya Nauka i Umetnosti, Belgrade 2004, 199 pp., illustrations. Summary in English. Paperback. ISBN 86-7179-037-1

This book originates in a doctoral dissertation defended in 1998 at the University of Belgrade. Stasa Babić is an internationally renowned Serbian scholar, who has published a number of important articles on various aspects of the central Balkans during the 1st millennium BC. In the present book, B. discusses and examines a variety of topics related to the region during the 7th–5th centuries BC. The first chapter presents the subjects, the problems and the aims of the study. The chronological scope and the territorial limits are also outlined. In addition, the history of the previous studies is presented. The second chapter deals with methodological issues. Special attention is paid to the ancient historical records concerning the periphery of the Classical world, especially their value and limits. Some anthropological issues are also discussed, besides the problems of the exchange as the reason for cultural changes. Chapter 3 examines in details various contacts and relations. The economic aspects of the Archaic Greek culture, the mechanics of the contacts, the problems of ethnicity and the distribution of the imports are discussed. The fourth chapter examines the changes in the mortuary practices that accompanied the rise of the local tribal elites. Construction of the graves and burial inventory, topography of the princely burials, graves of women and children and imported grave-goods are among the topics that are analysed. Chapter 5 examines the structure and the function of the chiefdom and the *polis*, besides their bilateral relationship and interaction. Three catalogues provide additional information about the Greek imports and the local burials. In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that the present book is an important and analytical study on a specific region of south-eastern Europe, written by an expert who works in the area. It presents the central Balkans in a new way, informing us not only about the material evidence, but discussing various theoretical and methodological issues and providing detailed and comprehensive analysis. It will be of interest to all scholars and students who are studying this part of the ancient world.

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Nikola Theodossiev

H.R. Baldus, *Fundmünzen aus den Jahren 1962–1998*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Didyma 3, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006, xii+136 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 3-8053-3499-0/13: 978-3-8053-3499-0

This volume, which deals with the coin finds from the excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute in Didyma, is dedicated to the memory of Klaus Tuchelt, who had been Director of the excavations of the Apollo shrine near Miletus for the last 20 years before his sudden death during the field campaign in September 2001.

Baldus has recorded and included in this catalogue 2150 coins and coin-like objects (tokens, seals, etc.) dating from the Archaic period to the middle of the 20th century, obtained in Didyma during field investigations in 1962–98. As is normally the case for books such as this, the catalogue itself both forms the main part of the work (pp. 3–65) and attracts the most steadfast attention of specialists, supplying them as it does with the objective characteristics of a particular archaeological source. The cataloguing of coins has its own peculiarities, defined by their mass production, their period of circulation, the great variety of mints and types, etc. To publish the excavated coins and random finds from Didyma B. uses a slightly modified version of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland* format, which is obviously the most suitable one taking into consideration the significant quantity of material and the extent of its detailed elaboration.

Unlike the *Sylloge*, not every coin is illustrated, just the most interesting specimens. The numismatic material is divided into 11 sections: ‘Griechische Münzen vor Alexander d. Gr.’; ‘Hellenistische Münzen und Pseudoautonome der römischen Kaiserzeit’; ‘Römische Kaiserzeit’; ‘Oströmisches Reich, Germanenstaaten’; ‘Mittelalter ohne Byzanz’; ‘Neuzeit (1500–1918)’; ‘Türkei seit 1918’; ‘Münzähnliches: Nürnberger Marken/Jetons, sogen. Rechenpfennige’; ‘Unbestimmte’; ‘Münzen, die H.R. in Didyma nie sah, von denen er weder Fotos noch Gipse oder sonstiges kennt und die er auch nicht im Museum Balat sah. Wenn es keine Phantome sind, müssten sie dort aber vorhanden sein, am ehesten in der “Studien-sammlung”’; and ‘Siegel und Siegelstempel’.

Coins from excavations are seldom easy to attribute, mainly because of their generally unsatisfactory state of preservation. B. should be given a credit for an extremely careful and accurate treatment of such material. If he has any doubts about the origin, date or type of a coin, he indicates it in the catalogue entry. Overall, all in excess of 600 coins (slightly less than one-third of the total) do not receive precise attribution, which is not a very big figure for this kind of material. In his descriptions of the coins in the catalogue B. follows to the chosen format strictly. I could note only one deviation from this in other respects perfect scheme: the obverse and reverse of coin no. 44 as described in catalogue (p. 5) are the other way about in Tafel 1.

Along with still unpublished museum and private numismatic collections, coins originating from regular archaeological excavations remain an important source of new coin types and varieties and for adding new information to our existing picture of money usage and circulation. B.’s catalogue of coins from Didyma is further confirmation of this. The subdivisions of the first three sections of the catalogue contain quite a significant number of hitherto unpublished and unknown specimens. No doubt these will be taken into consideration by future scholars investigating the coinages of the relevant mints or rulers.

The catalogue is followed by a ‘Numismatischer Kommentar’ (Numismatic Commentary) (pp. 67–76), where many interesting and valuable observations and remarks are made

regarding the coinage of Miletus and its circulation in antiquity. Noteworthy, for instance, is B.'s conclusion about the obligatory exchange of foreign coins for Milesian ones, drawn on the basis of the unusually high percentage of finds of Milesian coins in the shrine which might have existed in Didyma in the Hellenistic period (p. 67). One should note also the long circulation of the bronze pseudo-autonomy coins (p. 69). A little essay on the finds of 19th-century German coin-like tokens in Didyma is really interesting, and the explanation of their use as 'Ersatz-Kleingeld' in modern Turkey draws relevant parallels with the short-age of small bronzes in the provinces of Roman empire in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD and the almost unavoidable use of various substitutes (p. 75).

The volume is supplied with an 'Addenda und Corrigenda' (p. 77) whose small number reflects the thorough and solid character of B.'s initial elaboration of the data.

Concordances between the catalogue numbers and the inventory numbers of the Didyma excavations form an important part of the book (pp. 79–133), with significant practical value in facilitating work with published numismatic material for both of the main groups of specialists – archaeologists and numismatists – for which this book is intended, and for whom undoubtedly it can be highly recommended.

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Sergei Kovalenko

T. Bekker-Nielsen, *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region*, Black Sea Studies 2, The Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2005, 222 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 87-7934-096-2

This volume collects ten papers originally presented at a small conference held at the University of South Denmark in 2003. The title is misleading – the range of topics discussed is much wider than it suggests. Only four of the papers are explicitly focused on the Black Sea region. Of the rest, two deal instead with the West (Athena Trakadas's summary of the archaeological evidence for fish processing in the western Mediterranean, and Bo Ejstrud's ingenious piece on the trade in wine, oil and fish sauce in Roman August), and the remainder are more generally concerned with questions of evidence and sources for the exploitation of fish in the ancient world as a whole. As with many such collections therefore there is a certain lack of coherence in the volume.

This is not a trivial issue here, and there seems to be real uncertainty about the intended audience. As it is, specialists in the Black Sea will be disappointed, as there is little new information or argument for them here. There will however be those in other fields who might find some of the contributions interesting but will not read past the title.

At the close of his Introduction the editor sets out the twin aims of the volume. It seems appropriate to assess how far these are accomplished. The first is that it will provoke 'academic controversy and scholarly discussion' on the subject of Pontic fish processing. He then expresses the hope that the surveys of source material and existing scholarship and a consolidated bibliography will be useful to researchers 'in a field that still has much to offer' (both quotations p. 19).

I came away from this book convinced of the truth of this last statement, but it is less clear how provocative or useful it will prove to be. This is not due to the quality of the individual contributions but to the absence of focus of the book as a whole. Most of it is, after all,

not about Pontic fish processing as such. It is also difficult to combine being challenging or provocative with lengthy survey articles. In fact the most forthright pieces (Bekker-Nielsen himself on 'The Technology and Productivity of Ancient Sea Fishing', and Anne Lif Lund Jacobsen on 'The Reliability of Fishing Statistics as a Source for Catches and Fish Stocks in Antiquity') are aimed at T.W. Gallant's 25-year-old monograph *A Fisherman's Tale* (Ghent 1985). That there are problems with accepting the picture painted by Gallant there has been pointed out quite cogently before, not least by B.-N. himself. Sensible and convincing as they are, these articles are providing ammunition for a fight that is coming to an end, not opening up a new front.

On the other hand, there is not really enough here for the book to succeed as a summary of the current state of debate or our understanding of the evidence. John Wilkins's elegant piece on 'Fish as a Source of Food in Antiquity' is largely restricted to Galen and Athenaios, for example; and his comment that 'each can bring benefits to Black Sea Studies' (p. 30) seems to be an afterthought. Throughout, epigraphic evidence is largely conspicuous by its absence (the index of ancient sources at the end of the book contains three pages of literary references and barely half a page of inscriptions). Jakob Højte's 'Archaeological Evidence for Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region' can only be a very brief introduction to what by his admission is a vast topic. Where he succeeds is in highlighting just how much material is already available (though not often published in languages that are familiar to most of us in the Anglophone world) and how much potential there is. Vladimir Stolba's piece on the numismatic evidence for Black Sea fishing was particularly interesting to me as an historian of Athens as he pursues a different kind of linkage between fish and money from those I am used to. Likewise, Ejstrud's article is a thought provoking attempt to do something with the data we have now to address an important aspect of the problem of quantification that still proves troublesome for ancient economic historians. In the end however, the book as a whole ends up falling between two stools.

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Ben Akrigg

F. Bernstein, *Konflikt und Migration. Studien zu griechischen Fluchtbewegungen im Zeitalter der sogenannten Großen Kolonisation*, Mainzer Althistorische Studien 5, Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, St Katharinen 2004, 274 pp., maps. Cased. ISBN 3-89590-148-2

This book is devoted to problems that have been much discussed in the last two centuries and especially in recent times: the causes and motives of Greek colonisation. The author himself considers his work (it was his 'Habilitation') as 'ein neuer Beitrag zum alten Streit' about these problems and approaches them from another perspective. He regards political and social disintegration in the Greek city, the inner conflict, as the main spur to the migration which brought about colonisation.

In an Introduction of some 30 pages, Bernstein examines the historiography of Greek colonisation with great thoroughness and formulates the problem to be addressed, all in the best traditions of German scholarship. He analyses many of the general concepts connected with the colonisation process (such as *phyge*, *miasma*, *katharmos*, *apallage*).

The main part of the book, 'APOIKIAI and KATHARMOI', consists of four chapters, in which four examples of colonisation are researched from the perspective outlined in the

Introduction: Syracuse, founded by Corinth (Chapter 1), Rhegion by Chalcis (Chapter 2), Croton by the Achaeans (Chapter 3), and Cyrene by Thera (Chapter 4). Each opens with a careful examination of the literary evidence about *ktisis*, with an attempt to separate the primary historical kernel of such sagas from their later incorporation into the mythographic and literary tradition. B. studies all literary evidence from the first mentions of *ktisis* through to Late Roman versions (for example Ovid's testimony on pp. 134–36), demonstrating what intricate investigation can be made of literary sources (for example his study of the *ktisis* tradition on the foundation of Croton on pp. 127–43), and finds many parallels in the accounts of the foundation of different colonies, as well as many discrepancies between versions relating to a given colony. The silence of most sagas about the real, often unpleasant circumstances of emigration is understandable from the point of view of the narrator, whose aim was not to compromise the *ktistes* but to glorify him.

The evidence from these sources is continually compared with archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic data. In all four examples B. reveals the direct or indirect traces of *miasma*, threatening the *polis*, and *katharmos* in the form of emigration from the city as a solution to the problem (*ktisis* and *apoikia*), following consultation of the Delphic oracle. Sometimes the only evidence of such a motive for founding a colony is the appearance and the name of the *oikist*, as B. argues in the case of Croton (pp. 143–58): the *oikist* Myskellos (Myskelos, Myskos – the latter means *miasma*) had some physical disabilities (he was hump-backed or lame – *brachynotos*). All other details of the foundation of Croton, known to us from various literary sources (mostly of mythological character), remain irrelevant to the questions of motive.

The antithesis *miasma*–*katharmos* was code for a socio-political conflict which was solved by migration, and B. finds convincing evidence of this in every case discussed in the book of the foundation of a colony. If we stay with Croton, B. argues from historical fact that neither overpopulation in Achaea nor trading interests stood behind the foundation of Croton.

Of course B. does not deny such important motives for migration as trade, overpopulation, pressure on space or a lack of (agricultural). In many cases ('Idealtypen') these factors were dominant and essential. But in the cases he examines, which are also very important foundations, he shows that political conflict and social disintegration (sometimes brought to *stasis*, as in case of Cycladic Thera) very often stood at the root of the migration processes. He concludes the book very cautiously with a short (four-page) account of the results of his investigation.

In the broader perspective, B.'s explanation of the causes and motives of colonisation gives us a better understanding of the origins and formation of the *polis*-system and the ways of regulating its social and political problems.

There are very useful indexes of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources discussed in the work, as well as of Greek words and of personal names, subjects and concepts.

This work, in which philological *akribia* is successfully combined with archaeological knowledge, is an important and valuable contribution to understanding the processes of Greek colonisation (or, as the author prefers to call it, migration).

M. Blech, M. Koch and M. Kunst, *Denkmäler der Frühzeit*, Hispania Antiqua, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001, Vol. 1, text, xii+708 pp., with maps, line drawings, etc.; Vol. 2, illustrations volume, 245 black-and-white and 64 colour figs. Cased. ISBN 3-8053-2804-4

The series 'Hispania Antiqua', published by the German Archaeological Institute in Madrid, tries to present the most relevant works of art of the ancient cultures of the Iberian Peninsula accompanied by up-to-date studies which serve to give them their historical and archaeological context. One common feature of the whole series is the high quality of the texts, as also of the editing, production and illustrations, both line drawings and photographs. The present work consists of two volumes, the first containing the studies and the captions of the plates which fill the second.

The book under review includes the art of the Iberian Peninsula from the appearance of man until the eve of the Roman presence. It begins with a chapter dealing with Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic by G.C. Weniger (pp. 1–15) and continues with another about the pictorial representations on rock in the Peninsula by C. Züchner (pp. 17–37). The Neolithic (pp. 37–65) and the Copper Age (pp. 66–99), both by M. Kunst, and chapters dealing with Megalithic culture (pp. 101–19), by P. Kalb, and the Bronze Age (p. 121–52), by H. Schubart, complete the general overview of the Late Prehistoric cultures of the Peninsula. There are also some regional studies, such as that by V. Lull, R. Micó, C. Rihuete and R. Risch devoted to the island of Minorca (pp. 153–70), and others by V. Pingel dealing with Bronze Age in the north of the Peninsula (pp. 171–92) and by D. Brandherm about the Bronze Age in the north-west of the Peninsula and its relationships with the Atlantic world (pp. 193–204).

Three chapters focus on more specific materials such as gold, distributed through the book: the first, by B.R. Armbruster (pp. 205–35), to the oldest presence of gold in Prehistory, the second to more recent objects (A. Perea: pp. 349–55); the third, written by these same two authors (pp. 389–98), deals with gold and its elaboration in the so-called 'Castro culture', which developed in the north-west of the Peninsula.

Before the chapters dealing with 1st-millennium BC cultures, M. Koch gives a general overview of the history of the Peninsula at that time (pp. 235–74), introducing some of the subjects that will be developed in the following chapters. The travels of the Phoenicians to the West are the subject of H.G. Niemeyer's chapter (pp. 275–82), while H. Schubart writes about the Phoenicians on the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula (pp. 283–304).

M. Blech (Tartessos: pp. 305–48) considers the Greek presence in the Peninsula before discussing the archaeological evidence for the best attested materials ascribed to this culture.

The cultures of the Iron Age Meseta are studied by P.F. Stary (pp. 357–76), while M. Höck studies the Iron Age in the north-west of the Peninsula (pp. 377–87).

Issues about the languages spoken in the Peninsula before Roman times are presented in a chapter by J. Untermann (pp. 399–407); M.P. García-Bellido writes about the origins of coinage in the Peninsula.

In their second contributions, Niemeyer studies Carthaginian presence and colonisation in Spain (pp. 413–22), and Blech writes about the Iberians and the main features of their culture (pp. 423–70).

The catalogue entries (pp. 471–643) are generally written by the authors of the chapters themselves, although some are contributed by other scholars. They include a description of

each plate, a short overview which tries to set the object in its historical and cultural context, and a specific bibliography.

The first volume concludes with a very comprehensive bibliography of around 2000 titles, which contains the main contributions of recent research about the prehistoric and proto-historic cultures of Spain and Portugal, as well as a geographical index.

The second volume is fully devoted to illustrations, 64 full colour and 245 black-and-white plates of a quality from high to very high. They exemplify the main works produced by the ancient cultures of the Iberian Peninsula and the main places in which they developed.

The authors of the different chapters, for the most part of German origin, have developed a good part of their careers as members or as close associates of the German Archaeological Institute in Spain. Consequently, they have a very good knowledge of the main issues they write about, as well as of the bibliography, a great part of it written in Spanish and Portuguese. Overall, this book, very well edited and produced, will be a valuable source of information for those interested in the ancient cultures of the Iberian Peninsula; the studies and the plates complement each other to make this two-volume book an interesting means of obtaining a complete overview of the oldest historical periods in what are now Spain and Portugal.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Adolfo J. Domínguez

T. Boiy, *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 136, Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2004, xx+385 pp., 3 figs., 11 pls. Cased. ISBN 90-429-1449-1

Seit einer Reihe von Jahren findet Babylonien in hellenistischer Zeit in der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung verstärkt Beachtung. Auch der spätachämenidischen Periode, lange Zeit nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt 'Verfall' gesehen, gilt zunehmend die Aufmerksamkeit. Im Vordergrund des Interesses stand aber bisher vor allem das hellenistische Uruk. Zur gleichzeitigen Stadt Babylon gibt es zwar ebenfalls eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Beiträgen, doch nur zu Einzelfragen. Auch Tom Boiy selbst hat sich bereits mit einer Anzahl kleinerer Veröffentlichungen zur Thematik geäußert. In der anzuzeigenden Monographie (zunächst in flämischer Sprache im Jahre 2000 von der Katholischen Universität Leuven als Dissertation angenommen) legt er nun eine zusammenfassende Untersuchung für die Hauptstadt des Landes in der Periode nach dem Verlust der politischen Selbständigkeit vor. Die Quellen sind zum großen Teil in Keilschrift überliefert und damit nicht allen interessierten Forschern ohne weiteres zugänglich.

Das Buch ist in acht Abschnitte gegliedert. Auf die Darlegung der Quellen (Keilschrifttexte, griechisches Material, Münzen, literarische Erwähnungen bei klassischen Schriftstellern und arabischen Geographen sowie im Talmud, sonstige epigraphische Quellen mit Einschluß der Erwähnungen der Stadt Babylon in palmyrenischen Inschriften) folgt eine Analyse der Topographie der Stadt. Daran anschließend wird die politische Geschichte von Kyros über die Seleukiden bis zu den Parthern (Arsakiden) kurz abgehandelt, um schließlich zu einzelnen Lebensbereichen überzugehen: Institutionen des hellenistischen Babylon, sozio-ökonomische Situation, religiöses Leben, Kultur und Wissenschaften. Ein letzter Abschnitt ist dem 'Vermächtnis Babylons' (*Babylon's legacy*) gewidmet. Ergänzt wird dies alles durch Introduction und Conclusion sowie eine Bibliographie und Indices. In Kopie beigelegt sind

darüber hinaus 10 Urkunden des sogenannten Esangila-Archivs von Babylon aus der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. v.Chr. (in der Yale Babylonian Collection bzw. dem Harvard Semitic Museum). Die flämische Version enthielt außerdem zwei weitere Kopien von Texten des British Museum (eine davon – BM 34576 – inzwischen von B. an anderer Stelle publiziert;¹ die andere, das Brieffragment BM 54761, mehrfach in der Untersuchung genannt).

Wie im eben Gesagten angedeutet hat der Verf. ein umfangreiches Material gesammelt und sich bemüht, es zu analysieren. Den Schwerpunkt bilden naturgemäß die Keilschrifttexte unterschiedlichen Inhalts (Alltagsdokumente, d.h. Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden bzw. Briefe wirtschaftlichen Inhalts; literarische Überlieferungen im weitesten Sinne, also Traditionstexte; Zeugnisse des Schulbetriebs und vor allem eine große Zahl von Tontafeln astronomischen Inhalts). Ihre Zahl geht inzwischen in die Tausende. Doch auch die Ergebnisse der archäologischen Unternehmungen bilden eine wichtige Grundlage.

Eine Untersuchung zur Stadt Babylon in spätachämenidischer und vor allem in hellenistisch-parthischer Zeit gab es in dieser Ausführlichkeit bisher noch nicht. Es werden zahlreiche interessante Beobachtungen zusammengetragen, auch wenn der Rezensent nicht jede Aussage akzeptieren kann. Der Grundthese, daß auf Grund der Quellenlage die Stadt Babylon in hellenistischer Zeit vorwiegend durch die einheimische Kultur bestimmt war (vgl. S. 295–96), stimmt er allerdings uneingeschränkt zu, da er seit Jahrzehnten zu derselben Ansicht gelangt ist und dies in einer Reihe von Arbeiten nachzuweisen versucht hat. Und wenn seleukidische Herrscher die babylonische Religion respektieren (vgl. S. 264), dann muß diese ein ernst zu nehmender Faktor in Leben der Unterworfenen gewesen sein.

Im Buch ist viel Nützliches zu finden (unter anderem die Zusammenstellung der in den Texten bezeugten Personen, aber auch die Hinweise auf die Stadt Babylon in nicht-keilschriftlichen Quellen). Und doch bleibt ein zwiespältiger Eindruck:

1. Der Verf. bringt durchaus seine eigene Meinung zum Ausdruck und schließt die Abschnitte mit kurzen Zusammenfassungen ab. Doch dadurch, daß er in der Regel zunächst die in der Fachliteratur vorgetragenen Meinungen vorträgt (meist in chronologischer Folge der Veröffentlichung) entsteht nicht selten eine zu große Abhängigkeit von älteren Ansichten, was dann zu Unausgeglichenheit und sogar Widersprüchlichkeit führen kann. Das gilt etwa in Bezug auf die Ausgräber von Babylon, für die die Stadt der neubabylonischen Periode im Vordergrund stand und die entsprechend die Grabungsbefunde, die zu späteren Perioden gehören müssen, nicht selten in diesem Sinne uminterpretiert haben. Hier wird zu viel Vertrauen an den Tag gelegt und man hätte sich eine kritische Überprüfung der Befunde gewünscht.

2. Im Literaturverzeichnis fallen Lücken auf. Zwei Beispiele, die sich vermehren ließen, seien genannt. So vermißt man im Zusammenhang mit den astronomischen Keilschrifttexten H. Hunger und D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999). Auch die 2002 veröffentlichte kleine Arbeit des Rezensenten zum Ausklang Babylons '*Sie ist gefallen, sie gefallen, Babylon, die große Stadt*': *vom Ende einer Kultur* (Leipzig 2002), hätte man erwartet. Sind dem Verf. manche Arbeiten entgangen, die für die Thematik wichtig sind? Soweit sie erst nach Abschluß seiner Studie erschienen sind, ist ihm das nicht anzulasten, aber es fehlen eben auch schon vor einiger Zeit veröffentlichte Beiträge.

¹ T. Boiy, 'Dating Problems in Cuneiform Tablets Concerning the Reign of Antigonus Monophthalmus'. *JAOS* 121.4 (2001), 646.

3. Unglücklich ist häufig auch die Zitierweise der Quellen, nämlich dann, wenn kein Autor angegeben wird, sondern nur eine verkürzte Publikationsstelle (etwa Zeitschriftensigel, Band und Seite). In solchen Fällen erweist es sich als schwierig, Belege zu verifizieren, da die 'Bibliography' als alphabetische Verfasserliste gestaltet ist. Werden nur Inventarnummern von Museen und Sammlungen genannt, handelt es sich in der Regel um unveröffentlichte Texte.

Obwohl laut Titel die spätsachämenidische Zeit in der Untersuchung ebenfalls berücksichtigt worden ist, steht doch die hellenistische Periode (unter Einbeziehung des parthischen Babylon) eindeutig im Vordergrund. Dabei ist mit Blick auf die Keilschrifttexte zu bedenken, daß eine zweifelsfreie Datierung die Voraussetzung für eine Differenzierung zwischen den letzten drei Jahrhunderten v.Chr. oder der unmittelbar vorausgehenden spätsachämenidischen Periode darstellt. Diese ist aber häufig nicht gegeben.

Stärker sollte auch bedacht werden, daß die Textüberlieferung aus dem hellenistischen Babylon nur punktuell ist – sowohl zeitlich als auch bezüglich der Verteilung innerhalb des Stadtgebiets (die Keilschrifttexte aus diesem Ort sind keineswegs alle einem 'Esangila-Archiv' zuzuordnen, auch andere Heiligtümer sind in Betracht zu ziehen, außerdem ist für einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Teil ein privater Kontext und zwar in verschiedenen Teilen der Stadt zu postulieren). Wenn nicht nur vereinzelt, sondern öfter das gleichzeitige Uruk zum Vergleich herangezogen worden wäre, hätte sich manche Erscheinung noch deutlicher fassen lassen.

Für viele Fragen wird man künftig zum Buch von B. greifen. Es ist aber auch zu erwarten, daß dadurch weitere Forschungen angeregt werden.

Leipzig

Joachim Oelsner

W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (eds.), *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, Late Antique Archaeology vol. 2, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, xxvi+596 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13607-X/ISSN 1570-6893

Is it still necessary to forward arguments over one or another delimitation of a research subject, and to do so while recognising in advance the known conventional nature of any conclusions? No matter how much we exorcise post-modernism, we cannot overlook one of its basic teachings regarding *constructions*. Based on this principle, I believe the discussion on when an historical period begins and ends, or more especially how the countryside is defined, and to what extent the latter constitutes an autonomous field of research, no longer presents particular interest. On the contrary, synthetic texts attempting a *tour d'horizon* of the knowledge and the general line of questions arising regarding a subject as this becomes widely accepted, are always welcome and useful. One such text is the bibliographical essay provided by Alexandra Chavarria and Tamara Lewit about material cultural research on the late antique countryside. The two authors offer a *bibliographie raisonnée*, tracing the major axes of an archaeo-historical questioning of late antiquity.

The 15 articles which, together with the bibliographical essay, make up this volume are presented in thematic units, sometimes structured on the basis of a geographical criterion, at other times on the basis of a thematic one. Leaving aside the logic behind these units, let us look synoptically at the major positions of the articles in order of publication.

Peter Sarris, in his contribution 'Rehabilitating the Great Estate...', reconsiders the role of the great estates. Drawing mainly from Imperial legislation and papyri, he supports the view that large-scale land ownership played a major role in the economy of the time. The second piece, that of Frank R. Trombley, who 'Compares Epigraphic Data on Village Culture and Social Institutions...' in Syria, Phoenicia and Arabia, proceeds without necessarily converging with Sarris's views. Trombley proffers epigraphic texts, which show a greater diversity of cases than that in which great estates predominates: a countryside arises that is full of mobility, life and action from the 3rd to the 7th century AD. These inscriptions, written in the Greek, register, among other things, the self-knowledge of the villagers. What might be useful would be to enhance the author's position with the whole issue of the revival experienced during the same period by the local languages – languages used in the writing of major works such as the Syriac Law Book, Bardaisan's book, etc. The parallel study of epigraphy and literature may illustrate the relationships and delimitations between the city and the countryside, a subject that is latent in almost every page of the volume.

The contribution of Béatrice Caseau refers to the known issue of 'The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity...'. It provides a wealth of excerpts, mainly philological, about various cases of destruction and appropriation of pagan temples by Christians during this period. The focus is on the eastern part of the Roman world, yet without overlooking information on the West. Certainly one wonders if, beyond a quasi-quantitative array of information, an analytical or discursive approach to at least some of the excerpts available to us would lead to more detailed and more nuanced conclusions. On his part, John Mitchell offers 'The Archaeology of Pilgrimage in Late Antique Albania: The Basilica of the Forty Martyrs'. He proposes his own interpretation of its remains, which, as he admits, are still not dated precisely. The flexible dating that he suggests does not seem to take into account the possible construction phases of the monument. As we seem to lack philological evidence of the worship of the Forty Martyrs in the area in question, it would be interesting to seek philological and mostly periegetic testimonies on the town with which the basilica was inseparably linked, namely Onchesmus.

The volume continues with four articles that arise from 'Recent Rural Survey in Turkey and Adjacent Regions'. Marcus Rautman attempts a synthesis of the results of archaeological surveys in Cyprus, focusing on the valley of Vasilikos in the southern part of the island. Douglas Baird talks of 'Settlement Expansion on the Konya Plain, Anatolia', while the collective work of Hannelore Vanhaverbeke *et al.* attempts a synthetic presentation of the territory of Sagalassos, based on an extensive survey. The general picture that appears in one way or another in these articles is the increase in the number of archaeological sites until the 6th century AD, followed by a phase in which urban centres are reinforced and various rural posts are abandoned. External factors, i.e. the Arabs, are frequently evoked in order to explain the phenomenon. What might be necessary is a greater discussion of the relationships between demography and the number of sites. For her part, Joanita Vroom attempts a comparative approach to ceramics between the excavated site of Limyra (Lycia) and the surveyed rural area of Boeotia. An interesting endeavour which, despite any reservations one may express regarding the comparison of data from excavations with that from archaeological surveys, connects pottery with commercial axes and distribution networks.

If the arising line of questions about the connection of rural and urban sites through the distribution networks of ceramic production shows the historical and conceptual limits of

the countryside, Carla Sfameni's article on 'Residential Villas in Late Antique Italy: Continuity and Change' proceeds further by showing that, with regard to villas and their evolution, this can only be in connection with the quests of urban residents. Also heading in this direction is Lynda Mulvin's typological approach on 'Late Roman Villa Plans: The Danube-Balkans Region'. The sixth part of the volume is devoted to the rural monasteries. The contributions of Joseph Patrich 'Monastic Landscapes' and Beat Brenk about 'Monasteries and Rural Settlements: Patron-dependence or Self-sufficiency' attempt to grasp, on the one hand, the impact of monastic settlements on their surrounding area and the creation of new landscapes, and on the other the social structures of organisation of monastic centres. The last section of the book deals with the landscapes of continuity and change in northern Gaul (Etienne Louis), the plain of Verona (Fabio Saggioro) and the Macedonian countryside (Archie Dunn). These contributions attempt to escape a one-dimensional interpretation of quantitative data from archaeological surveys. In combination with the data from other sources they proceed with a synthetic consideration of regional rural structures and finally of the town itself, in this critical period in the passage from antiquity to mediaeval times.

Much has occurred since A.H.M. Jones and the pages he wrote about the countryside in his *Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964). The volume we have in our hands records this now general admission. The late antique countryside was not abandoned and desolate. The research offers a countryside that, as a rule, bustled with life and from the middle of the 6th century AD began to present signs of definite change. Yet I believe that the great merit of the volume as a whole, despite the impressions to the contrary to which some of the articles seem to give rise, lies in its demonstration of the principle that homogenous societies do not exist. Notwithstanding any similarities between areas or between different sets of information, the study of the specific historical context is essential for us to avoid any arbitrary conclusions. Late antiquity is a particular historical period, full of written and material memories. Their historical treatment demands especial discipline and proper expression of the questions posed to one or other category of sources.

In the same way that chronological delimitations are useful tools in historical questioning, we could also accept as a conventional aid the major thematic delimitation of this volume, which is the distinction between countryside and *urbs*. A conventional distinction that possibly supports an initial phase of research, but which, under no circumstances, can be placed in the centre of historical questioning. The bi-directional relationship between town and countryside is indissoluble. All papers in the present volume constantly reaffirm this relationship, which manifests itself in many ways.

University of the Aegean

Panagiotis Doukellis

G.E. Bowen and C.A. Hope (eds.), assisted by B.E. Parr, *The Oasis Papers 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 14, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2004, x+382 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-129-1

The Dakhleh (Arabic for 'inner') Oasis is located about 800 km south-south-east of Cairo in the eastern Sahara desert. The oasis is about 80 × 20 km in area, today occupied by some 75,000 people predominantly engaged in farming. Archaeological research indicates a

settlement history dating back to the late Lower Palaeolithic period (*ca.* 400,000 years ago) in the surrounding desert and Epipalaeolithic period (*ca.* 8000 years ago) in the oasis itself. The Dakhleh Oasis was incorporated into the Egyptian state during Old Kingdom times (*ca.* 2500 BC). In New Kingdom times (*ca.* 1500 BC) the town of Mut was established as the regional capital where occupation continued for the rest of the Pharaonic period and later phases of Egyptian history.

Archaeological interest in the Dakhleh Oasis dates back to the early 19th century, but systematic work in the area only began in the 1950s. In 1978 the Dakhleh Oasis Project was founded as a joint effort by Monash University, the University of Durham, the University of Toronto, Columbia University, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, the American Research Centre in Egypt, the Egyptology Society of Victoria and the Dakhleh Trust. In addition to these institutions, over the years, many individuals from other universities and research organisations have also collaborated with the project in different capacities.

The Dakhleh Oasis Project was envisaged as a long-term, regional study of the interaction between environmental conditions and change and human activities over thousands of years in a fairly closed environment. While palaeo-environmental and archaeological studies focused on the oasis are the primary concern of the project, contact and interaction with the Nile valley proper constitutes another important research topic. Also, because of its rich archaeological evidence from later periods in Egyptian history, the project has greatly benefited from collaboration by researchers in fields as diverse as Classics (interested in Graeco-Roman remains), Islamic art history and cultural anthropology (interested in the culture of the contemporary population). This truly interdisciplinary enterprise has been exceptionally successful, producing hundreds of articles, books and monographs over the years (for a complete list see: <http://arts.monash.edu.au/archaeology/excavations/dakhleh/bibliography.pdf>).

Among the major publications of the project are *The Oasis Papers* series, so far three volumes of which have been published. These are proceedings of the international conferences where researchers working in the Dakhleh Oasis can come together, present the results of their research, and exchange ideas. The book under review, the third volume in *The Oasis Papers* series, is the proceedings of the third international conference of the project held at Monash University's Clayton campus in Melbourne on 10–12 August, 2000. This conference was sponsored by the Centre for Archaeology and Ancient History at Monash and the Egyptology Society of Victoria.

Following a Preface by the editors of the volume and the conference programme, 25 papers appear in four sections: 'Prehistory'; 'Environment'; 'Historical Archaeology I: Pharaonic Period'; and 'Historical Archaeology II: Ptolemaic-Roman Period'.

The section under 'Prehistory' includes five papers: Maxine Kleindienst reports on Pleistocene lithics discovered at localities around Dakhleh Oasis, presumably workshops, dating to Middle Stone Age (*ca.* 120,000 years ago); Mary McDonald presents an assessment of the Epipalaeolithic lithic assemblages labelled as Masara A and C and attempts to contextualise them against a wider north-east African background; Jennifer Thompson and Gwyn Madden report on six mid-Holocene human remains from the site of Sheikh Muftah; Ashten Warfe evaluates the ceramic evidence for mid-Holocene contacts between the Khargeh Oasis and northern parts of the Sudan; Marcia Wiseman studies some Late Pleistocene lithic material from the fringes of the oasis.

The section 'Environment' contains two papers: Charles Churcher looks at the Pleistocene and Holocene evidence for hyenas at the oasis; and Jennifer Smith and Robert Giegengack look at tufa deposits in the environs of the oasis and their implication for the palaeoclimate of the area.

The section 'Historical Archaeology I: Pharaonic Period' includes three papers: Sylvie Marchand presents a study of the Second Intermediate Period (13th Dynasty) ceramics from 'Ain Aseel; Anthony Mills and Olaf Kaper study the development of the site of 'Ain el-Gazzareen in the western Dakhleh Oasis during the Old Kingdom; and Tatyana Smekalova, Anthony Mills and Tomasz Herbich report on geomagnetic survey at 'Ain el-Gazzareen in 1999–2000.

'Historical Archaeology II: Ptolemaic-Roman Period' contains 15 papers: Arthur Aufderheide, Larry Cartmell and Michael Zlonis report on the mummies from the Late Ptolemaic-Roman cemetery at Kellis 1 and explore mummification techniques at Dakhleh Oasis; Gillian Bowen presents a study of the architectural remains and finds at the East Church at Ismant el-Kharab; Gillian Bowen makes some dating and cultural observations on early Christian burials at Kellis 2 cemetery; Tosha Dupras and Matthew Tocheri present the results of some preliminary analyses on human remains from North Tombs 1 and 2 to the north-west of Kellis; Iain Gardner reports on his work on Coptic and Manichaean texts discovered at Kellis; Colin Hope (in collaboration with Kaper and Helen Whitehouse) presents the longest paper in the volume, reporting on the 2000–02 excavations at Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) that resulted in some of the discoveries studied in other papers in this section (see above). The reason(s) why this introductory paper was not placed at the beginning of this section to orientate the reader and provide a background to the material discussed later in the section is not clear. In any event, the section continues with a paper by Hope and Whitehouse on a glass jug from Ismant el-Kharab which, according to the authors, represent the head of a gladiator; Kaper studies two stelae – both dating to Roman times – depicting the Egyptian god Tutu (Greek Toetoes or Tithoes) discovered during the 2000 season of excavations at Ismant el-Kharab; the prolific Kaper returns with another paper on the wall paintings of the North Tomb 1 (see the paper by Dupras and Tocheri above); Corey Maggiano, Dupras and John Biggerstaff report on evidence for tetracycline (a natural antibiotic produced by a bacteria called *Streptomyces aureofaciens* that may have contaminated grain products) in human and animal bones from Kellis and hypothesise on sources of the bacteria and how it was consumed by the inhabitants; J. Eldon Molto, Peter Sheldrick, Antonietta Cerroni and Scott Haddow report on the Late Roman human remains from Areas D/6 and D/7 and North Tomb 1; Andrew Ross and Benjamin Stern present a preliminary report on the organic material – especially oil residues – from Ismant el-Kharab; Joe Stewart, Molto and Paula Reimer try to devise a chronology for Kellis 2 cemetery by dating sample human remains using radiocarbon dating method. Beyond its primary objective, their study reveals some interesting questions regarding the bio-archaeology of the mortuary population at the cemetery as well as potentials of radiocarbon dating in this sort of studies. Klaas Worp brings the volume to closure by providing the translation of sections of the myth of Kyknos son of Poseidon as preserved on an ostrakon from Kellis.

This rich volume shows the levels of sophistication interdisciplinary archaeology projects have achieved in recent years and demonstrates their immense potential in delving into archaeological material (in its broadest sense) to bring out a more complete and refined picture

of ancient societies, from what they ate to how they were buried to the deities they worshipped and myths they cherished. All the scholars involved in the Dakhleh Oasis Project deserve our praise and gratitude for their fine work in the field, in the laboratory, in the library, and for putting out such fine set of papers to serve as models for other archaeological projects.

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K. Abdi

A.K. Bowman and M. Brady, *Images and Artefacts of the Ancient World*, British Academy Occasional Paper No. 4, The British Academy/The Royal Society, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, xii+150 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-19-726296-1

I did not understand a lot of this book. Log-Gabor functions of different bandwidths and centre frequencies; a schematic diagram of a conventional pulsed time-of-flight ranging system; an example of raw histogram data collected from the TOF-TCSPC sensor: these are all captions from the volume, accompanied by sine and cosine symbols sufficient to remind me painfully of high school mathematics classes.

I did not understand a lot of this book, but that doesn't really matter – and I like it very much nevertheless. The volume, nicely produced by Oxford University Press for the British Academy, contains the proceedings of a joint British Academy/Royal Society meeting, held in London in December 2000. The idea for the gathering grew out of the editors' joint research project on the image enhancement of incised writing-tablets from Roman Britain; two papers on the Vindolanda tablets appear here (by Bowman and Tomlin, and by Brady and five other collaborators, respectively). But the editors' ambitions were extended well beyond their own documentary research, hoping instead to provide a broad-spectrum forum in which to discuss state-of-the-art computer imaging and applications relevant to history, archaeology and art history. The papers are written from various perspectives, some tending to the scientific and technical, others being more archaeologically or historically focused. The editors stress that they asked all speakers to be self-reflective about their research and techniques; they encouraged them 'to focus in a very precise and realistic way on what is empirically desirable and technically feasible' (p. xiii).

The result is a varied, but coherent, collection of papers. They are organised (with overlaps) into six general subjects (I give a few sample examples of the case studies involved): Imaging documents (Vindolanda; cuneiform tablets); Laser imaging (scanning of runic inscriptions); Three-dimensional reconstruction of artefacts (of terra sigillata; artefact profiles); Reconstruction of buildings and spaces (Pompey's Theatre in Rome; Sagalassos in Turkey); Depth perception from relief (numismatics; 'pictorial relief'); and Reconstruction of faces (with case studies already largely familiar from other publications).

The papers are, for the most part, characterised by a clarity of explanation: while no punches are pulled, either with scientific vocabulary or archaeological terminology, all parties, with a little good will, should be able to follow the general drift of argument. Moreover, the authors took to heart the advice of the editors and often do honestly assess the advantages and disadvantages of their work, evaluating and considering what could be done better (one good example is provided by Andrew Wallace on three-dimensional laser imaging in an archaeological context).

Different readers will focus on different case studies, following their particular curiosities. My interest was piqued by Christopher Howgego's piece, unusual in the volume for its focus not on work actually done, but rather on the potential offered by image analysis to his field of numismatics. This essay is a short but sweet assessment, and it would be interesting to know where things now stand *vis-à-vis* this particular application. At a different scale, a long-term exponent of this kind of visual experimentation has been the Belgian team at Sagalassos, represented here by Luc Van Gool, Marc Pollefeys, Marc Proesmans and Alexey Zalesny on 'Modelling Sagalassos: Creation of a 3D Archaeological Virtual Site'. This article, together with that of Michael Greenhalgh (on 'Virtual Reality, Relative Accuracy: Modelling Architecture and Sculpture with VRML'), makes clear that while much of the final product can be 'pretty', there is always serious scholarly purpose behind such experiments in visualisation.

Probably the most heartening thing about this volume is the sense that there was at least an attempt, and clearly some solid success, at serious engagement between different types of practitioners: those leading with the technology, and those leading with the data. Both sides are asking questions, but – as the editors remark – it has been too rare to hold conversations that would allow those questions to be thoroughly informed from both sides. The editors should be congratulated for their attempt to forge that 'nascent community'. It is certainly more than timely: given the rapid destruction of the archaeological landscape, with sites, monuments, texts and images lost at an appalling rate, imaging techniques such as those discussed here are beginning, and could continue, to prove an essential new form of rescue archaeology. This book, though no doubt now several years out of date in terms of what is currently possible, offers a general, thoughtful survey of some of the options we should all be considering.

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K. Boyle, C. Renfrew and M. Levine (eds.), *Ancient Interactions: East and West in Eurasia*, McDonald Institute Monographs, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge 2002, xii+344 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-902937-19-8/ISSN 1363-1349

This impressive volume is a result of a conference held in Cambridge in January 2000 on the late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe. The conference brought together researchers from the USA, Europe, China, Japan and the former Soviet Union, and involved a review of the current state of knowledge of the later prehistory of the Eurasian steppe as well as attempts to set out a research agenda and collaborative projects for many years to come. The publication of the volume enhances this broader objective of research development, and came at a time when the steppe regions of Eurasia had become politically more receptive to international research activity. The situation remains the same today, and several significant new projects have been set up within the area, partly as a result of the conference and the subsequent publication.

The volume is divided into three parts, covering, respectively, regions west of the Urals, east of the Urals, and 'Where East Meets West', focusing upon interactions between these regions and within broader Eurasia. In all, we are dealing with 21 chapters by 54 contributors from 16 countries!

The book opens with an introductory chapter by Renfrew, defining the key aspects of steppe pastoralism and its development. Renfrew finds 'Eurasian steppe nomadism' the defining feature of the area under consideration (p.1), a mode of production that shaped its history and guided exchanges between the east (Central Asia, China) and the west (central/western Europe, the Mediterranean). Several key features are addressed: the development of pastoral societies, particularly in relation to the domestication of the horse; interactions between 'the steppe and the sown'; the linguistic and genetic consequences of the pastoral – farmer exchanges, and of the dispersal of nomadic pastoralists; and finally the overarching historical significance of these developments for western Eurasia.

The six chapters in Part 1 deal with the west of Eurasia. A review by Dolukhanov covers the early post-glacial history of the north-western Pontic area from the hunter-gatherer Mesolithic through the Neolithic to the Pit-Grave culture of the nomadic pastoral communities (3rd millennium BC). Chapter 3 by Telegin traces the same line of development in the north-east Pontic region during the Neolithic and Eneolithic *ca.* 6200–2700 BC). Chapter 4 by Rassamakin covers the same ground spatio-temporally, but represents a re-evaluation of the evidence within a new cultural and chronological scheme, based on the local development rather than pastoral migration, and on the introduction of cultural innovations through contact and exchange within an overarching structure of core-periphery relationships. Here, agricultural societies are given significant role, for example in the development of ritual monumental architecture (the 'Kurgan tradition').

In Chapter 5, Chapman explores social context of exchange at the Cucuteni-Tripolye/Pontic steppe interface in the western Pontic region, drawing attention to the different exchange practices that transformed exotic objects or raw materials to 'domesticated' items of more conventional use. The main insights here concern change in social contexts within the asymmetrical patterns of exchange between the two kinds of communities – exports from Cucuteni-Tripolye domestic contexts ended up in mortuary domains of Pontic communities, whereas imports of Pontic exotica 'locally characteristic of the mortuary domain' (p. 89) were deposited mostly in the domestic arena of the Cucuteni-Tripolye. This is an excellent insight, and it reminds one of forager-farmer exchanges within agricultural frontier zones.

Two studies by Dergachev in Chapter 6, 'In Defence of the Migration Concept', are just that, representing a carefully argued case in favour of the dispersal of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture eastwards by migration and in turn its demise by reverse invasion of the nomadic warlike pastoralists westwards; much as Marija Gimbutas argued in the 1970s. We have moved on since then, though, and the normative concept of culture has been all but discredited. In Chapter 7, Kohl *et al.* take us to the Caspian region of southern Dagestan, where the authors explore cultural changes between 3600 and 1900 BC based on an excavations of a Bronze Age site, Velikent. The sophisticated nature of this mixed farming community is emphasised, but its demise remains a mystery, to be resolved by further research and excavation.

This section of the book is remarkable for its variety of views, approaches and explanations, ranging from conventional and established understandings of North Pontic prehistory (Telegin, Dergachev), to broadly processual treatments of archaeological dataset (Dolukhanov, Kohl *et al.*), and on to theoretically innovative interpretations (Rassamakin, Chapman). They all have a role to play, marking the state of research at the start of the 21st century, and suggesting agenda for future research.

Part 2 – east of the Urals – opens with a review by Levine and Kislenko of recent discoveries and research developments on the Asian steppe. This includes a closer discussion of Botai and three other sites within the Irtysh river basin in northern Kazakhstan, all of which are now ¹⁴C dated to 3500–2000 BC. Next, Chapter 9 by Boroffka and co-authors focuses on Bronze Age tin artefacts from Central Asia, drawing attention to their distribution and significance as an established technological tradition, fostering contact and exchange. Andronovo culture specifically is seen as ‘so tightly associated with mining and metallurgy that its characterization as a culture of purely pastoral nomads should probably be revised’ (p. 153). Such revision could profit from the application of the ‘world system model’, defined by ‘core-periphery’ relationships between the urbanised centres of Margiana and Bactria and the Andronovo. Chapter 10 by Frachetti explores the nature of pastoral nomadism in the east Eurasian steppe, mainly within the Afanasevo and Andronovo cultural traditions. Again, the replacement around 2000 BC of Afanasevo, a culture based on transitional economy of hunting and gathering and semi-mobile pastoralism, by Andronovo, seems to have been kick-started by the development of metallurgy and the social changes that this generated.

Chapter 11 by Schuicheng Li considers archaeological evidence for contacts between north-east China and Central Asia during the 2nd millennium BC. Hanks, in Chapter 12, addresses the nomadic world of Central Asia in the following millennium, during the Iron Age, more discursively. His overview shows how the metallurgy of the forest zone fostered the development of nomadic pastoralism, in that pastoral groups transported goods between the forest, steppe and the urban centres in the south. Control over such long-distance trade engendered social changes towards a more stratified society marked by social elites and military campaigns.

In Chapter 13, Mallory and co-authors consider the dating of the royal tombs of Pazyryk in the Altai, concluding that the most convincing date range for the Pazyryk cemetery should be 252–235 BC. In the next and the last chapter within this section, Jianjun Mei and Shell discuss Iron Age cultures in Sinkiang/Xinjiang province, noting the growth of regional cultural centres during this period, and the development of wide-ranging contacts between them and beyond. Contacts with the Central Asian steppe played a key role in the development of horse riding, the early use of iron and the introduction of novel metal forms.

This section seems to have two unifying themes: the development of metallurgy and of the trading networks stimulated by metal goods. Social and cultural changes attendant upon these two developments are also widely discussed. But most contributions could have gained from the use of various forms of core-periphery models, modified, of course, for the historical situations under discussion. In a related cultural context of the Neolithic and Bronze Age Mediterranean and western Europe, the late Andrew Sherratt has shown how useful and revealing sensitive application of such models can be.¹

Interactions, exchanges, trade and population movements traceable culturally and genetically are all main themes of the third section of the book, ‘Where East Meets West’. In Chapter 15,

¹ A. Sherratt: ‘What would a Bronze Age world system look like? Relations between temperate Europe and the Mediterranean in later prehistory’. *Journal of European Archaeology* 1.2 (1993), 1–57; ‘Core, Periphery and Margin: perspectives on the Bronze Age’. In C. Mather and S. Stoddart (eds.), *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age* (Sheffield 1994), 335–45; *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe* (Princeton 1997).

Hilbert considers interactions between the central Eurasian steppe in the north and the agricultural centres of Central Asia in the south. In a fine-grained, detailed study he traces the presence of steppe materials such as ceramics in large agricultural oases of the south, and reconstructs the development of contacts between the southern oases and eastern steppe pastoral traditions during the 2nd millennium BC. Zdanovich and Zdanovich focus in Chapter 16 on the fortified settlements of the Bronze Age in the southern Ural region, related to the development of pastoral economy. The settlement of Arkaim is considered in detail, and the ritual significance of this remarkable fortified site and its surrounding landscape, marked by large barrow burials (*kurgans*) is highlighted. Although analogies are drawn with Minoan Crete (pp. 256–57); structurally, and also in terms of treatment of the dead (pp. 257–60), one is reminded here of Stonehenge and its surrounding landscape, which is often comprehended in terms of landscapes of the living and of the dead. Similar ritual divisions may have existed at Arkaim.

Koryakova, in Chapter 17, considers contacts in the same area during the following Iron Age. In a broad-ranging and masterly overview, she covers the development of nomadic societies and cultures of the 1st millennium BC in both the eastern (Siberian) and western (European) regions of the southern Urals, and their interaction with cultures of the forest regions further north. Concluding insights stress the role of exchange networks within this vast region as pathways of technological innovation and social change, leading to ‘some form of tributary dependence of some forest societies on their nomadic neighbours’ (p. 290), while nomad invasions into the forest and forest steppe is judged to have been limited, though culturally transforming in those rare instances when it did occur.

Jones, in Chapter 18, provides a short but brilliant summary of arguments for and against the ‘Kurgan hypothesis’ (see Degraichev in Chapter 6): the notion of a Proto-Indo-European homeland in the Eurasian steppes and among the early nomadic societies there. Archaeological, linguistic and genetic evidence is outlined, and new bio-archaeological evidence, including the dispersal of crops, is discussed, leading Jones to dismiss the traditional linguistic view that the pastoralists of the steppes did not fish or cultivate and so words for fish and crops are missing in the Indo-European proto-lexicon. Bio-archaeology shows otherwise, thereby weakening still further the ‘Kurgan hypothesis’. In Chapter 19, Janik traces the dispersal of buckwheat as an indicator of human movement in Eurasia, concluding that the origins of buckwheat cultivation can be traced to the west Himalayan foothills,² spreading from there via the Eurasian steppe zone to first eastern, then central and western Europe.

The last two chapters of the volume are dedicated to genetic studies. Malaspina *et al.* study y-chromosomal variation in modern male populations from eastern Europe and western Asia in Chapter 20, while Zerjal *et al.* in Chapter 21 discuss more broadly how y-chromosomal analysis can contribute to the understanding of prehistory. Difficulties of matching genetic and linguistic identities, and establishing priority of human dispersals from genetic evidence (i.e. Malaspina *et al.* pp. 311–13) are evident, but it also becomes clear from both studies that genetic variation does not match linguistic families, emphasising geographical and ecological barriers (Zerjal *et al.* pp. 317–22), and, significantly, gene exchange across linguistic boundaries.

² But see G. Barker, *The Agricultural Revolution in Prehistory* (Oxford 2006), 168, 202–03, 387.

Overall, this is a volume of major importance, a bench-mark against which future research will be compared. In size and scope, it covers a wide range of subjects over a vast area, and only an extensive review can outline such range of topics. One can quibble about the volume's organisation – there is practically no difference between Parts 2 and 3, the organisation by topic might have been perhaps better – and about the lack of theoretical application later in the book – the use of core-periphery frameworks would have advanced significantly our understanding of contacts and exchanges that form the subject of so many contributions. But in the final analysis, this work is a key to understanding crucial developments in the core of Eurasia, and as such a reference volume for all those interested in later prehistory and early history of the continent, for geneticists interested in the evolution of human genetic diversity, and for linguists scrutinising the development of major language families, such the Indo-European and the Altaic. Extensively illustrated, this is a wonderful book for any informed reader, and the authors and editors are to be congratulated for its meticulous preparation and production.

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Marek Zvelebil

G. Bradley, E. Isayev and C. Riva (eds.), *Ancient Italy. Regions without Boundaries*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2007, xviii+334 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-85989-813-3

This substantial collective volume presents accounts of recent work in a number of the ancient regions of peninsular Italy, some of which are still relatively unfamiliar to English readers. The principal common themes treated in depth include settlement location, landscape (as agent), urbanisation, identity, state-formation, economy, cultural interaction, gender and cult; monoglot Anglophone students will undoubtedly learn a lot about the progress that is being made under these headings. In a stimulating first chapter, Isayev (Exeter) contextualises current directions in research in 'a post-colonial, post-modern, globalizing world perspective' (p. 17). The next nine chapters treat the Veneti (K. Lomas, London); the western half of Cisalpine Gaul (R. Häussler, Osnabrück, on the Celts and Ligurians); Picenum (Riva, London); Etruria (V. Izzet, Southampton); the Faliscans (L. Ceccarelli and S. Stoddart, Cambridge); Latium (C. Smith, St Andrews); the Samnites (E. Bispham, Oxford); Campania (M. Cuozzo, Naples); and the south-east (E. Herring, Galway, on the Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians). Bradley (Cardiff) concludes the proceedings with a thoughtful reassessment of the Romanisation of the Italian peoples, finding *inter alia* that 'it still mattered to Propertius that he came from Umbria, even though he articulated that sense of identity in Latin and not Umbrian' (p. 319).¹ Throughout, the present state of play is summarised with the customary attention (sometimes paid with oddly anachronistic missionary zeal) to method and theory. Emphases and approaches vary according to individual contributors' priorities and experiences, but the orientation is always firmly Italian: the centuries that saw the rise of Roman hegemony are reviewed from the point of view of those

¹ The archaeological, linguistic and onomastic signifiers of Romanisation are seen to good effect in the sequence of *corredi* deposited from ca. 100 BC in Benvenuti grave 125 at Este, at last definitively published (presumably too late for consideration in this book): L. Capuis and A.M. Chieco Bianchi, *Este II* (Rome 2006), 301–19, pls. 167–175.

who were going to be organised and controlled. Bispham indeed begins his account of the Samnites with a reference to 'the Romans, their enemy...' (p. 180), in much the same way that a Punic specialist might reasonably refer to 'the Roman Wars'.

Not all the peninsula is covered. Umbria and Lucania (modern Basilicata) are omitted for obvious reasons,² but I was disappointed to find no treatment of either Emilia-Romagna or Calabria. Chapters on these areas would have been more in keeping with the nature of the collection than Izzet's summary of work recently published in English on fashionable topics concerning Etruria. It would have been useful to explore the similarities and differences between Emilia-Romagna (especially Bologna-Felsina itself) and the areas treated in the two existing northern chapters (Lomas; Häussler); the Mycenaean and Euboean connections of Calabria³ would have provided a revealing addition to the treatment of interaction with the outside world in Cuozzo's Campanian chapter — which impressed me as the most theoretically informed and (arte)factually informative in the entire book. And if the hinterland of Rome can be included (Smith), why not a brief free-standing alternative to A. Carandini's idiosyncratic view of the early history of the Eternal City itself?⁴ It too could have yielded interesting links with a number of topics treated in some of the other chapters here, and is unlikely to emerge in Italy.

A set of well-informed essays that ranges as widely and deeply as this one affords many opportunities for self-indulgent quibbling. I prefer to mention a feature that is in itself wholly positive: the bibliographies at the end of each chapter, which constitute a useful guide to the primary evidence for the areas and themes introduced. Much of it has been acquired and assessed by the present generation of Italian archaeologists (notably in Picenum, as Riva gratefully acknowledges: p. 79, n. 1), so that over half of the *ca.*1000 references listed are in Italian. It is thus disconcerting to find that at least two contributors take it for granted that their readers will not be able to consult them: 'there is a vast amount of research... *but* much of the material is not available in English'; and 'for the English-speaking reader, *the choice is limited*, as most of the publication of results and analysis is in Italian' (pp. 41, 127; *my italics*).⁵ Such statements blunt the impact of this admirable (and well-indexed) collection.

² G. Bradley, *Ancient Umbria: State, Culture, and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era* (Oxford 2000); H.W. Horsnæs, *Cultural Development in North-Western Lucania c.600-273 BC* (Rome 2002); E. Isayev, *Inside Ancient Lucania: Dialogues in History and Archaeology* (London 2007).

³ PPS 62 (1996), 447–49; D. Ridgway, 'Archaeology in Sardinia and South Italy 1995–2001'. *AR for 2001–2002* (2002), 136–37 (Aegean-Oenotrian technological exchanges at Broglio di Trebisacce and in the Sibaritide generally); L. Mercuri, *Eubéens en Calabre à l'époque archaïque: formes de contacts et d'implantation* (Rome 2004). On a wider front, see too L. Foxhall *et al.*, 'The changing landscapes of Bova Marina, Calabria'. In M. Fitzjohn (ed.), *Uplands of Ancient Sicily and Calabria: the Archaeology of Landscape revisited* (London 2007), 19–34 (and also <http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/~jer39/BMAP/index.html>).

⁴ T.P. Wiseman: 'Review of Bettelli, M., *Roma, la città prima della città: i tempi di una nascita*'. *JRS* 90 (2000), 210–12; 'Reading Carandini'. *JRS* 91 (2001), 182–93; and 'Andrea Carandini and *Roma Quadrata*'. *Accordia Research Papers* 10 (2004–06), 103–25, where (120) Carandini's *œuvre* is likened to that of J.R.R. Tolkien.

⁵ Two recent books reflect a more constructive attitude to the host country on the part of foreign guests: C. Angelelli and L. Bonomi Ponzi (eds.), *Terni–Interamna Nahars: Nascita e sviluppo di una città alla luce delle più recenti ricerche archeologiche* (Rome 2006), resulting from a study day held by the École française de Rome that involved ten functionaries of the Umbrian Archaeological Superintendency;

I hope that those who will be perusing it with a view to extending the range of their thinking will nevertheless feel encouraged to move on from English secondary sources by acquiring the ability to earmark the Italian authors and series that are worth investigating now, and worth keeping up with in the future. After all, as was authoritatively observed a generation ago of an earlier period in Italy than those discussed here, 'any theory needs at least a few supporting facts'.⁶

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David Ridgway

M. Brosius, *The Persians, An Introduction*, Routledge, London/New York 2006, xviii+217 pp., 48 figs. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-415-32090-9/13: 978-0-415-32090-0

In this slim volume, Maria Brosius offers the first beginners' survey of the ancient history of Persia, from the Achaemenids to the Sasanians.¹ Part of Routledge's *Peoples of the Ancient World* series, the book is aimed at students and non-specialists seeking a general introduction to the Persians. The author's expertise on Persian women is felt throughout, as is her goal of balancing Western perceptions of Persia with evidence from Persia itself, to illuminate the 'artificial construction of the East-West divide' (p. xii).

After a brief introductory chapter, which includes discussion of Elam and Media and the origins of the Achaemenid empire, the book is comprised of three lengthier chapters on the Achaemenids, Parthians and Sasanians. Each of these begins with an historical survey, followed by thematic sections on 'King and court', organisation and administration of empire, religion, and art and architecture. These sections are further subdivided on narrower themes such as 'royal women', 'royal roads' and 'the army'. An excursus on the Persian wars with Greece and the Greek conception of the Persian 'Other' is balanced by another on Roman views of Parthians. Three appendices provide lists of rulers and regnal years, and two tables provide the month names used in Achaemenid and Parthian records. Black-and-white photographs, line drawings and maps sprinkle the text, with simple captions to suit a general readership; museum inventory numbers are provided in a list of illustrations.

The historical surveys are clear and concise, offering windows into scholarly problems without unseemly burdening the general reader with conflicting sources and theories (though this sometimes leads to oversimplification). Because they encapsulate such broad spans of time and royal succession, however, these sections may leave such a reader feeling lost in a sea of names and dates. The thematic discussions are more accessible, though variable in depth of detail and analysis. Sometimes concrete evidence (such as an inscription) illustrates a point or advances discussion of a particular theme; other sections are more summary, and

D. Mertens, *Città e monumenti dei Greci d'Occidente* (Rome 2006), the *summa* – published simultaneously in German – of the distinguished research career of the retiring Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome. J.C. Carter's ground-breaking *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto* (Ann Arbor 2006) [reviewed at pp. 335–37 below] is also available in Italian: *La scoperta del territorio rurale greco di Metaponto* (Venosa 2008).

⁶ R. Whitehouse and C. Renfrew, 'The Copper Age of Peninsular Italy and the Aegean'. *BSA* 69 (1974), 381.

¹ J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, 2nd ed. (London 2001) covers the same time-span in more detail, for a more scholarly audience.

some texts (like the Persepolis Fortification tablets) are quoted without discussion of context and significance. Interpretive and methodological discussions are concentrated in the sections on women and religion. In the final chapter, for instance, evidence for the widespread worship of Anahita and Zoroastrianism as a state religion in Sasanian Persia are assessed and refuted. Throughout the book runs a latent tension between the continuity and distinctness of the three ancient Persian empires. B. strives both to highlight their parallel traditions and to counteract the Western (Roman) tendency to lump them all together as stereotypical Eastern 'others'. Aspects of difference, such as the more public image of royal women in the Sasanian period, are particularly stressed. Some points of similarity are reflected upon (and the parallel structure of the book lends itself well to such analysis), but others are left to speak for themselves.

For a book that seeks to temper Western historical perspectives of the Persians, Classical literary sources are used quite a bit, but they are not cited in a consistent manner. Sometimes we learn only what 'Greek writers' tell us, at other times Herodotus is named but no specific passage is referenced, and at other times particular chapters are cited or quoted. There is no apparent pattern to this variation, depending on the specificity of the information under discussion: Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 3. 1-2, is cited twice for rituals of investiture at Pasargadae, but no source at all is given for the alleged details of Cyrus' burial there. This stems, of course, from the introductory nature of the survey, but what makes such generalisations especially disappointing in this book is that they coincide with more critical assessments of the factuality of historical sources; when no caveat is given, a non-specialist reader may assume there is no cause for questioning the validity of a statement.

With the Parthians and Sasanians, B. is able to balance Classical texts with Chinese and Arab sources, though the dearth of written evidence from the Parthian empire makes discussion of topics like Parthian religion somewhat speculative. Difficulties also surround the topic of Parthian art. B. carefully outlines the methodological hurdles to isolating a 'core Parthian art' (p. 128), but nevertheless has trouble defining this core. For B., Parthian art is characterised by elements of Parthian dress and hairstyle, compositions with frontal figures, and certain subjects, especially confrontations on horseback (here termed 'chivalrous combat'). The last of these she treats as a Parthian innovation, though there are Hellenistic precedents, and the issue of 'Parthian frontality' has been controversial for some time.² Also tenuous is the presumption that Parthian architecture developed from a fusion of 'local forms used in Parthia' with Hellenistic (especially Seleucid) and Central Asian traditions, since these original 'Parthian designs' have not been located archaeologically (p. 112).

Discussions of architecture throughout the book would benefit from fuller explanations of comparanda and more numerous illustrations, with building labels keyed to discussion of specific features in the text. Unfortunately, the small scale of the book has made some of the maps difficult to read, and the significance of delineations is not always clear. The maps would also be more helpful if they consistently contained the same region names used in the accompanying text. Otherwise, the overall production quality of the book is high, with minimal typographical errors (for example some title abbreviations lack capitalisation) and only a few unconventional spellings and terms (rhython, -a, for rhyton, -a; 'wine-factor', for

² D. Thompson, 'Review of Ghirshman, R. 1962. *Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.–A.D. 651* (New York)'. *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964), 95–97.

wine-maker?). For the most part, the text is clearly written in a straightforward style that informs while remaining accessible to a general readership.

Footnotes are few and usually explanatory rather than bibliographical. Exceptions are those which call attention to very recent studies and controversies, and to 'fundamental' scholarly discussions (as of the Oxus treasure and the Pazyryk tombs). Sources for further research are provided in a 'Select Bibliography' with sub-sections on each of the three empires under consideration, plus a section on Elamites and Medes. The last goes well beyond the five paragraphs devoted to these cultures in the introductory chapter, in scope, and one may wonder why a lengthier and more detailed treatment of them does not appear in the text itself.

This book would make a fine beginner's text for a course on ancient Persia, when supplemented in certain areas (especially art and architecture). It will also enlighten the interested lay-reader to the distinctness of ancient Persian cultures and the bias of non-Persian sources. B. has achieved an admirable balance of historical information and lessons for general cultural awareness, in a remarkably streamlined volume.

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Elizabeth P. Baughan

G. Bunnens, with a chapter by J.D. Hawkins and a contribution by I. Leirens, *A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsib-Masuware*, Tell Ahmar II, Publications de la Mission archéologique de l'Université de Liège en Syrie, Peeters, Louvain/Paris/Dudley, MA 2006, xvi+174 pp., 123 figs. Paperback. ISBN (Peeters, Leuven) 10: 90-429-1817-9/13: 978-90-429-1817-7. ISBN (Peeters, France) 10: 2-87723-946-2/13: 978-2-87723-946-2

In the summer of 1999, a sculptured and inscribed stele was discovered in the Euphrates river, near the modern village of Qubbah and downstream from the archaeological site of Tell Ahmar. The latter is located in north-eastern Syria, on the east bank of the Euphrates, 22 km south of Carchemish. Excavations there were conducted initially by a French mission under the direction of F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand from 1929 to 1931, and were resumed in 1988 until 1999 by G. Bunnens for the University of Melbourne. From 2000 onwards, Tell Ahmar became part of the Archaeological Mission of the University of Liège (Belgium) in Syria, under the direction of O. Tunca. The site's history of settlement extends back to the Ubaid period. But its main period of occupation began in the Early Iron Age (10th century), when Tell Ahmar was probably the centre of a small kingdom. Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions indicate that in this and perhaps already in an earlier phase of its existence, the city was known by the Luwian name Masuwari. In Assyrian records, it was called Til Barsib/Tarbusiba, but renamed Kar-Shalmaneser by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III after his conquest of it in 856.

The stele, whose original height was just over 3 m, was found in two pieces, both in remarkably good condition. It has now been reconstructed and is on display in the Aleppo National Museum. Work on the monument was conducted by the University of Melbourne team in 1999, the last year of the university's involvement in the Tell Ahmar project. The book under review presents the results of their work. It includes a technical study and analysis of the stele by I. Leirens, and an edition of the inscription, with translation and commentary, by J.D. Hawkins.

The sculptured scene on the stele features a Smiting Storm God armed with an axe and a stylised trident-thunderbolt. Above him is a winged disk encased in a crescent. The god is standing on a young bull, the ground below it consisting of a so-called guilloche pattern, made up of what has been described as eight elongated triple Ss. The inscription, in Luwian hieroglyphs, is eight lines long, carved on the rear and two sides of the stele. The sixth Luwian inscription of its kind to be found in the Tell Ahmar region, it was composed by a king of Masuwari called Hamiyata, already known from other inscriptions in the region, and dedicated to the Storm God 'Tarhunza of the Army', the deity represented on the front of the stele. The inscription commemorates victories won by Hamiyata's father and by Hamiyata himself, with the support of Tarhunza. A list of at least seventeen other deities, all of whom bestowed their favour upon Hamiyata, appears at the beginning of the inscription.

In the Introduction to his comprehensive account of the stele, Bunnens indicates his intention to place the monument within a more general context, in which it is considered 'not as a work in itself, but as a moment in a series of converging evolutive processes'. Precisely what he means by this may not be immediately obvious, but becomes clear in the book's last three chapters, which deal respectively with the stele's iconographic and stylistic, religious, and historical contexts. On artistic, epigraphic, and historical grounds, there now seems to be a reasonable consensus that the Tell Ahmar stelae are to be dated to the late 10th–early 9th century.

B. traces to the first half of the 2nd millennium BC the origins of the iconographic tradition to which the stele belongs. He observes that the individual components of the relief can be paralleled in Carchemish, though the combination of these components was probably original. The similarities as well as the diversity between the reliefs of Carchemish and Tell Ahmar suggest to him a transfer of artists from Carchemish to Ahmar where they developed their own workshops. His reconstruction of the artistic tradition serves as a useful model for more general studies of cultural continuity and diversity between Bronze and Iron Age cultures, and between the cultures which evolved within an Iron Age context. B. discusses at some length the symbolism of the iconography, seeing in the combination of motifs an expression of cosmic order, political power, and general prosperity. On the basis of textual evidence, he identifies the chief figure on the stele, 'Tarhunza of the Army', with the Storm God of Aleppo 'in the guise of the emerging Semitic Storm-God Baal-Shalem'.

Historically, the stele inscription adds little to what we already knew about Hamiyata from the other Tell Ahmar inscriptions. One of the most informative of these (Tell Ahmar 1 as designated by Hawkins) indicates that power in Masuwari apparently alternated between two competing family lines. The seizure of the throne by Hamiyata's father is generally seen as the ousting of a Neo-Hittite regime by one of Aramaean origin. This has given rise to an apparent anomaly much discussed by scholars – that the city continued to show a Neo-Hittite character while it was under Aramaean control. But B. believes that the situation was more complex than a contest between rival dynasties of different ethnic origins. While Hamiyata's origins were almost certainly Aramaean, he suggests that the regime which Hamiyata's father displaced could also have come from one of the Aramaean tribes in the region. Whether or not that was so, the apparent discrepancy in the evidence may simply illustrate that a site's cultural affinities and characteristics need not reflect its current regime's ethnic origins. As B. has argued, the use of the Luwian language and script in inscriptions does not necessarily imply that the authors of the inscriptions were themselves Luwians.

Even so, it seems likely that Masuwari's Neo-Hittite character does in fact reflect its origins and the ethnicity of a significant component of its population under an Aramaean regime.

B.'s detailed publication of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele makes a valuable contribution to our study of the Iron Age cultures of northern Syria. Of much value also are the author's many perceptive comments about the cultural and historical contexts to which the stele belongs.

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Trevor Bryce

M.S. Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coinage VII: De Gordien Ier à Gordien III (238–244 après J.-C.)*. 1. *Province d'Asie*, The British Museum Press/Bibliothèque nationale de France, London/Paris 2006, 395 pp., 6 maps, 67 pls. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-7141-1813-3/13: 978-0-7141-1813-0 (British Museum). ISBN 10: 2-7177-2303-X/13: 978-2-7177-2303-8 (Bibliothèque nationale)

This is the third volume published in the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC) series, and the first for the 3rd century AD. The increased volume of provincial coinage struck during this period is immediately apparent: while the first RPC covered 113 years (from the death of Caesar to Vitellius), and the second 27 years (Vespasian to Domitian), this third volume of the series covers only six years (AD 238–244) and only coins struck in the province of Asia. The reigns of Gordian I, Gordian II, Pupienus and Balbinus are included in the volume, but since coins struck in the names of these emperors are exceptionally rare (for instance only the city of Prymnessos in Phrygia struck in the name of Gordian I, and none struck in the name of Gordian II), the work is largely an examination of the provincial coins struck in Asia under Gordian III. Here Butcher provides an extremely detailed introduction, drawing upon her doctoral dissertation.¹

The catalogue, organised by *conventus*, is unique thus far in the RPC series in that coins are analysed by die. Previous RPC volumes assigned each coin its own number; here the obverse dies are listed according to diameter, followed by their reverse counterparts, with examples provided underneath. This system gives excellent illustration of the obverse/reverse combinations in use for each city and means that there are deceptively more coins listed than at first glance. Indeed, 73 cities struck 4419 coins in Asia during this period, employing a total of 555 obverse dies and 1400 reverse dies. Each city is given a detailed discussion in accordance with the surviving evidence. For cities that have been recently studied (for example Aphrodisias) only a brief description of the coins is provided, omitting such aspects as the die axis. This means that the reader may at times be forced to seek out other modern works for a detailed description. Those coins not mentioned in earlier works, however, are generally given a full description. The catalogue also notes when an obverse die is employed by more than one city, drawing upon K. Kraft's seminal work. The plates employ a combination of casts and photographs to illustrate the catalogue.

The introductory chapters provide an historical introduction to the structure of the Asian provinces in the 3rd century AD and an examination of general trends relating to obverse/reverse iconography and legends. Several excellent discussions are to be found within these

¹ *Le monnayage des cites de la province romaine d'Asie sous Gordien III (238–244 apr. J.-C.)* (Université de Neuchâtel 2000).

chapters, particularly on the phenomenon of *homonoia* coinage. B. revisits the suggestion that *homonoia* coins are a reflection of the movement of Imperial troops, and utilises the evidence from the reign of Gordian III to disprove this assertion. Overall, those wanting to use this volume to reconstruct the poorly documented reign of Gordian III will be disappointed: B. notes that only two *adventus* emissions can be connected with the emperor's journey east (from Lysias and Nakoleia). The fact that Asia did not choose to mark the imperial passage is both astonishing and indicative of the motivations that drove the design of provincial coinage. As with previous volumes of *RPC*, the bulk of the iconography has local reference.

B. offers a detailed analysis of the different magistrates responsible for striking coins in each city, summarised in a useful table (pp. 49–52). She provides conclusive evidence that often more than one magistrate struck coinage simultaneously (for example Magnesia had twelve magistrates strike coinage in the seven years of Gordian III's rule). A chapter on monetary production explores the rate and volume of emissions in this period, and provides guidelines for dating, primarily through analysis of the obverse. Tranquilina's portrait on coins does provide a *terminus post quem* (Gordian married her in AD 241), but B.'s connection between the 'military' bust of Gordian III (shown with a shield, spear and *gorgoneion*) and his eastern expedition is more questionable. The depiction of the emperor in this manner could reflect a general claim to military prowess rather than any specific campaign. Elagabalus, for example, never undertook any military campaign but is nevertheless shown with shield, spear and *gorgoneion* by Philippopolis (Varbanov 1449).

Provincial denominations are given a detailed discussion. The values assigned to each remain the same as that established in *RPC II*. B. argues that often a hierarchy of obverse types was employed, with the bust of the emperor used on coins of large denomination, the bust of his wife placed on coins of smaller denomination, and depictions of the Roman Senate or *Boule* placed on the smallest coins. B.'s detailed analysis of the different denominations in use in each city suggests that in the province of Asia there were two denominational systems in use: an 'eastern' and 'western' system. Here, however, as with much of the work, *RPC VII.1* suffers from the blameless position of being the first *RPC* for the 3rd century: the author herself admits on many occasions that without comparative evidence, definitive conclusions are impossible. The completion of *RPC VII.2*, which deals with the other mints active under Gordian III, will add perspective to the conclusions drawn by B. in this work.

RPC VII.1 is a major, monumental work that will become an essential reference to those working in the 3rd century AD and in the field of numismatics. Each reverse type is clearly illustrated, and the maps and indexes are clear and easy to use. It is overall the most detailed *RPC* to date.

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Clare Rowan

J.C. Carter, *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto*, Jerome Lectures Twenty-Third Series, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2006, xxviii+287 pp., illustrations, many in colour. Cased. ISBN 0-472-11477-8

The book of the lecture series has become much less prominent in recent academic life than it was four decades ago when much of the intellectual going was made by lecture series. The

lecture compelled a certain succinctness of expression, encouraged a clear line of argument, ensured that all but the most important scholarly debates were kept below the surface and when illustrated, strongly pressed the lecturer to address himself (as almost always) to the images presented. These qualities ensured that books like Bernard Ashmole's *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (London 1972) or Moses Finley's *The Ancient Economy* (London 1973) made a splash.

Public lectures now enjoy much less celebrity, and the technology for presenting images has changed the relationship between lecture and illustration. Publishers reluctant to publish the short books which result from taking the text delivered orally have encouraged transformation of lectures into heavyweight books. All these factors have conspired against bold argument and have undermined the impact of the lecture book.

Carter's book is long and massively illustrated. I count 215 illustrations, the majority in colour. It sums up the story and results of C.'s archaeological work, not only in the countryside of Metaponto but also in the Crimean Chersonesus. It is easy to imagine the almost overwhelming effect of all these Powerpoint slides in the original lectures. But in the book the illustrations only raise questions which a text which is both over- and under-ambitious fails to address.

The book is over-ambitious in as far as it wants to do too many things. When C. lists 'some of the interests' on pp. 2–3 he comes up with: 1) 'concern with the history of the "people who had no voice"'; 2) concern about the environment and its effects; 3) archaeology that is 'noninvasive'; 4) quantification; 5) anticolonial multiculturalism; and 6) comparative history. Not all of these interests are mutually exclusive, but they point in very different directions – some concerned with the past, some with the present, some historical, others archaeological. C. has interesting things to say in passing on all these themes, but the attempt to address them all within the book dissipates the impact any of them can make.

Where the book is under-ambitious is in engaging with substantive historical or archaeological questions. Take the question of what is a 'site', that is of how one moves from a scatter of pottery to a claim about human activity in the past. C. entitles his first chapter 'In search of Ancient Greek Farmers' (note the ethnic term), but the concentration is on what excavations, and the seed, pollen and faunal evidence which they have brought, tell us about farming and about the health of the individual human inhabitants. C. produces impressive pie charts of relative percentages of different pottery types in order to show that 'practically identical' proportions of different pot types were found at different sites reckoned to be farms (where practically identical allows the proportion of cooking ware to vary by a factor of more than two), but issues of continuity of occupation, size of residential group, productivity per unit area or per person etc. are addressed, if at all, only superficially here and in the section of the chapter on 'Life, worship, death and rebirth in the Chora' entitled 'Farmhouses'. The calculation of possible population size on pp. 209–10 simply equates spots on the map with families, and having noted that Metaponto 'would have been, after all, a fairly sizable colonial settlement' moves on. The discussion of slave labour is limited (at pp. 118–19) to the observation that though there is 'some evidence for servile labor at... Croton... there is no evidence for slaves at Metaponto'.

What this volume is best at doing is presenting data and the history of how that data was created. There is a mass of material here for others to crunch – though much of it is now available elsewhere also. But those who crunch it will need to look at it much more

closely and to compare it much more systematically with data from elsewhere. C.'s choice of comparison with the Crimean Chersonesus is here simply unhelpful. While the similarity of land divisions and of building types is striking, both need to be seen in a much wider context if they are to be understood. Whatever the explanation for the decisions about settlement in either of these two locations, it was not the behaviour in the other place which determined settlement decisions. Need for systematic comparison is nowhere more pressing than in C.'s pioneering discussion of religious cult. When C. asks (p. 177) 'Can it be coincidence that, among the figured scenes on vases from the Pantanello necropolis, by far the favorite subjects are, as in tomb 292, the god Dionysos and his company...?' that rhetorical question needs answering by comparing practice elsewhere (Dionysos and his company are by far the single most popular subject of Attic vase painting).

No one who reads this book will be left with any doubts about the wealth of data which can be recovered by a long archaeological campaign which is able to exploit the full range of prospection techniques and can afford the full range of scientific analysis of its finds. But few will feel satisfied that we yet have sufficient understanding of the data to create a coherent archaeological or historical account. The big picture, which lecture series have in the past been seductively good at creating, remains here insistently elusive.

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Robin Osborne

M. Castoldi, with a contribution by S. Bruni and V. Guglielmi, *La ceramica geometrica bicroma dell'Incoronata di Metaponto (scavi 1974–1995)*, BAR International Series 1474, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2006, xiv+114 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-734-7

Incoronata is one of a number of sites on the Ionian coast of Italy (others being Termito, Broglio di Trebisacce and Francavilla Marittima) where recent excavations have uncovered material which has profoundly altered our understanding of the initial phases of Greek colonisation. All are 'native' settlements going back to the Final Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, which were affected in one way or another by the arrival of Greeks. Except at Broglio where the settlement apparently came to an end when Sybaris was founded, the evidence shows that the impact of Greeks was gradual, and that there was a period of assimilation lasting a hundred years or so in which the 'native' culture was progressively (but not completely) Hellenised.

The results of the excavations at Incoronata by the University of Milan have been appearing since 1991 in a series of volumes *Ricerche archeologiche all'Incoronata di Metaponto* (Milan) coordinated by Piero Orlandini and his collaborator Marina Castoldi. In the early stages of the project the excavators thought that the 'native' inhabitants, whom they identify as Oenotrians, were displaced by Greek colonists who destroyed the settlement and founded a Greek *emporion* in its place; but more recently they have come to realise that this was not the case. The stratified material from the settlement comes almost entirely from pits of varying size, some of which formed the bases of huts, others small store rooms, etc., and the assemblages of material found in them provide the principal evidence for the cultural development of the site. The earliest, going back to the middle of the 8th century BC, contained only Oenotrian material including both impasto and handmade painted wares; others yielded a preponderance

of Oenotrian pieces mixed with some Early Protocorinthian imports; in others of the 7th century BC the material was predominantly of Greek type, much of it locally made. The latest pits are associated with houses built with socles of dry-stone masonry and roofed probably with thatch, which replace the traditional huts of Iron Age type. The progression, however, is gradual, and it now seems probable that Greek and native elements cohabited on the site down to its final abandonment around 640/630 BC, though the Greek component became increasingly important. The end of the settlement coincides approximately with the foundation of Metaponto, and may well have been a consequence of the creation of that *polis*, though whether the inhabitants were killed, enslaved, or incorporated in the new community is quite uncertain.

The Oenotria handmade painted sherds found in the pits of Incoronata are mostly decorated in monochrome dark brown, usually painted over a pale slip, according to a tradition of pottery manufacture that was widespread in South Italy in the Iron Age. Some pieces, however, are decorated also in red, and the chronology of them is an important factor in working out the development of the site. It has been widely thought that the bichrome technique was introduced into the repertoire of 'native' potters in the course of the 7th century BC. There are however a number of sites, apart from Incoronata, where pottery painted in both red and black appears in pre-colonial contexts, and C. pulls together this evidence to prove that the bichrome technique goes back at least to the late 8th century BC. Her examples range from Otranto in the east to Broglio di Trebisacce in the west. They include (p. 18) a group of 'Iapygian geometric' pots, not yet published, from a pre-colonial indigenous village on what was to become the Acropolis of Taras. Another significant context at Taranto, which she does not mention, is the Borgo Nuovo deposit of more than 350 pots found during the building of the new town in 1880,¹ which must also ante-date the foundation of the Laconian colony. The pottery has never been fully published, but it included 'one sherd of grey-buff ware with off-white slip, painted with band decoration in two colours (dark brown and red matt)'.²

The chronology of the bichrome pottery of Incoronata is important, not only for understanding the development of the site itself but also for its relevance to many other sites in the hinterland. Similar pieces turn up on numerous Iron Age settlements in the Bradano valley and its tributaries, especially in the region around Gravina and Matera; and other related pottery types painted in the bichrome technique but with a rather different array of motifs are still more widely distributed. They lead directly into the regionally defined bichrome styles of the 6th century BC, such as the so-called 'Peucetian' pottery of central Apulia.

In the late 8th and the 7th century BC, however, bichrome pottery was relatively rare. Even at Incoronata the quantity of the material is not great, and few pieces could be restored as complete shapes. Why was it so rare? Although there is no proof that the pottery was manufactured at Incoronata, it is unlikely to have been imported from a great distance since the closest typological links are with pottery from sites in the hinterland. C. argues that the technique was highly specialised, and that the products were therefore prestigious and were intended for only limited circulation. She suggests (p. 3) that they may have had a ritual function, and that the colour red – which evokes blood and therefore sacrifice – may have added to the ritual value of the pot. We know, however, remarkably little about religious ritual in

¹ M. Mayer, *Apulien* (Leipzig/Berlin 1914), 1–17.

² (Lord) W. Taylour, *Mycenean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas* (Cambridge 1958), 125.

these communities, and it is easier to suppose that few potters at this time had the expertise to produce bichrome pottery (and those few perhaps had a monopoly on the technique) so that the cost of these vessels was greater. The shapes, which correspond broadly to those of the monochrome series, do not suggest specifically ritual functions.

The term 'Oenotrian' used by C. as a label for this ware may be a source of some confusion since the pottery is in many respects identical to that found in sites of the same period in 'Iapygian' territory, for example at Gravina. A more embracing term like 'Oenotrio-iapygian' used by R. Peroni for the Italic culture at Broglio di Trebisacce seems preferable, in spite of its clumsiness.³ Even this however involves a retrojection back to the 8th century BC of tribal terms current in the 5th.

C. does not claim to offer a definitive typology of the bichrome ware, which is hardly possible given the shortage of complete pieces, but she provides an excellent conspectus of a variety of different shapes, two open and six closed, and their decorative syntax. The catalogue of 203 items is clearly set out, and the pieces are well illustrated with good line drawings or grey-scale photographs in which the difference in tone between red and black is generally clear. The book will be a useful research tool for anyone working on sites of the colonisation period in South Italy.

There is an Appendix by Silvia Bruni and Vittoria Guglielmi on the analysis of the chemistry of the pigments, which shows the use of iron and manganese oxides for the red and black, and calcium carbonate for the white slip. In some cases there were increased levels of potassium as well as iron in the red colour.

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A. Chaniotis and P. Ducrey (eds.), *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, Heidelberger Alt-historische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 37, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2002, viii+204 pp. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-08197-6

This volume has its origins in a 'Table ronde' that took place in Oslo in 2000. It consists of an Introduction by the editors and 12 papers, three of which are presented as responses to other papers, but which make significant contributions of their own. Three papers deal with the ancient Near East (including India), five with the Greek world, and four with the Roman Empire. Therefore the period of the Roman Republic is essentially left out.

The volume shares the usual strengths and weaknesses of this kind of collection: it brings together evidence and ideas from a fairly wide geographical range (although it might have been worthwhile to extend it further, to include Han China, where the evidence is more plentiful than it is in India – of which more later); it allows the possibility of dialogue across periods and regions. On the other hand, the different papers are of very different kinds: at one end of the scale there are surveys covering broad areas over centuries, and at the other a discussion of one aspect of military power in a relatively small area over a period of three years. The contributors do however keep to the theme of the relationship between 'the army' – or perhaps better 'military force' – and political power.

³ R. Peroni, 'Broglio di Trebisacce'. In *Magna Grecia e il mondo miceneo. Nuovi documenti* (Atti Taranto XXII) (Taranto 1983), 103–17.

The first two chapters, Walter Mayer on 'Armee und Macht in Assyrien' (pp. 3–23) and Romila Thapar on 'The role of the army in the exercise of power in early India' (pp. 25–37) are both surveys, laying out the nature of the evidence for the nature and functions of the army in these two regions, and discussing what can be known of its political role. These are valuable presentations of the state of knowledge in these areas, covering the periods of the Neo-Assyrian empire and India down to Ashoka. Pierre Briant's 'Guerre et succession dynastique chez les Achéménides: entre 'coutume perse' et violence armée' (pp. 39–49) make use of Herodotus and the Alexander historians, as well as Persian documents to explore contrasts between ideology and reality: in contrast to public ideology with an emphasis on orderly succession under the eye of Ahura Mazda, the reality was that reigns often ended in a war of succession – Alexander's inheritance of Darius III's throne and kingdom was less atypical than it might appear.

The Greek part of the volume starts with a grand survey by Pierre Ducrey, 'Armée et pouvoir dans la Grèce antique, d'Agamemnon à Alexandre' (pp. 51–60) which attempts to identify common features in the relationship between military and political power in Greece over time (and over space – the survey runs from Minoan Crete to 4th-century BC Macedonia). It is not clear that any very profound conclusions can be drawn from this. In contrast the next chapter, Hans van Wees's 'Tyrants, oligarchs and citizen militias' (pp. 61–82) is probably the most important work in the volume. He convincingly challenges the traditional view that the 'hoplite class' might have been a significant force for political change, suggesting that most hoplites tended to keep their heads down at times of political upheaval, and that it was smaller armed bands, with factional loyalty, who were responsible for politically driven military action. To reach this conclusion he addresses, and rejects, the claims of Aristotle about the role of the hoplite class. The literary evidence for the relationship between military and political power in archaic and classical Greece is patchy – some narrative accounts of key events, some theoretical or ideological discussion – van Wees's interpretation is thorough and persuasive. This is clearly the view of Vincent Gabrielsen who, in his 'The impact of armed forces on government and politics in archaic and classical poleis' (pp. 83–98), suggests some areas of disagreement on specific questions, but generally supports van Wees's view. His paper is a useful commentary – and an example of how responses can be written. The next pair of papers also work together well. Angelos Chaniotis's 'Foreign soldiers – native girls? Constructing and crossing boundaries in Hellenistic cities with foreign garrisons' (pp. 99–113) examines military power acting at a much more personal level, discussing how the soldiers in garrisons interacted with the citizens of the *poleis* they oversaw. John Ma in "Oversexed, overpaid and over here": a response to Angelos Chaniotis' (pp. 115–22) complements Chaniotis's paper by examining how garrisons fitted into the political, religious, social and economic landscape of the Hellenistic world.

The Roman part of the volume starts with Géza Alföldy's 'Kaiser, Heer und soziale Mobilität im Römischen Reich' (pp. 123–50), which examines in some detail the role of the army in enabling social mobility, with an emphasis on the 2nd century AD, and stressing the importance of notions of personal loyalty. This is followed by Yann le Bohec's 'L'armée romaine et le maintien de l'ordre en Gaule (68–70)' (pp. 151–65), which describes the 'year of the four emperors' from a Gallic perspective, arguing that the revolts in Gaul in this period cannot on the whole be distinguished from the civil wars with which they coincided. The final pair of papers are Brian Campbell's 'Power without limit: "the Romans always

win” (pp. 167–80) and Benjamin Isaac’s ‘Army and power in the Roman world: a response to Brian Campbell’ (pp 181–91). These examine the role of the army in the provinces of the Roman empire, and resemble the first two chapters in the volume, not least because the evidence for the role of the army appears to be surprisingly limited. Campbell’s discussion of the army’s role in ‘internal security’ in the provinces touches on some of the themes of Chaniotis and Ma, and it is taken further by Isaac, who develops areas not much explored by Campbell, in particular acts of violence on individuals and communities inflicted by the occupying forces.

It is always a problem with the publication of the proceedings of this kind of event that it cannot adequately reflect the interaction between participants. We are presented with the starting points of discussion rather than the results. One hopes that the fruits of the ‘Table ronde’ will be visible in the subsequent publications of participants, whose perspectives will have been broadened by the experience. Meanwhile a reviewer can only judge what is presented to him. As I have indicated, there are connections that can be made between some of these papers, allowing the reader to explore similarities of activities in different periods. On the other hand, there is something of a lack of coherence in the volume. The Near Eastern chapters are not particularly integrated with the rest, and although they give the non-specialist a clear account of the current state of knowledge of the subject, it is not clear that this serves a greater purpose. The Roman chapters are more obviously part of the whole, but they seem not to be breaking new ground – perhaps because the Roman army has been so well studied. It is therefore the papers on the Greek world, where the nature of military power is most difficult to pin down, that are the most valuable.

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S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies vol. XXXI, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, xiv+278 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-521-82875-9

The editor, a Yale classical philologist with commendable historical perspective, has collected here seven essays on various subjects and aspects of that (partly too) convenient entity ‘the Graeco-Roman East’. Despite the poem of Kavafis ‘Philhellen’ taking the place of a motto for the whole volume and alluding to the question of Hellenisation *vs* preservation of Eastern culture(s) as a common theme, the disparate character of the whole is easily recognisable. The emphasis on non-literary sources and their testimony on ‘political culture and society’ (p. x) claimed as a compass of the undertaking in the Preface is certainly justified but offers no substitute for real cohesion. However, many of the contributions included illustrate with qualified efficiency important parts of the huge mosaic invoked by the title and will offer good service in further research.

Questions of religion and its connection with social or political order are treated in the studies by Angelos Chaniotis and Riet van Bremen. In the first, ‘Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor’ (pp. 1–43),¹ we have a detailed

¹ A shorter version of it has appeared almost simultaneously in German: ‘Von Ehre, Schande und kleinen Verbrechen unter Nachbarn: Konfliktbewältigung und Götterjustiz in Gemeinden des antiken Anatolien’. In F. Pfetsch (ed.), *Konflikt* (Heidelberger Jahrbücher 48) (Berlin 2004), 233–54.

and careful synthesis of the epigraphic evidence from Asia Minor (mainly Lydia and Phrygia) concerning a fascinating list of cases where various dedicants testified specific interventions of the gods in their lives: these people are either confessing, as delinquents, a crime properly punished by divine power, or presenting themselves as variously wronged, thus praying for heavenly justice on earth or (after its implementation) giving thanks for it. Of course, the role of the priests of local sanctuaries, where these dedications were made, proves to be crucial: they were the instruments of this sort of divine justice, and the main aim of the study is to examine whether their activity ought to be perceived as a form of judicial procedure. However, they seem rather to have acted merely as arbitrators, administrators of oaths, consultants of the believers and organisers of publicity for the results of divine intervention: they did not replace secular jurisdiction, which can certainly have been an alternative, even parallel resort for the humble claimants involved (especially pp. 40–41). Some repetitions are inevitable in this rich and brilliant analysis, which underlines the work of religion as foundation of social order especially in rural communities of Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, for which local traditions were always nearer than the system of civic and imperial administration of their areas.

An old cult as an alternative, and finally stronger, pole of local identity against the political background of Hellenistic Caria is the subject of van Bremen's partly speculative but highly interesting study: 'Leon son of Chrysaor and the religious identity of Stratonikeia in Caria' (pp. 207–44). This Leon, a probable descendant of Macedonian settlers in Carian Stratonikeia during the early Hellenistic period (p. 210), emerges from a small relevant epigraphic dossier as a significant promoter of the importance of the sanctuary of Zeus at Panamara near Stratonikeia around the middle of the 2nd century BC. One century after the foundation of the Seleucid *polis* of Stratonikeia in its vicinity, the administration of that indigenous cult seems to be finally subordinated to the city but at the same time offering it the possibility to reinvigorate an old religiously based network of communities (*koinon* of the Panamareis) in this part of Caria, thus successfully rivalling Rhodian influence in the same area, which partly belonged to the *peraia* of the island state. However, the interpretation of Polybius' vexed passage 30. 31. 6 as a testimony of Rhodian rule in Stratonikeia already under Seleukos II and Antiochos Hierax is not convincing, while greater emphasis could have been placed on Leon's need to *persuade* (IS 7. I. 6, here p. 240) 'the whole demos' of the Stratonikeis of the value of his plans for Panamara.

Gary Reger integrates Hellenistic Caria into a larger research scaffolding in his minute and valuable article: '*Sympoliteiai* in Hellenistic Asia Minor' (pp. 145–80). His purpose is to examine motives and conditions of the movement towards political unification (and the latter's fluctuations) in the fascinating microcosm of *poleis* and other *polis*-like communities of Asia Minor, with emphasis on Caria. He offers some introductory terminological remarks on the meanings of *sympoliteia*, 'federal states' or geographically more limited political unions of usually adjacent cities, and synoecism, applicable to cases not only of physical but also political unification of settlements/communities (and *contra* his view on p. 149, never merely denoting 'occupy' or 'inhabit' as in Polybius 4. 25. 4). Following the still precious directions of Louis Robert on the subject, he attributes the proper weight to the monarchic initiatives towards such unifications, as for example the one between Latmos and Pidasa,² clearly going

² On which see now also M. Wörle, 'Inschriften von Herakleia am Latmos III. Der Synoikismos der Latmioi mit den Pidaseis'. *Chiron* 33 (2003), 121–43.

back to a plan of the Macedonian satrap Asandros in the early Hellenistic period. He correctly remarks that such unions were far more durable when sponsored by the cities themselves (as in the case of Myous or Pidasia uniting with Miletus, for example), and underlines the effort of smaller communities to retain parts of their specific identity inside and despite such useful 'political mergers'. Further, the importance of the Rhodian example of combining the – until 408/7 BC – independent *poleis* of the whole island into a unified *polis*-state of Rhodes, and its later-appearing terminological result in the expression 'the whole demos' (*ho sympas demos*) of the Rhodian state, as models for similar Carian developments is properly recognised.

We move to problems of Hellenisation, and its temporal development, degree and cultural/political expediency, with two studies on further southern regions of Asia Minor: Giovanni Salmeri's somewhat uneven treatment of the subject 'Hellenism on the periphery: the case of Cilicia and an etymology of *soloikismos*' (pp. 181–206), and Stephen Colvin's careful examination of 'Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia' (pp. 44–84). The first draws a vivid picture of the fragile presence of a genuinely Hellenic element in Cilicia during the earlier periods of Greek history, very probably over-stated in later sources, while he goes himself perhaps too much in the way of downplaying this presence even for the Classical period (especially in his discussion of the numismatic evidence). His proposal (pp. 202–03) to date the connection of the terms *soloikizein/soloikismos* with both the sense of 'speaking bad Greek' and Soloi's linguistic/cultural past from the period of Chrysippos of Soloi's sojourn in Athens ca. 250 BC (as a possible reaction to his inferior Greek) seems to be contradicted by the much earlier testimonies of Herodotus 4. 117 (cited but not properly utilised) and Demosthenes 45. 30. Colvin's essay on the onomastic material from Lycia achieves many valuable conclusions (as, for example, the unproblematic combination of indigenous and Greek names in local pedigrees, probably pointing to a smoother combination of a Lycian and a Hellenised identity than in other areas of Asia Minor, p. 69). However, the methodological self-limitation to evidence predating the foundation of the Roman province in AD 43 (systematised in a useful 'Index of names', pp. 70–84) narrows the scope of the results.

The two remaining contributions, by Nigel Pollard on 'Roman material culture across imperial frontiers? Three case studies from Parthian Dura-Europos' (pp. 119–44) and by Michel Christol and Thomas Drew-Bear on 'Caracalla et son médecin L. Gellius Maximus à Antioche de Pisidie' (pp. 85–118, the only study of the collection in French), join rather loosely with the other contributions but offer important research results as well. Pollard's study tends to revise the idea of a lively circulation of goods and technical developments beyond political frontiers: on the basis of coin finds, he certifies no extensive participation of Parthian Dura in a 'wider Roman/Mediterranean economy' (p. 124), while he attributes also much of the Roman pre-Trajanic coinage from the city to imports connected with the periods of Roman rule in the area and also interprets a bath so far connected with Parthian Dura as an actually Roman construction. Christol and Drew-Bear complete and meticulously reconstruct the Latin and Greek epigraphic dossier and the corresponding career of L. Gellius Maximus, an *archiatros* of Caracalla from Pisidian Antioch, life priest of Asclepius and *patronus* of the city, against the background of Caracalla's presence in the East in AD 214–217. The doctor is also described as imperial 'friend' (*philos*, a title somewhat underrated by the authors), 'member of the (Alexandrian) Museum' (*a Musiol/apo Mouseiou*), and *ducenarius*, the latter to be understood as a salary level either in connection with his doctoral

service for the emperor (according to the authors) or possibly with his museum membership, if one considers the sequence of the titles in the relevant texts and similar career cases.³

A unified bibliography and a good index conclude the volume. The map of Hellenistic/Roman Caria (p. xv) would have better been inserted somewhere nearer the contributions of Reger and van Bremen, while further maps of the Hellenistic/Roman East would have also greatly helped follow the other contributions (for example Salmeri's). The jacket illustration of the book reproduces a photograph by Reger of the tower on the Acropolis of Alinda (appearing as 'Alinder'!) in Caria. A comparison with plate 53 in G.E. Bean's *Turkey beyond the Maeander: An Archaeological Guide* (London 1971) is reassuring: the tower still holds very well. There might even be a symbolism in this: monuments are always there waiting for further research and equally patient evaluation of their evidence.

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F. De Angelis, *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. The Development of Two Greek City-States in Archaic Sicily*, Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph No. 55, Oxford University School of Archaeology, Oxford 2003, xxii+247 pp., illustrations. Hardback. ISBN 0-947816-56-9

Studies of Greek colonisation have developed new approaches in recent years to the examination of the societies which arose overseas, beyond an interest in their relationship with their mother-cities and the features taken from them. New perspectives seek to insert colonies into their new environments, in which they entered into contact with other Greek colonial cities and with which they began to create a new landscape quite different from what existed in Old Greece. An important aspect of this was the foundation of secondary colonies by first-generation colonies. This enables us to observe how internal forces functioned within colonies and how sub-colonies contributed to the shaping of new landscapes within colonial territories. An interesting case study in the analysis of these relationships is afforded by Megara Hyblaia and its colony Selinous. This is the subject of De Angelis's book.

The work is divided in two main parts, constructed along similar lines, one devoted to each city: Part I, Megara Hyblaia; Part II, Selinous. The book opens with an Introduction (pp. xiii-xxii), in which De A. reviews the previous historiography of Greek colonisation in Sicily, stressing the important contribution of T.J. Dunbabin, mainly in shaping a too Hellenocentric interpretation. Having described Dunbabin's role in the long-lasting contemporary view of Greek colonisation, De A. advances the main lines of his own research, consisting largely in a separate analysis on the origins, regional setting, material remains and history of the two cities, although arranged along parallel paths. De A.'s work benefits from the archaeological research carried out in both cities since Dunbabin's time. This has shed important light on their physical appearance and on some key features of their setting and development as well. The book under review is concerned with just the Archaic period – quite natural in the case of Megara Hyblaia because it disappeared as a result of the actions

³ Cf. especially N. Lewis, 'Literati in the service of Roman Emperors: Politics before culture'. In L. Casson and M. Price (eds.), *Coins, Culture, and History in the Ancient World* (Detroit 1981), 149–66.

of the tyrant Gelo of Syracuse. In the case of Selinous this decision is justified because 'Selinous had already evolved along very different lines' (p. xix).

Part I, Megara Hyblaia, begins with a chapter on 'The Setting' (pp. 1–16). In it, De A. studies the native world of eastern Sicily as a means of understanding how the foundation of the city took place. He begins his analysis with the Late Bronze Age (Thapsos culture) and its development well into the Early Iron Age, following through with the rise of the so-called Pantalica culture which saw the (probable) emergence of chiefdoms in south-eastern Sicily. In any case, he is right when observes that 'in eastern Sicily the Greeks met a native culture of considerable maturity and sophistication in all respects' (p. 10). The rest of the chapter addresses the issue of the foundation of Greek colonies, with some short remarks about pre-colonial contacts. De A. considers both literary and archaeological sources to describe the foundation of the city (and of the other more or less contemporary cities in the region) in a previously unoccupied site 'suitable for human settlement' (p. 14).

Chapter 2, 'Settlement Development' (pp. 17–19), reviews the published data to establish the spatial development of the city (distinguishing between domestic, public and religious when possible) from the very beginning, grouped in periods of 25 years. De A. stresses the well-known fact that the layout of the city dates to the last part of the 8th century BC, and he insists that the first settlement already occupied the 61 ha which would be enclosed by the late 6th-century BC city wall. Some of the issues dealt with in this chapter have been subject of a more thorough analysis in *Mégara Hyblaea* 5,¹ which appeared more than a year after De Angelis' book.

Chapter 3, 'Society and Politics' (pp. 40–71), is one of the strong points of the book. It seeks to establish the size, structure and growth of the city's population. Although the figures given are (perhaps) quite low (2275 inhabitants for the last quarter of the 6th century BC), the factors taken into account in the calculation are of a great interest: the structure of the Greek family, the number of houses known in each period and the projection of this to the total extent (not excavated) of the city, demographic models well known for the Archaic Greek world, and so on. Furthermore, although without giving precise figures, De A. also takes into account the rural territory, the number of tombs, the (possible) presence of natives, etc. In his model, the foundation of Selinous takes place at a moment of rising population ('from a minimum of 675 to a minimum of 1375 people') in the period 675–625 BC. although he makes some observations about the concept of 'overpopulation' which is not strictly valid as a true cause for the foundation of the colony. In *Mégara Hyblaea* 5 the authors consider the figures given by De A. in a previous work to be too low and, taking into account the difficulties of the archaeological evidence in Megara, they seem more inclined to believe that its population during the 6th century BC was between 8000 and 10,000, figures also suggested by P. Orsi.²

In Chapter 4, 'Environment and Economy' (pp. 72–97), the literary and archaeological evidence existing about the territory of Megara Hyblaia is examined. As usual, some land was more suited to agriculture and other to pasture. An introduction to the economy of the city is made, although the evidence is quite meagre. Perhaps trade is best known, mainly due

¹ M. Gras, H. Tréziny and H. Broise, *Mégara Hyblaea 5: La Ville Archaique. L'espace urbain d'une cité grecque de Sicile Orientale* (Rome 2004).

² Gras *et al.* (as in n. 1), 4, 571.

to the great quantity of imports of Corinthian and Attic pottery found in the city. De A. is forced to conjecture rather than show proof of the economic resources of the city. He might be correct in his conclusions ('Megara Hyblaia's resource base appears to have been good') but he is on firmer ground when he observes that 'much more needs to be done on defining the structure and scale of the archaic economy' (p. 95).

Part II, Selinous, opens with Chapter 5, 'The Setting' (pp. 102–27), which deals with the native world of western Sicily, mainly with that described as Elymian, perhaps also comprising chiefdoms, as well as with the Phoenicians. The chapter concludes with some remarks about the region in which Selinous was to be founded.

Chapter 6, 'Settlement Development' (pp. 128–45), studies the material evidence for the city from mid-7th century to *ca.* 450 BC, pointing to the main buildings known for each of the 50-year phases into which the author has divided this period. Special attention is given to the large Archaic temples built by Selinous. Like Megara Hyblaia, Selinous occupied from the first a great area (*ca.* 100 ha), although there seems to exist a cemetery (the so-called Manuzza) which was included within the Late Archaic city wall. This fact poses questions still unresolved about the development of the urban space.

In Chapter 7, 'Society and Politics' (pp. 146–72), the data previously analysed is used to establish the population of Selinous. Using evidence from literary sources as well, De A. suggests a more modest figure for the inhabitants of Selinous, of between 6664 and 10,000 in the city. As for the rural population, he prefers not to give a close estimate. The demographic model was similar to that of Megara Hyblaia. The development of Selinous was brisk and the city was also formed by the early 6th century BC. This chapter also furnishes us with a short political history of the city and concludes with a very interesting section dealing with monumental temples. De A. quantifies the amount of stone required by these large monuments (in excess of 100,000 tons), the cost of the stone (between 1200 and 1600 talents), and the man-hours required for building and the cost. As the seven main temples took a century to build, De A. concludes that 'Selinous was extremely prosperous... and that this prosperity was constant, spread out over this entire time' (p. 168).

Chapter 8, 'Environment and Economy' (pp. 173–99), begins with the study of the territory of Selinous. The evidence collected lets the author to suggest that in the late 6th century BC the city controlled 1500 km², a very large area, of which arable land would have formed between 70% and 95%, sufficient to feed between 161,000 and 215,000 people. However, De A. does not give figures for the rural population, and he simply observes that 'Selinous may have had more agricultural resources than it actually required' (p. 183). The rest of the chapter reviews the city's other economic resources, contributing to a picture of a very wealthy city.

After finishing this 'parallel' study of mother-city and colony, De A. draws his Conclusion (pp. 200–08). In the first part, he outlines the similarities and differences between the two cities and also compares the situation of Megara Hyblaia with that of her mother-city Megara Nisaia, concluding that both Megaras 'resembled each other in *polis* development' while Selinous was born 'in a changed world'. He then returns to Dunbabin to show how, contrary to his views, the conditions of these new cities founded in Sicily were different from those found in the mother-cities, and that the study of the colonial areas is not secondary to the study of the *polis*. Lastly, in a time of increasing specialisation and (sometimes) misunderstanding between historians and archaeologists, De A. considers the combination of both forces as the only way to proceed in this type of study.

The book includes a good series of line drawings as well as 34 black-and-white photographs. Unfortunately, the size of these latter is so small that many details are lost.

In sum, this is a very clever study, not just of the history of two cities but also of a series of methodological tools which we can use to gain a better understanding of the material and physical environment of the Greek *polis* in colonial territories and in Old Greece too. Although the figures for the population of the two cities may, perhaps, be quite modest, De A. draws a very careful study of the different considerations we must keep in mind in estimating populations once we have data on the size and type of settlement in Archaic Greece. The usefulness of this model will have to be tested against literary and archaeological evidence available for other Greek cities but, or so it seems to me, the model has very strong foundations.

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L. de Blois, P. Erdkamp, O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn and S. Mols (eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network 'Impact of Empire' (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C.–A.D. 476), Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20–23, 2002, Gieben, Amsterdam 2003, xiv+565 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-5063-388-9

This is the third volume arising from a series of workshops whose aim is to assess the impact of the Roman empire. The workshop in this case was held at the Netherlands Institute in Rome in 2002. The prospect of 30 articles covering 500 pages on the theme of the representation and perception of Roman imperial power between 200 BC and AD 476 will tempt many readers to lift this volume from the shelves. Expectations will vary as to its contents. Note first of all that, despite the broad chronology adopted by the workshops as a whole, in this particular case the Roman empire of the Republic is hardly mentioned. In dealing with such a huge subject, the problem of creating a cohesive treatment through the words of so many contributors over so many pages is certainly daunting, and it seems that the response here is to dodge this problem altogether.

Part 1 starts off by focusing upon particular types of source, or 'media'. Some of these are the usual suspects, such as inscriptions (Alföldy), coins (Hekster, López Sánchez), and texts of different sorts (Richardson on the concept of *imperium Romanum* in literature, de Blois on Herodian, Faleiro on the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Zwolve on the role of imperial contractors in judicial texts), but others are unexpected, such as decorative elements in architecture (von Hesberg), nicknames (Bruun), imperial deaths (van Hooff), and magisterial insignia subsequently adopted by bishops (Haensch).

Part 2 discusses case studies from Rome (Wallace-Hadrill on streets, de Kleijn on public works, Panciera on Augustan deities) and the provinces, examining the *Res Gestae* in Galatia (Botteri), inscriptions in Aphrodisias (Chaniotis), *SEG* XVII 759 from Dmeir in Syria (Stolte), papyri of AD 238 (de Jong), Cologne (Eck), inscriptions of L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus at Olympia (Kriekhaus), and literary works of praise and blame relating to governors by Menander Rhetor and Libanius (Slootjes).

Part 3 selects particular emperors: the ideology of war and peace under Augustus (Rich); the topography of access to the Palatine Hill from AD 54 to 70 (Perrin); Nero's impact on

the city of Rome, questioning his involvement in building the Temple of Divus Claudius (Moormann); barbarians in Trajanic art (Coulston); Hadrian's travels, his portraiture, and his building of the Temple of Venus and Rome (Birley, Vout, Mols); coins of AD 238 (Haegemans); and finally Constantine's use of Christianising symbols (Singor).

Even this bare outline of its contents shows the rich diversity in this volume. What it boasts in diversity, however, it lacks in cohesion. There is no obvious attempt to integrate the contributions. There is almost no cross-referencing between chapters, despite the potential for some interesting links to be made. For example, there are striking similarities between Panciera's discussion of dedications made to Augustan gods by slaves and freedmen (p. 234) and Wallace-Hadrill's analysis of the role of slaves in *compitalia* rituals (pp. 198–99). More obviously, why not integrate in some way de Jong's discussion of the representation of imperial power during AD 238 in papyri and Haegemans' analysis of the same issue, in the same year, in coins? The lack of a thematic index also hinders the reader from tracing a particular issue (such as provincials' perceptions of their governors) from chapter to chapter. The index of names provides basic citations only, and does not differentiate between themes. Coverage is very patchy. In Part 3, Hadrian, for instance, is singled out for detailed discussion, and yet successive chapters contradict each other. Having read a stout critique by Vout of the tendency to interpret Hadrian in terms of his philhellenism, it comes as something of a surprise to find that the next chapter by Mols equally vehemently analyses Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome in terms of its 'emphatically Greek visual language' (p. 464). Several of the chapters are accompanied by figures and plates, and there are two minor problems to note in this regard. As far as I can see, Faleiro omits to direct the reader to the two crucial colour plates illuminating discussion of the manuscripts of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (pl. III, figs. 1–2). Botteri's pl. V.4 does not seem to match its caption: the photograph itself is rather unclear, but it appears to show part of the Latin inscription at Ancyra, not the Greek.

This is not, therefore, a book to turn to for an overall view of the subject; instead it provides a variety of short case studies, some of which are very narrowly focused. Several of the contributions are forerunners of more detailed studies to be published elsewhere. Presumably this helps to explain the overall impression that what we have here is a disparate set of studies rather than a cohesive debate. It may be helpful to draw attention to chapters likely to appeal to a wide audience. Other reviewers will doubtless have different personal favourites.

In 'Imperium Romanum between Republic and Empire' Richardson continues the valuable work begun in his article '*Imperium Romanum*: empire and the language of power'.¹ Here he argues from textual evidence (contrasting above all the *Res Gestae* and Ovid with Livy) that the emergence of the *imperium Romanum* as a territorial concept was a phenomenon of the Augustan period. It is interesting to note how, once again (as Greg Rowe has emphasised in the past), Ovid is a key witness to shifts in Augustan ideology. Complementary to Richardson's contribution is Rich's chapter on Augustan ideologies of war and peace. One of its many strengths is the way in which it integrates analysis of foreign and domestic 'policy'. Similar in this regard is Coulston's explanation of the new ways in which barbarians are depicted on art of the Trajanic period. He suggests that the tendency towards

¹ J.S. Richardson, '*Imperium Romanum*: empire and the language of power'. *JRS* 81 (1991), 1–12.

detailed representations may have been a way of underlining the reality of Trajan's victories abroad (in contrast to Domitian's), and consequently a way of legitimising his rule. Finally, Chaniotis challenges the acceptance at face value of the claims to free status proclaimed by the Aphrodisians on their theatre's 'archive wall'. He contrasts the proud claims made there with other inscribed texts, which hint at a quite different attitude to Roman power, and argues that the Aphrodisians were trying to find a balance between the illusion of freedom and the reality of imperial power. Overall, we can draw from this chapter a valuable lesson in how to use inscriptions, and the crucial importance of questioning their status as straightforward documents.

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J.-C. Decourt, *Inscriptions grecques de la France (IGF)*, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 38, Lyons 2004, xxxi+363 pp., 230 figs. Paperback. ISBN 2-903264-80-5/ISSN 0766-0510

Comme beaucoup de volumes des *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)* publiés à la fin du XIX^e siècle, le tome XIV (éd. G. Kaibel, 1890) finit par capituler devant l'épreuve du temps. Des sections entières en furent remplacées depuis lors, ne serait-ce qu'à penser aux excellentes *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* de L. Moretti, I–IV, 1968–1990, ou aux recueils consacrés aux inscriptions grecques de Naples, de Grande Grèce et de Sicile. Si les inscriptions de Sicile et d'Italie se taillaient la part du lion dans le tome XIV des *IG*, pour ce qui est du reste du monde occidental, ses documents épigraphiques y figuraient plutôt comme 'annexes' (*additis Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus*). Les inscriptions de Gaule ayant été confiées à A. Lebègue, c'est dans ce cadre que l'on vit naître le premier corpus d'inscriptions grecques de cette région. Plus récemment, plusieurs projets visant à le refaire furent engagés, pour être tout aussi vite abandonnés pour des raisons diverses. Ce n'est donc que maintenant que J.-C. Decourt nous offre ce volume tant attendu.

Contrairement au corpus de Lebègue, l'Auteur, obéissant aux critères d'un corpus 'national', inclut la Corse, mais exclut les inscriptions trouvées en Belgique, en Suisse, au Luxembourg et en Allemagne cishénane, soit à l'extérieur du territoire de la France contemporaine (p. IV; cf. la brève présentation dans le *Bulletin épigraphique* 2005, 626). Les monnaies, les timbres amphoriques, les lampes, les cachets d'oculistes, les bijoux et, dans une moindre mesure, les graffites sont exclus. Il en va de même pour les inscriptions gravées sur des monuments lapidaires importés, car 'ce corpus ne contient en effet en principe que les inscriptions en langue grecque ou bilingues trouvées sur le territoire français actuel' (p. VII). Decourt arrive finalement à un total de 169 inscriptions, dont un peu plus de deux tiers déjà connues des *IG* XIV, auxquelles s'ajoutent 56 documents épigraphiques non grecs (surtout latins ou gallo-grecs) ou faux, parfois considérés à tort comme des inscriptions grecques (p. 267–318).

Autre nouveauté par rapport au corpus de Lebègue: Decourt adapte à juste titre les règles du *CIL* et divise son ouvrage en cinq parties correspondant chacune à une province: la Narbonnaise, l'Aquitaine, la Lyonnaise, la Belgique (à comprendre la frange française de l'ancienne province *Belgica*, soit pas plus de trois numéros, 161–163) et la Corse. J'écris à juste titre, car en dépit de l'anachronisme auquel pourraient crier les puristes – on aurait en effet du mal à considérer le plomb de Pech Maho (deuxième tiers du V^e s. av. J.-C.) comme

provenant de la 'Narbonnaise' –, une telle division, consolidée d'ailleurs par le classement des inscriptions par départements actuels dans la cadre de chaque 'province', assure au lecteur l'avantage d'une orientation géographique rapide et commode. Comme on l'attendait, le Midi est le mieux représenté, autant par le nombre total (136 numéros pour la 'Narbonnaise') que par l'intérêt épigraphique de certains documents.

Tous les documents sont décrits en détail et, à moins qu'ils ne se soient égarés au fil du temps, illustrés par des photos de haute qualité. Là où cela ne peut plus être le cas, l'Auteur présente des documents tirés des archives qu'il a assidûment fréquentées (dessins, notes manuscrites, etc.). Les lemmes bibliographiques sont à la fois riches et précis, de même que les notes critiques, toujours complexes, mais jamais luxuriantes. Tous les textes grecs sont traduits; il n'en va pas de même pour les textes latins des bilingues. Quant aux commentaires, on ne peut que saluer les développements consacrés autant aux aspects révélés par les documents qu'à l'histoire des recherches. Qui plus est, des annexes tout aussi bienvenues (correspondances avec les publications antérieures, noms de lieux et de personnes, divinités et cultes, mots grecs et français, etc.) rendent cet ouvrage commodément consultable. Tout bien considéré, j'estime que ce nouveau corpus sera désormais un excellent instrument de travail.

Comme il est, semble-t-il, de plus en plus difficile de rendre parfait un ouvrage d'un tel genre et d'une telle complexité, on ne s'étonnera pas trop devant les quelques inexactitudes et omissions que pourrait découvrir quiconque y tient absolument. Je constate, par exemple, que le datif du nom *Λεύκων* est mal écrit à deux reprises au n° 4 (l. 1-2: *Λευκώνι*), alors qu'il est correctement reproduit au n° 20 (*Λεύκωνι*). Toujours au n° 4, dans le commentaire (p. 9), l'épiclèse d'Apollon médecin et guérisseur n'est pas 'Ioulios', mais bien Oulios. – N° 19: *Κράτης* au lieu de *Κρατῆς*, d'ailleurs correctement accentué au n° 93 ainsi que dans l'index des noms de personnes; toujours au n° 19, comm., *Συρίσκορ*, *Συρίσκα* au lieu de *Συρισκός*, *Συρισκά*. – N° 33: le datif *Πρειμιγενεία* (comm., p. 41) doit être accentué de la même manière dans le texte de l'inscription. – N° 76: *Ποσειδωνία* au lieu de *Ποσειδώνια* (en revanche, correctement écrit dans l'index). – N° 125: *Δαμῆς* au lieu de *Δῆμας*. – N° 133: *Φορ[τοῦνᾶτος]* au lieu de *Φορ[τούνᾶτος]*. – N° 136 (mosaïque, panneau 3): *Λευκάς* (comme plus bas, dans le comm.) au lieu de *Λεύκας*. – N° 163: *Ἡφαιστιώ[ν]ος* au lieu de *Ἡφαιστιώ[ν]ος*.

Pour le plomb de Pech Malo (n° 135), dont la bibliographie 'ne cesse de grossir',¹ il convient d'ajouter désormais les contributions brièvement analysées dans les derniers *Bulletins épigraphiques* par l'Auteur même et dans *SEG* XLVIII 1308 et L 1081. La bibliographie retenue pour le lemme de ce document insigne s'arrête vers 2000. On est pourtant un peu surpris – à moins que le manuscrit des *IGF* ne fût confié à l'impression autour de cette même date – de ne pas trouver la moindre référence à la note de Ju.G. Vinogradov (1998),² et, plus généralement, pour le commerce archaïque, à l'étude de J.-P. Wilson.³

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¹ J.-C. Decourt, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2005, 633.

² Y. Vinogradov, 'The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Region in the Light of Private Lead Letters'. Dans G.R. Tsatskhelidze (éd.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. Historical Interpretation of Archaeology* (Stuttgart 1998), 166–70.

³ J.P. Wilson, 'The "Illiterate Trader"?'. *BICS* 42 (1997–98), 29–56.

S.L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts. A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT/London 2006, xvi+316 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-300-11097-9/13: 978-0-300-11097-5

Dyson's account of the development of classical archaeology in the 19th and 20th centuries takes us from the amateur to the professional (before both terms became tainted), or, since he demonstrates that such distinctions are not so clear cut, from the avocational to the academic, in seven chapters – 'The Protohistory of Classical Archaeology', 'The Foundations of Classical Archaeology', 'The Opening of Greece', 'Nationalism and National Traditions Before the Great War', 'The Emergence of the Great Museums in Europe and America', 'Political Ideology and Colonial Opportunism During the Interwar Period', and 'After World War II: Capitalism, Corporatism, and Marxism' – and a brief 'Afterword'. In this journey, starting from Winckelmann, the Grand Tourists and the Society of Dilettanti, due account is paid to cultural, social, institutional and political developments (international, national and local), and antiquarians, patrons and 'Grand amateurs' (p. 61) are rescued from undue opprobrium and derision (they were collectors of large bodies of data, begetters of field archaeology, preservers of objects, unlikely popularisers, and prominent in some spheres, such as Romano-British archaeology, until the end of the period examined in this book). D. admits that more should be said about the Russo-Soviet tradition, naming Rostovtzeff, and accepts that he is hindered by his own linguistic shortcomings; and Scandinavian and Iberian classical archaeology rate barely a mention. Otherwise, he brings together much recent work about the major 'Western' European players to produce a coherent and concise account, in which he says more than one might expect about the role of women in the discipline and less about big men and big digs.

'The Foundations...' begins with France and the archaeological ambitions of Napoleon I and the background to them, then journeys forth through French military and scholarly activity in Egypt, Rome and North Africa between the 1790s and 1880s, but its setting is really Italy. Napoleon I imprisoned and exiled popes, Napoleon III had troops in Rome to protect them; both associated their dynasty with ancient (imperial) Rome and encouraged archaeology. Meanwhile, as local antiquarian societies flourished in France and elsewhere, German professors were formalising archaeological study.

'The Opening of Greece' describes the chaos attending the creation of a Greek state and the further chaos of its early years. The young imported Wittelsbach king came from a family interested in classical archaeology and brought a German archaeologist with him, just as he brought other German advisers; none of them was popular with the locals and more convulsions forced all of them out (1843), the king not until 1862. If the Germans were first through the door, the French followed (especially under Napoleon III), whilst the locals increased and formalised their own activities. In the new Greece and newer Italy archaeological practice was deeply affected by national identification with ancient predecessors: 'The complex negotiations and severe restrictions faced by the Germans as they attempted to excavate Olympia (the first "big dig") were a reflection of this new Hellenic archaeological reality' whereas in Italy 'the major archaeological organization... was dominated by foreigners, and the development of a strong indigenous archaeological service was not possible in the waning days of the Papal States', but 'after unification the Italian government reacted by banning all foreign excavations... [so] restrictive Greece rather than prohibitive Italy

became the scene of most European and American excavation in the days when archaeology was emerging as a professional field' (p. 75). The consequence was that classical archaeology became overwhelmingly Hellenic, while Italy risked (or engendered?) a 'disciplinary parochialism' that would be easy prey to the national propagandising of the centralising bureaucratic state (necessary, to forge the new, unified if not united Italy) that had brought this situation about. Relations were acrimonious between Piedmontese bureaucrats of a colonialist cast of mind dominant under the new regime (*cf.* Czech officials in inter-war Slovakia and Ruthenia) and the aristocratic ambience of the Two Sicilies (roughly Magna Grecia), with a long and distinguished antiquarian tradition and a strong sense of history. Later came Italian archaeological involvement in Crete on the back of political developments, and in 'Libya', with sponsorship from the Foreign Ministry, in advance of them (delusions of a new Roman empire; alas, the French already had Carthage); the Italians exported their policy of archaeological autarky to their new colonies (including the Dodecanese).

After 1870 the French (*savants*) were down, and the Germans, Italians and Americans (after their war between the states) were on the up (the Archaeological Institute of America was founded in 1879, initially by philhellene Brahmins as a Boston savant society, and the American School at Athens soon after). France took German classical scholarship (*Wissenschaften*) more seriously after its military humiliation, and Camille Jullian was sent to sit at the feet of Theodor Mommsen. A British School was established in Athens in 1886, but England's universities showed little enthusiasm for teaching classical archaeology or for the emergent big dig, and deep suspicion of Germanic research universities. Romano-British studies remained largely in the hands of amateurs, often with high standards of excavation (Pitt-Rivers) and publication, until the advent of Haverfield, a Mommsen disciple, at Oxford and his incursion into their territory at Hadrian's Wall. (D. perhaps neglects the role of the Disney professorship at Cambridge.)

Great museums were established and existing museums enriched their collections, untroubled by modern restrictions, except for Greek export controls: into the 20th century Ottoman territory, including western Anatolia, could readily substitute for Greece as a source of classical artefacts. The institutions themselves retreated towards elitist and aesthetic rather than educational values, in collection as well as display – Greek was better than Roman, ancient copies were relegated, casts were out, restorations down, labelling exiguous (now we have gone too far in the other direction: dumbing down abetted by technological gimmickry). But what goes around comes around; thus, the focus on images and iconography in the 19th-century study of vases has now returned, after the probably necessary Beazleyite concentration on ordering principles and methodologies (pp. 163–67, with an aside linking early Beazley and Aubrey Beardsley!).

World wars cut short or disrupted careers and institutions, though many archaeologists performed useful service to their states as translators, intelligence agents, etc. France would pursue, in part through archaeology, its civilising mission inter-wars in North Africa and the Levant, and indulge in tit-for-tat at the University of Strasbourg, which had been used after 1871 as a showpiece of Teutonic scholarship. Mussolini sponsored massive excavations in Libya as well as in Rome and Ostia, and combined this with co-ordinated visual manipulation through heavy restoration, new sub-classical monumental construction, clearances to enhance the settings of important monuments, the staging of exhibitions, the opening of new museums, foundation of journals, etc. – propaganda for his new Roman empire in physical

form. He did not lack for professional collaborators and plaudits in Italy or abroad. The Greeks, in their megalomaniac *megali* delusion of re-creating a Byzantine empire, set off on a similar path; military disaster turned this rapidly to massive American excavations in Athens and Olynthos: they had the money and 'the chance to explore the roots of [their] own political system' (p. 189), and to play catch-up on the other Western powers. Britain muddled through, in keeping with national self-definition, making significant impact with limited resources – Perachora, Naukratis (continuing), Al Mina, the importance of Western Greeks in general (Payne, Blakeway and the Anglo-Australian Dunbabin, with a particular view of links between mother-city/land and colony), etc. Romano-British archaeology advanced under Wheeler and others.

Germany was active in Greece during the 1920s; excavations at Olympia were resumed as part of the build-up to the Berlin Olympics, and continued as late as 1943 under a devotee of National Socialism. Many scholars and institutions were far from opposed to the new order; others, less close, were pragmatists; several killed themselves in 1945 out fear of the future, not necessarily from shame or guilt. Those who were Jewish, or partly so, found exile the only viable option. Classical archaeology enjoyed the private patronage of Hitler (and of Wilhelm II) and, a fixation with the purity of the Dorians apart, suffered less from the regime's Aryan, 'volkish' obsessions than might be supposed. Hitler and his architect Speer shared neo-classical tastes.

Post-war, rehabilitation of (most of) those identified with discredited regimes, the fate of ex-enemy facilities Rome, the advent of aerial photography and of underwater archaeology are overshadowed by American money invested in big digs (such as the Athenian Agora), prone to neglect everyday buildings and material, unfashionable periods, hinterlands and biological evidence, conducted with a brashness befitting the latest heir of Greece and Rome but without the former support of the art museums: in changing political circumstances, excavated objects could no longer be exported to the United States, so the museums (and private collectors) opened their wallets on the antiquities markets, sometimes buying from existing private collections, oft times buying in a grey market with consequences that have now, in a new era of puritanism, come back to bite them. Romano-British archaeology concentrated on military sites and remained diffuse and largely in non-professional hands; its leading figure, Richmond, understood this balance, but it died with him in the 1960s.

D. seems in several minds about titles and their use (Sir Hans Sloane – p. 136, not mentioned in the index – but plain Stratford Canning; William Hamilton, Lord Hamilton and Lord William Hamilton for Sir William), and has occasional trouble with terminology (it should be Jacobite not 'Stuart' – p. 215; why Istanbul in the 19th century?; and 'Ferdinand II, king of the Bourbons!'), a view of the European Union (its current label) through rose-tinted spectacles, possible only from someone who has not lived within it (his phrase 'new European order' – p. 251 – is more apposite), and a belief that the Greek colonels were overthrown in 1974 (they crumbled, like many military regimes, through abject strategic and military incompetence – Cyprus). In no respectable publication should one have to put up with the term 'Brits' (p. 250). Harvard-style citations appearing as endnotes are possibly one of the least convenient forms of referencing.

These are rather insubstantial niggles. D.'s claim that this 'is a very personal history' of the subject (p. xiii) has not caused his personality or personal judgments to obtrude or intrude (nowadays a very becoming modesty). He has produced an admirably cogent account

of service to all seeking a readable overview of the field. Wisely, he has avoided much of the internal politics (although see p. 204) and inter-disciplinary clashes which often bulk too large in histories of disciplines or academic institutions. Wisely too, the narrative ends in the 1970s, D. not wishing to comment on his contemporaries and having written already about the problems of contemporary classical archaeology.¹ I shall simply note the rum collection of patrons the discipline has enjoyed: French and German emperors, Italian and German dictators; and that General Metaxas is given his due.

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James Hargrave

A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Acts From an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 31, Brill, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2002, xx+274 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-11753-9/ISSN 0169-9652

Panopolis, Egyptian Akhmim or Shmin, is a particularly interesting town. It is known to Egyptologists as an important religious centre, especially for the worship of Min, to Classicists as the home town of Nonnos, author of a huge and puzzling late antique epic on Dionysos, and to Copticists as the closest urban centre to the monastery of Shenoute, perhaps the most important of the early Coptic monastic fathers. Yet, rather than being a site from which we can understand the various transformations in Egyptian society from the time of Alexander to the arrival of the Arabs (though it would be a mistake to think that the history of Akhmim comes to an end in the 7th century AD and various of the contributions allude to the importance of the region during the Arab period), Panopolis presents almost insuperable difficulties to the scholar. In large part this is due to the absence of a modern archaeological record for the city and related regions. The early explorations of the site were very early indeed and very poorly documented. Much of the artefactual and documentary material has come to modern attention through the antiquities market, or from wandering scholars. The result is that many of the find-spots of inscriptions and documents are imprecise in the extreme (sellers to the market frequently obfuscated to prevent archaeological excavations closing down their supply route). Further, material has been dispersed across the museums and libraries of Europe, Egypt and America, and it is difficult to gain access to that material and, in many cases, to confidently trace that material back to the Panopolite. Study of material 'in context' is extremely difficult when establishing that context is so laborious and often impossible with any great certainty, as several of the contributions to this volume attest. The material itself, complex and fascinating in its detail, opens very small, often extremely particular, and chronologically limited windows on the history of the town and region. Van der Vliet, perhaps unwisely, raises the spectre of Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*,¹ a work often cited fondly by papyrologists as a standard which they wish to attain, but comparison throws into relief the limitations of this study. Although van der Vliet merely wishes to use *Montaillou* to support a claim that local history is respectable (and does anyone now

¹ *Ancient Marbles to American Shores* (Philadelphia 1998).

¹ E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris 1975).

doubt this?), the richness of description, the vivid detail with which the social and economic life of the people of Montaillou could be reconstructed, and, of course, the drama of the various incidents related, has no match in this collection. Further, it is difficult to see how in the present state of scholarship, Panopolis could allow the writing of an ancient *Montaillou*.

Nevertheless, contributors and editors are not attempting such a bold project and the parameters of the volume are much more realistic. Instead, these papers form an introduction to the study of Panopolis. Many of the papers are broadly methodological or devoted to solving small but crucial issues to allow the formation of dossiers of information: Chaveau, Criscuolo, Depauw, Orlandi and Thissen. Others work with specific monuments or collections to draw out some of the problems without being able to draw broader conclusion as to the nature of Panopolite society: Blasius, Grossman, Helderma, Derchain-Urtel. Bagnall attempts a more general reconstruction of Panopolite society and economy in the 3rd century AD (mostly), but is hampered by the difficulties and poverty of the material and seems very conscious of pushing that material (especially when using onomastics) to the very limits of plausible interpretation. Still, we get little of use for the Roman period before AD 300.

It is only in the material for the 4th and 5th centuries AD that have a particular conjunction of sources which, in the present state of research, will demand the attention of a non-specialist audience. For the period *ca.* AD 330–*ca.* AD 460, we have literary, papyrological and some art-historical material which provides evidence for the transition from pagan to Christian Egypt. Van Minnen, studying the archive of Ammon, argues that a locally powerful pagan family, closely connected into the power networks of pagan society, became a locally powerful late antique family, integrated into the different power networks of the early Christian empire. This would seem astonishing in its blandness where it not that the majority of historians of late antiquity argue that families did not accomplish that transition. McNally shows that a silk depicting Mary used various pagan motifs, and in so doing produced a unique iconography that was not to be developed in later depictions of the Mother of God. Emmel discusses the crypto-pagans of the Shenoudic corpus, arguing that the 'struggle' with the 'pagans' was probably limited to the early 5th century AD, and probably rather less dramatic than Shenoute would have us believe, a view somewhat supported by Behlmer's discussion of Shenoute's metaphoric use of 'city'. Smith also argues that 'Egyptian' religion was perhaps rather less lively in the 5th century than others have argued. In combination, these provide a fascinating, if somewhat fragmentary insight into the triumph of Christianity, making it rather less violent and abrupt and transforming than is assumed in traditional historiography. Mertens contributes to this picture with a study of the unjustly obscure Zosimus of Panopolis and the traditions of alchemy.

There is more to come from Panopolis. What most impresses throughout this collection is the height of the scholarly mountains which the contributors are scaling: the difficulties of amassing and contextualising the material, the barriers to understanding. Cracking the potential of the site will be no easy task.

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Richard Alston

K. Ehling, D. Pohl and M.H. Sayar, *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebener Kilikien*, edited by M. Meyer and R. Ziegler, Asia Minor Studien 53, Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte

Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Dr Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn 2004, xx+272 pp., 1 map, 14 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-7749-3296-4

Ziel der in diesem Band gesammelten Beiträge von vier Autoren ist die Untersuchung von religiösen Akkulturationsprozessen, welche eine 'ursprünglich luwische' Kulturlandschaft infolge ihrer 'Eingliederung in griechischsprachige Monarchien bzw. in das Imperium Romanum' (S. VII) durchlaufen habe. Dieser Wandel soll anhand der Münzprägung und der Inschriften aufgezeigt werden. Die von städtischen Behörden überwachten Münzprägungen reflektieren nach Meinung der Autoren 'die religiöse Einstellung und Sicht' (S. 1) der stärker von der griechischen Kultur geprägten städtischen Honoratioren, während die großenteils im Umland gefundenen Inschriften Auskunft über die von der Landbevölkerung bevorzugten Kulte bieten. Der Schwerpunkt der Untersuchungen liegt eindeutig auf der reichhaltigen Münzprägung. In ihr spiegeln sich nach Meinung der Autoren unterschiedliche Akkulturationsformen, nämlich Akkomodation, Adaption, Assimilation, Modifikation und Synthese, denen Persistenz als Beharren auf eigenen Traditionen gegenübersteht. Da 'das auf den städtischen Münzen wiedergegebene Repertoire an abgebildeten Gottheiten... eine – oftmals erstaunlich kleine – Auswahl der Kulte' (S. 3) einer Stadt präsentiert, zudem bisweilen nicht einmal die Hauptgottheit berücksichtigt, ist von einer gezielten Selektion auszugehen.

Auf einen knappen Überblick über die Geschichte der Landschaft (S. 7–33) folgt zunächst eine detaillierte Untersuchung zu den Münzprägungen der hellenistischen Zeit (S. 35–125). Es werden die seit dem Seleukidenherrscher Antiochos IV. einsetzenden Emissionen von Adana, Mopsuestia, Aigeai, Kastabala-Hierapolis und Rhosos sowie jene von Tarsos, Mallos und Soloi einschließlich der von letztgenannten Orten bereits seit achämenidischer Zeit geprägten Münzen und die Reichsprägungen hellenistischer Herrscher in jenen Städten berücksichtigt. Die Prägungen von Tarsos, Mallos und Soloi unter achämenidischer Herrschaft zeigen eine Mischung von griechischen, anatolisch-luwischen und persischen Bildmotiven; Tarsos verwendet zudem aramäische Legenden. Mit dem Beginn der Feldherren- und Satrapenprägungen im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. verschiebt sich das Gewicht zugunsten griechischer Ikonographie, möglicherweise im Hinblick auf griechische Söldner als Zielgruppe der Emissionen. Von der Eroberung der Landschaft durch Alexander den Großen bis zu Antiochos IV. fand Münzprägung im Ebenen Kilikien nur in königlichem Auftrag und mit rein griechischen Bildmotiven statt, und diese dominierten zunächst auch die im 2. Jh. v. Chr. wieder auflebenden städtischen Prägungen – Indiz für deren Selbstverständnis als hellenische Poleis. Der bereits in achämenidischer Zeit wie Zeus dargestellte Gott Baal Tars verliert jetzt z.B. seine nichtgriechischen Attribute. Aus einer Modifikation eines griechischen Götterbildes wird eine Adaption.

Aber sehr bald erfolgt scheinbar ein Rückgriff auf einheimische Gottesvorstellungen. So taucht in Tarsos der hethitisch-luwische Gott Sandan auf den Münzen auf. Da es sich dabei um eine ikonographisch nicht auf ältere Vorlagen zurückführbare Darstellung handelt und der Gott bisweilen auch in griechischer Nacktheit dargestellt wird, erscheint die Charakterisierung der Wahl dieses Bildmotivs als 'Persistenz' (S. 93.208) problematisch. Ob sich dabei die religiösen Vorstellungen des nichtgriechischen Bevölkerungsteils der bekanntermaßen heterogenen Einwohnerschaft der Stadt Bahn brachen, wird zu Recht offen gelassen.

Eine fast gleichgewichtige Synthese griechischer und einheimisch-anatolischer Komponenten zeigen Name und Ikonographie der Athena Magarsia von Mallos. Die Tatsache, daß ihr

Bild zunächst auf seleukidischen Reichsprägungen und erst dann auf lokalen Emissionen von Mallos erscheint, weist wohl darauf hin, daß die hellenistischen Herrscher einen derartigen Rückgriff auf einheimische Gottesvorstellungen keineswegs als Widerstand gegen einen Hellenisierungsprozeß, sondern als ruhmvollen Anciennitätsbeweis der Polis verstanden haben. Das Bild der Göttin Perasia ist auf die lokalen Münzen von Kastabala-Hierapolis beschränkt. Zwar wurde die luwische Namenswurzel dieser anatolischen Muttergöttin beibehalten, aber die bildliche Darstellung ist rein griechisch. Da auch die Namensform hellenisiert ist, scheint es auch in diesem Falle zweifelhaft, ob man von 'Persistenz' sprechen kann. Vielmehr scheint reine Adaption vorzuliegen, wie sie sich auch in der Beibehaltung des griechischen Ortsnamens äußert. Hierapolis wollte mitsamt seinem Kult 'hellenisch' sein. In Rhosos erscheint auf erst im 1. Jh. v. Chr. geprägten, relativ wenigen Münzen eine – trotz einiger griechischer Zutaten – ikonographisch deutlich als Baal erkennbare, nicht namentlich bezeichnete Gottheit. Hingegen hatte die Stadt im 2. Jh. v. Chr., als sie noch den dynastischen Namen Seleukeia trug, rein griechische Motive, z.B. eine Zeus-Darstellung, auf ihren Münzen verwendet. Unklar ist jedoch, ob die Baal-Figur eine ursprünglich einheimische Gottheit wiedergab oder eine künstliche, Altertümlichkeit fingierende Neuschöpfung war. Erneut ist es mithin problematisch, von 'Persistenz' (S. 124.210) zu sprechen, zumal unbekannt ist, welche Rolle der Gott überhaupt unter den Kulturen der Polis spielte.

Wenn insgesamt nur ein Drittel der im 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. im Ebenen Kilikien Münzen prägenden Poleis in mehr oder weniger deutlicher Form auf 'alte' Kulte anspielt, so ist dies nicht gerade ein überwältigendes Indiz für ein Festhalten an 'anatolischen' Traditionen. Berücksichtigt man zudem, mit welcher Intensität kilikische Poleis sich gleichzeitig um den Nachweis argivischer bzw. allgemein griechischer Abstammung zum Beweis ihres Alters und ihrer ruhmvollen Vergangenheit bemühten (Herodot 5. 22. 2, Thukydides 2. 99. 3, Arrian 2. 5. 9, Livy 35. 56. 7), so ist man durchaus versucht, die von den Autoren dieses Bandes bestrittene 'konsequent zu verfolgende Hellenisierung' in den Vordergrund zu rücken.

Wie diese in der Kaiserzeit, insbesondere seit Hadrian, sich noch verstärkt, wird im zweiten Teil des Bandes deutlich (S. 126–203). In der Kaiserzeit wird selbst ein Gott wie der tarsische Sandan bisweilen zu einer griechischen Gottheit (Titan bzw. Herakles) umgedeutet. Daß jetzt auch römischer Einfluß in Gestalt des Kaiserkultes, des von den römischen Truppen verehrten Mithras und der wachsenden Bedeutung der von römischen Herrschern begünstigten Isis und Serapis sich geltend macht, überrascht nicht. Es ist eher bemerkenswert, daß auch im 3. Jh. n. Chr. nicht etwa ein verstärkter Rückgriff auf einheimische Kulte, sondern im Gegenteil ein zunehmender Bedeutungsverlust derselben zu verzeichnen ist. Ferner ist es zwar von Interesse, daß die Inschriften aus dem städtischen Bereich die Verbindung römischer Kaiser mit hellenisierten einheimischen Wetter-, Berg-, Fluß-, Fruchtbarkeits- und Erntegottheiten zeigen, diejenigen des Landgebietes hingegen nicht. Aber es scheint zweifelhaft, ob man dies darauf zurückführen sollte, daß angeblich 'die Kontakte zum Kaiserhaus und die Verleihung von Privilegien... eine Angelegenheit der Städte (waren), die in erster Linie der städtischen Bevölkerung Vorteile brachten, aber nicht denjenigen, die auf dem Lande die Felder bestellten' (S. 219). Damit kontrastiert die Feststellung (ebenda), daß 'die einheimischen Götter...ausschließlich von den Dedikanten verehrt (wurden), die keine einheimischen..., sondern entweder griechische oder römische Namen tragen'. Auf dem Land lebten nicht nur Landarbeiter, sondern auch wohlhabende Grundbesitzer, und sie waren im Wesentlichen identisch mit den städtischen Honoratioren, welche den Kaiserkult pflegten

und ihren agrarisch fundierten Wohlstand mit der Politik der römischen Herrscher in Verbindung brachten. Die soziale Komponente überzeugt auch in einem weiteren Fall nicht als Erklärungsmodell: Wenn in Anazarbos die in *städtischen* Inschriften häufig bezeugte Aphrodite Kassalitis im Münzprägeprogramm der Polis zu fehlen scheint, so muß dies nicht bedeuten, daß 'Teile der städtischen Bevölkerung einheimische Kulte pflegten, die bei der Oberschicht... nicht in demselben Maße Anerkennung fanden' (S. 214). Wie erwähnt, fehlen selbst die Hauptgottheiten von Poleis bisweilen in deren Münzprägung.

Auf eine ausführliche Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse (S. 206–19) folgen ein Appendix mit 84 Inschrifttexten, ein Namens-Index und 14 Tafeln mit Abbildungen. Irritierend ist die geringe Zahl von Münzabbildungen in einem Buch, dessen Argumentation im Wesentlichen auf dieser Quellengattung beruht. Viele im Verlauf des Textes vorgenommenen Vergleiche können daher vom Leser nicht nachvollzogen werden. Störend ist ferner die exzessive Redundanz der Argumentation. Der Wert dieses Buches liegt in den zahlreichen Details, die zu den Kulturen und Gottheiten des Ebenen Kilikien sowie vor allem zu ihrer Ikonographie geboten werden. Hingegen wirkt die subtile Differenzierung der Akkulturationsphänomene bei ihrer Anwendung auf das nicht immer sehr aussagekräftige Material oft gekünstelt.

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F. Kolb

E. Errington and V.S. Curtis, with contributions by J. Cribb, J.-M. Lafont, St J Simpson and H. Wang, edited by E. Errington, *From Persopolis to the Punjab. Exploring Ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan*, The British Museum Press, London 2007, xx+268 pp., 193 figs. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-1165-0

General books on Persia are becoming as common as those on the Classical world, but this is something special. One emphasis is on the history of exploration, the travellers and collectors, with the decipherment of scripts; then 'constructing the past' – the definition of empires and dynasties, down to Sasanian, with special emphasis on the evidence of coinage, which is important where the evidence of sites can be vague. This is the work of the two expert authors, carefully and fully illustrated, and an invaluable and detailed introduction for any student, as well as reference point for scholars. Then there are essays by others. Jean-Marie Lafont on French and Italian officers in Persia and the Punjab, 1816–46; St John Simpson on early discoveries in Iran, Bushire and beyond; the British and 19th-century Persian archaeology by Vesta Curtis; and a detailed account of the Kushan through their coinage by Joe Cribb (to whom the book is dedicated); then Elizabeth Errington on Gandhara exploration, and Helen Wang on Aurel Stein. This is going to be an important work of reference and authority for all scholars of Iran's past who look beyond the architecture of Persepolis.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

T.L. Evans, *Quantitative Identities. A Statistical Summary and Analysis of Iron Age Cemeteries in North-Eastern France 600–130 BC*, BAR International Series 1226, Archaeopress, Oxford 2004, vi+291 pp., illustrations and CD. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-591-3

Le Travail de Thomas Evans se range dans la droite ligne de la nouvelle archéologie britannique et propose une nouvelle voie d'étude pour cerner les populations celtiques du quart nord-est de la France dans une fourchette chronologique qui correspond à celui des nécropoles plates à inhumation de la Champagne.

Il est extrêmement méritant pour l'auteur de cette monographie de s'attaquer à un tel sujet tant le domaine est vaste et documenté de manière très diversifiée selon les secteurs concernés. A ce premier point on peut ajouter celui du choix d'avoir à travailler sur des sources écrites presque exclusivement limitées -zone géographique concernée oblige- à une langue qui n'est pas celle maternelle de l'auteur. La démonstration conduite se déroule sur 291 pages (appendices compris) et s'accompagne d'un CD regroupant l'ensemble des illustrations de l'ouvrage avec pour avantage d'en favoriser la lecture par l'ajout bienvenu de la couleur.

Dès le début de l'introduction, on note un décalage réel entre la zone géographique annoncée par le titre et celle effectivement traitée dans le développement. On s'aperçoit très vite que ne sont pris en compte que de certains départements d'Ile-de-France (Seine et Marne), ceux de la région Champagne-Ardenne (Ardennes, Aube, Marne, Haute-Marne), d'autres du nord de la Bourgogne (Côte-d'Or, Yonne) et de la Picardie (Aisne, Oise). On ne peut que s'étonner de l'absence des secteurs lorrain et alsacien auxquels on était en droit de s'attendre à l'annonce du titre. L'auteur lui-même élimine cette contradiction systématiquement pour définir l'espace géographique plus restreint qu'il étudie en utilisant l'appellation: haut bassin de la Seine ('Upper Seine Basin').

L'auteur précise que sur le plan méthodologique son raisonnement ne peut s'appliquer que sur la base de nécropoles bien documentées. Il entend ici correctement publiées, exploitables et il précise que son dépouillement s'arrête à l'année 1997. Toutes celles issues des recherches de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle ont donc été éliminées pour les raisons évoquées ci-dessus. On s'étonne que l'auteur n'ait pas cherché à avoir accès à certaines archives de province, certes inédites mais souvent évoquées dans la littérature, comme les albums Bérard. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le travail présenté repose sur un ensemble de 80 sites, soit 2034 tombes réparties dans une période couvrant 470 ans et selon la géographie suivante: Aisne (4 nécropoles), Aube (9), Côte-d'Or (14 dont une majorité de tumulus), Haute-Marne (8), Marne (25), Oise (3), Seine et Marne (6), Yonne (8). La différence s'explique par la non prise en compte pour manque de représentativité des sites de moins de 10 sépultures.

L'auteur de ne s'appesantit pas sur les conséquences possibles des carences géographiques liées à ses choix ni ne discute les déterminations des auteurs. Pourtant ces points peuvent jouer sur les analyses chrono-spaciales de l'évolution des groupes.

Une fois ces remarques liminaires établies et connus les principes cadrant l'étude, on peut donc aborder la démonstration de l'auteur sans plus se poser la question de la représentativité du panel qui repose donc les informations fournies par des fouilles modernes. C'est donc avec une rigueur mathématique que l'auteur poursuit et expose la logique de son raisonnement dont la charpente est constituée par la valeur statistique des occurrences selon lesquelles les informations sur les types de nécropoles (tumulaires, à enclos ou ouvertes), la position des défunts, celles des objets personnels unis à celle du corps ou celles des offrandes se répètent ou varient en fonction du genre de la personne, des statuts sociaux avec pour toile de fond la détermination des variations régionales. L'auteur rend compte de ces dernières selon le biais d'une analyse fondée sur sa vision chronologique mise en parallèles avec les systèmes traditionnels. Si l'on se réfère au tableau présenté page 241, on peut constater

qu'elle constitue pour une très large part un aménagement limité de celle proposée par Hatt et Roualet.

Les conclusions de l'auteur:

On retiendra que ce travail est établi sur la base d'une sélection de tombes publiées comprises chronologiquement entre le Hallstatt final et La Tène moyenne. Dans cet ensemble funéraire, l'un des points clés est la mise en évidence d'interrelations réelles entre les groupes régionaux, le genre des individus, leur statut social. Certains schémas culturels aboutissent même à mettre en évidence des aspects identitaires et à donner une idée générale des interactions sociales. Des aspects fondamentaux ont pu trouver une réponse:

- Les types d'objets et leurs emplacements dans la tombe sont le reflet de facteurs de genre et de statut social. Il en découle des regroupements communautaires.
- Les aspects relationnels entre les communautés varient dans le temps en fonction des genres et du statut des groupes.

Les résultats ont permis de confirmer la plupart des théories existantes, de développer de nouvelles hypothèses sur la nature des interactions et de donner des premières indications sur le concept d'identité? On peut les résumer en chronologie de la manière suivante:

- Le haut bassin de la Seine est caractérisé, au Hallstatt final, par ce qui apparaît être un système d'échange de prestige dont le noyau serait localisé plus au sud-est. Le secteur sud de la Haute-Marne se rapproche de ce premier groupe par la nature des objets déposés et leur emplacement dans la tombe. Les différences de niveau social sont bien illustrées par les tombes féminines et la notion de prestige est aussi perçue par le dépôt des panoplies militaires. Les écarts entre les niveaux semblent moins prononcés que les séquences chronologiques suivantes.
- La phase de transition (fin du Hallstatt final) illustre l'association évidente entre objets de prestige et des sites plus septentrionaux. Le groupe Haut-Marnais pourrait être un nouveau foyer. L'examen général laisserait supposer un éparpillement du pouvoir individuel. Les nécropoles de la zone nord peuvent s'expliquer comme un rayonnement du foyer Haut-Marnais. La différenciation sociale apparaît alors plus clairement par la répartition des mobiliers masculins et féminins. On note un accroissement du prestige et de la proportion des tombes d'élites. Ceci pourrait indiquer l'apparition d'une nouvelle classe ou la possibilité d'acquisition du statut d'élite à d'autres membres de la communauté.
- La Tène ancienne I est la période où la population est la plus nombreuse. On observe un déplacement vers le nord du noyau culturel (vallées de l'Aisne et de la Vesle). Les deux rivières constituant un interface entre populations tournées vers l'Atlantique (Champagne) et celles tournées vers la Méditerranée (Bourgogne, Vallée du Rhône). On note pendant cette phase une expansion d'une partie de la population et de son accès aux objets de prestige social et/ou au prestige social. La fréquence des torques et des panoplies décroît pendant cette phase.
- La Tène ancienne II est nettement marquée par une réduction du nombre de nécropoles et donc de la population. On ne peut trouver de réel foyer bien que l'on note une relative continuité dans les rites. On note une chute du dépôt rassemblant vases et offrandes animales dans les tombes féminines et un effet inverse dans celles masculines. Les modifications sont peu significatives et la continuité des tendances observées laisse à penser que la dépopulation relève plutôt de causes internes (sanitaire?). La dépopulation du début

du IV^e siècle (début de cette période) ne serait pas due à la migration vers l'Italie mais à un problème social interne.

- Pendant La Tène ancienne III le nombre des cimetières s'accroît ainsi que le niveau social des défunts. Par contre le nombre de tombes est en décroissance. Ceci traduit une division de la société et l'émergence de petites communautés. On note des disparités importantes entre les rites. On ne peut déceler aucun foyer principal mais plutôt trois variantes régionales: la première sur la frontière Marne-Ardenne, la seconde au centre de l'Aube, la troisième vers la confluence Seine-Yonne. Les sériations établies semblent déterminer une concurrence entre les groupes en vue de l'affermissement d'un prestige dominant. Pendant cette phase on observe une chute des objets à caractère social dans les tombes masculines et une représentation égalitaire de la répartition hommes/femmes.
- La période de La Tène moyenne montre à nouveau l'accroissement des mobiliers de prestige dans les tombes masculines. Leur fréquence est tout aussi significative que celle fournie par les torques dans les tombes féminines. Les mêmes remarques s'appliquent au plan décoratif. L'étude suggère une diminution du statut social des femmes associées aux élites. On note par groupe régionaux un accès relativement égal aux objets de prestige dans la zone d'influence des communautés dominantes. Les changements les plus spectaculaires peuvent être observés dans l'Oise où l'incinération est largement réintroduite.

Ce travail pose donc un nouveau regard sur l'occupation humaine et certaines règles sociales définies par des gestes funéraires et/ou des compositions d'offrandes dans le haut bassin de la Seine entre le Hallstatt final et La Tène moyenne.

Musée d'Épernay

Jean-Jacques Charpy

I. Florov and N. Florov, *The 3000-Year-Old Hat. New Connections with Old Europe: The Thracian-Phrygian World*, Golden Vine Publishers, Vancouver 2001, 303 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-9688487-0-2

This book is not standard academic reading but presents interesting discussions on ancient south-eastern Europe and Anatolia; its emphasis is mainly on Thrace. Chapter 1 is introductory and deals with some exciting prehistoric discoveries in Bulgaria, such as the Chalcolithic necropolis at Varna which has yielded the world's largest collection of golden grave-goods of the 5th millennium BC. In addition, the chapter presents some important archaeological discoveries from later periods, such as the Late Bronze Age golden treasure from Valchitran and the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic silver hoard from Rogozen. The authors discuss the nature of the totalitarian scholarship during the period of the communist dictatorship when Bulgaria was a Soviet satellite. This particular part will be of interest to Western readers, since few of them are well aware of the true picture during the totalitarian period in Eastern Europe. Also, the chapter deals with the historical geography and the natural resources of ancient Thrace and parts of Anatolia, besides providing historical notes and an overview on some important archaeological discoveries in these regions.

Chapter 2 introduces a number of the tribes which inhabited both Thrace and Anatolia during the 1st millennium BC. They are listed alphabetically, with brief historical comments provided on each. In Chapter 3, the religious beliefs of the ancient Thracians are discussed, compared with Greek religion and placed in an even wider comparative context. A number

of mythological personages related to Thrace are presented, as well as various accounts of Thracian rituals and cults. Chapter 4 is a discussion of the cult of the Great Goddess in Thrace, Phrygia and elsewhere throughout the ancient world. As befits the title of the work, Chapter 5 is a study of the distribution of the Phrygian hat during antiquity and its modern successors and replicas. Chapter 6 presents comments on various historical developments in south-eastern Europe and Anatolia during the ancient period and the Middle Ages, exploring the interactions between different ethnic groups. Special attention is paid to Christianity, particularly the teaching Arian and its relationship to the Goths who invaded and settled the region during late antiquity. Chapter 7 provides an historical overview of Greek colonisation of the western Pontic coast. The alphabetical list of selected Greek colonies and Thracian settlements is very useful. In Chapter 8 the history of the Lower Danube during the Imperial age is discussed and a list provided of selected Roman towns in Moesia. The bibliography at the end of the book lists selected titles on the region's history and religion.

The authors deal with a great variety of different scholarly topics on regional history and religions, many of them unknown to Western audiences. This book is designed for a general readership, but it will be of interest not just to them but to academic specialists too.

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Nikola Theodossiev

A. Frascchetti, *The Foundation of Rome*, translated from the Italian by M. Hill and K. Windle, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2005, xiv+178 pp. Paperback. ISBN 0-7486-2121-0

Now that we possess one more book called 'The Foundation of Rome' one might think that the author would follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and give the usual account: the killing of Remus, the death of Romulus, and so on. There are questions which have long been standard and are, alas, still insoluble. Certainly it places Frascchetti before an old and contradictory problem: the conflict between the evidence of the literary tradition and the data of archaeological excavation. The method used by the modern scholars in compiling an account of Rome's early history is very 'simple': to compare the invariable – from the time of Louis de Beaufort – and comment over and over again on the traditional story with new archaeological finds.

But it seems that archaeological evidence cannot shake the faith of true believers or resolve the argument with the hypercritics: can we find the pavilion where Numa had a heart-to-heart talk with Egeria or, let us say, the knife with which Lucretia stabbed herself to death? This is why we need to break out of the bounds of this dispute and to find a new approach to the history of the foundation of Rome. Such an approach could help us to extend our knowledge of this delicate problem. And the attempt is very interesting and, I believe, fruitful.

This book includes four chapters united by the common conception: 'The twins', 'The Foundation', 'Romulus' government and his wars', and 'The disappearance of the founder: Romulus 'cut into pieces' or his apotheosis'. Thus F. looks into the most important events in Romulus' life which have become the nucleus of the legend. From the first line F. makes it clear that this book is not a work of ancient history but one devoted to the historical anthropology of the ancient world. It seeks to show what later Romans at the height of their

power thought of the legend about the birth of Romulus and Remus, the beginnings of Rome, the first king's government and Romulus' death, whether as a result of armed revolt by senators or by divine force. Consequently, the principal question is not *how* the foundation of Rome took place in reality but *what* the Romans of Caesar's time imagined took place, and how it contributed to the nature of their exceptionalism. F. does not analyse the archaeological data, he does not compare Roman legend with the Indo-European myths in the footsteps of Georges Dumézil. He tries to show the inner clear logic of the whole story composed by the Romans about their past. As Alexandre Grandazzi has justly observed: 'because there was only one Rome, there will never be another Romulus, another foundation, anywhere else.'¹ The question posed in this way permits the avoidance of the 'cursed' problem of the historicity of Romulus and Remus (however there are some notes in an appendix). Using the terminology employed by Jan Assmann, the twins and the events around the origins must be regarded as 'figures of memory' (*Erinnerungsfiguren*).

It is easy to understand the inevitable despair of finally resolving the vehement discussion between 'fideists' and hypercritics. This is why we should support F.'s attempt to examine the chaos of the opinions which we inherit from antiquity. Not least, his approach leads readers to a sensible view of the intriguing finds of the last decades including those discovered at the foot of the Palatine by the team led by Andrea Carandini. This view is very simple and banal (pp. 125–26): 'a wall at the foot of the Palatine could simply be identified as a defensive wall, or a boundary wall around the hill, unless it is a case of a simple *agger*... we would suggest that "a wall is wall is a wall is a wall..."', a simple wall.'

This author tries to bring a little bit of common sense to the multiplicity of opinions which scholars deliver with an open hand. And the attempt must be appreciated at its true value.

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A. Mosolkin

T.E. Fraser, *Hadrian as Builder and Benefactor in the Western Provinces*, BAR International Series 1484, Archaeopress, Oxford 2006, viii+194 pp., maps. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-919-6

Hadrian was not only a much-travelled emperor but one who possessed prodigious energy as an organiser of both military and civilian affairs, unrivalled by any of his predecessors and successors, Augustus included. He was the initiator of many building projects, some of them financed by the state, others by communities, others by individuals. In the East, it is the buildings of his reign with their refined marble ornamentation as well as those of the succeeding Antonine period that have received most attention, but general knowledge of the Hadrianic achievement in the Western provinces is more patchy. Some projects are well enough known, for example his benefactions to his home city of Italica (based in part on Dio's testimony) and in Britain his building of Hadrian's Wall, but a detailed assessment of what is known of his work in these provinces has long been needed and Trudie Fraser has provided it. The book is well produced with excellent clear maps.

The six chapters each deal with a group of provinces or in one case, that of Britannia with a single province. They each more or less follow a formula, varied slightly in the case of each province. The chapter on Britain (for example, as it is a province which saw both

¹ A. Grandazzi, *The Foundation of Rome: Myth and History* (Ithaca, NY/London 1997), 213.

civilian and military activity) is divided into sections headed, 'The Evidence of the Coins', 'Hadrian in Britannia as Emperor', 'The Administration', 'The Status of Communities and the effect on Public Building', 'Building Materials and Labour', 'Hadrianic Civic Building', 'Comparison with Civic Building of Trajan and Antoninus Pius', 'Hadrianic Military Building', 'Comparison with the Military Building of Trajan and Antoninus Pius', 'Hadrianic Road Building', 'Roads and Bridges in the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius'. It would seem little could have been left out and yet the very best example of a Hadrianic city foundation in Britain, Wroxeter (Viroconium) the capital of the tribe of the Cornovii was constructed on the site of a demolished legionary fortress and embellished with public buildings as attested by the splendid Hadrianic Forum dedication (*RIB* 288). Moreover one should not make too much of Hadrianic involvement at Bath, which was primarily a sanctuary at this time, apart from an elegant *tholos* which it is tempting to think may have housed a statue of Antinous. Most interesting of all archaeological work on various settlements in Britain has shown that some abruptly terminate at this time while others are founded, pointed to very substantial reorganisation.

These are not cited out of any desire to denigrate Fraser's work, after all the reviewer is something of a Roman Britain specialist. It is simply an attempt to show how even a massively researched grand scheme such as this can miss key insights which can only be appreciated by people working closer to the ground.

There are perhaps other considerations to bear in mind by those who use this book at a macro level of trying to assess the intentions and grand strategy of Hadrian. The volume is a good guide as far as it goes, but it has to be seen as a *vade-mecum* rather than as a final destination. What was Hadrian trying to achieve? The defensive structures in Britain in particular, so well evidenced by the inscription later built in to Bede's church at Jarrow (*RIB* 1051) shows that he envisaged a peaceful, civilised world, his *oikoumene* physically separated from the chaos and outer darkness of barbarian lands: 'after the barbarians had been dispersed...he added a frontier-line between either shore of Ocean for 80 miles'. He had, in fact, a highly distinctive cultural programme centred on Athens and Rome, the two 'eyes' of his empire and, insofar as Rome was concerned, the central point was the Pantheon with its *oculus*.

We need to look beyond the tons of building materials, evidence of city foundations and the dedication of public buildings to consider this great philhellene emperor's motives. The coins which of course the late Jocelyn Toynbee treated in her thesis are a clue as F. realises, but much more needs to be made of them and other works of art, but alas art is hardly considered in this volume at all.

Now that so much material has been assembled, apart from further checking of data with local archaeologists, with results that may vary according to the quality of local field-work, the data needs to be further refined in order to move beyond the present invaluable sourcebook (which still retains every appearance of a dissertation) in order to present a narrative that will grip the imagination of readers.

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Martin Henig

N. Frolova, *Die frühe Münzprägung vom Kimmerischen Bosphoros (Mitte 6. bis Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr.). Die Münzen der Städte Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Nymphaion und Phanagoria sowie der Sinder*, Übersetzt von U. Peter, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften,

Griechisches Münzwerk, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2004, 96 pp., 32 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-05-003645-1

This book on the coins of the Greek cities and the adjacent native Sindoi, situated in the Cimmerian Bosphorus area (the Kerch Straits, South Russia and the Ukraine), is the culmination of over 12 years of published work on this early period (see bibliography pp. 87–88). There are eight sections: 'The Archaic period of coinage: mid-sixth century to mid-fifth century B.C.' (pp. 3–11); 'the coinage of Pantkapaion' (pp. 11–16) with a catalogue giving 35 phases of the coin types (pp. 17–44). Then follow short sections on Thedusia (pp. 45–53), Nymphaeum (pp. 55–62), the Sindoi (pp. 63–70), and Phanagoria (pp. 71–74). Finally there are brief Conclusions (pp. 75–76) and an Appendix on the 'Taman hoard' (pp. 77–85), indexes of legends on the coins, museum holdings, private collections and bibliography (pp. 85–95). The plates illustrate clearly all representative coins. One oddity of presentation is that the catalogue sometimes precedes, sometimes follows, the discussion, apparently a relic of original composition as separate articles in Russian.

Frolova utilises all the coins held in the major museums in Moscow, St Petersburg, Odessa, Berlin, London, Oxford and Cambridge, as well as some smaller holdings in Europe and the United States, and the significant number of coins in the private Stancomb Collection, which is held on loan in Oxford. The catalogues supersede anything published elsewhere except of the Sindian series, which has been revisited by F.¹

The general lines of development of the longest series, that of Panticapaeum, are those worked out by A.N. Zograf and D.B. Shelov in the 1940s and 1950s and made familiar to English readers by translations in the series *British Archaeological Reports* in the 1970s. F. is fully conversant with subsequent Russian and Ukrainian work on these coin mints, and indeed is the foremost researcher in the field, therefore exceptionally well qualified to present the developments in the coinage of the area. She is, however, inclined to berate her numismatic colleagues at length (for example over the conventional ten-year periodisation of the Panticapaeum series, the problematic SAMMA coins, and the 1908 'Taman Hoard'). Yet she herself is open to criticism in accepting too readily a dating of the commencement of the coinage of Panticapaeum to the mid-6th century BC without considering the evidence of hoards of early silver coins in the wider Greek world or the very few coins attributed to the first 60 years of her scheme (phases I–IV). In fact her first chapter is not only anomalous in terms of the plan of the monograph, but might be said to be redundant, since the 'Archaic period' proper is barely represented. The series probably began *ca.* 500–480 BC. The other cities of the region are all reasonably assigned to quarter-century periods between *ca.* 475 and 375 BC.

On individual 'difficult' points F. argues convincingly that the coins with an ant on the obverse side were one variety of small change of the Panticapaeum mint. She also argues that the silver issues with the legend APOL were of a temple mint representing a local league centred on Panticapaeum, that the Sindian coinage may have been minted at Panticapaeum, and that the enigmatic SAMMA/SAM coins were of Samos in the eastern Aegean and not Bosphoran at all. The last three of these 'problems' are by no means to be considered finally resolved.

¹ N. Frolova, 'A Corpus of the coins of the Sindoi'. *VDI* 3 (2002), 71–84.

Whatever the competing solutions offered by numismatists may be to the remaining knots in the thread of development within these issues, one can say that they must be at the centre of future study of the political and economic history of the Bosporus area in the period of formation of the state. This detailed study is a long stride towards an understanding of that process.

Leeds, UK

J.G.F. Hind (†)

D. Garcia, *La Celtique méditerranéenne. Habitats et sociétés en Languedoc et en Provence VIIIe au IIe siècle av. J.-C.*, Collection des Hespérides, Éditions Errance, Paris 2004, 208 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 2-87772-286-4

The last 30 years have seen impressive strides in our understanding of the indigenous societies of southern France in the 1st millennium BC, with several large scale high quality excavations of settlements and cemeteries, and there have been collective volumes on such topics as burials. The previous major synthesis was Michel Py's *Les Gaulois de Midi*¹ written in the French cultural tradition, establishing a firm chronology and reconstruction of the life style of the people through the study of the architectural and artefactual remains.

The present volume provides a stimulating complement to Py's volume as Garcia looks at the societies and their settlements in the wider context of the western Mediterranean, in the arc from central Italy to south-eastern Spain, and attempts to define what made the southern French sites distinctive. For him there are several features, such as the road system which gives access to the houses rather than, as in Greek and Roman towns, leading one straight to the 'centre', be that administrative, religious or commercial (for example the forum). Indeed features such as temples, public buildings or open squares are notable by their absence, except in the later phases when Roman influence became strong. There are shrines, linked apparently with hero cults, but they are usually unpretentious in scale. Similarity to the grid of streets in classical towns is only superficial; the guiding principle is not the layout of the streets, but the modular way in which blocks of houses were constructed. The only 'public works' are the impressive stone ramparts with their towers, the roads and the shrines.

This raises the question, to what extent was urbanisation an indigenous phenomenon or due to Greek influence? On the one hand the major phase of nucleation takes place in the second half of the 6th century BC, so a couple of generations after the founding of Marseilles by the Phocaeans around 600 BC; the earliest native sites are also grouped around the colony. But, as already said, the native settlements do not follow the model of the Greek city-state in their layout. There had also been an earlier phase of nucleation in the Late Bronze Age; the Cayla de Mailhac, for instance, had a concentration of burials around it reminiscent of contemporary sites in Greece and central Italy, but there was what G. refers to as a 'crisis' when the hill-top sites were abandoned, he concludes due to environmental problems induced by the prevalent 'slash and burn' agriculture being unable to support large nucleated populations until the adoption of a Mediterranean agricultural regime (olive, wheat, sheep), with manuring and crop rotation. However, he fails to recognise that this abandonment of defended nucleated sites in the 8th–7th centuries BC was a much wider phenomenon than

¹ *Les Gaulois du Midi: de la fin de l'âge de bronze à la conquête romaine* (Paris 1993).

southern France – it occurs extensively across central and western Europe during Hallstatt C when Late Bronze Age hill-top sites were abandoned for a century and a half before the massive construction of defended sites and hill-forts during Hallstatt D.

But it is only during this short period that southern France seems more central European than Mediterranean. During the later Iron Age there are elements of material culture such as brooches, weapons and some pottery forms which are like those of the Swiss plateau or central France, and this is not confined to the Celtic speaking Ligurian area of Provence, but is also found in the Iberian speaking area to the west, on sites such as Ensérune. The political organisation is also very different, though is masked by the use of terms such as 'la civilisation des oppida'. In the south this is used for the period of nucleation from the 5th century BC, but for the rest of Gaul and central Europe it refers to the 2nd–1st centuries BC. There are also profound differences in the nature of the urban sites. In the south they are small and densely spaced; in the north they are large (30–400 ha) and widely spaced, and urbanisation is secondary to the foundation of the state. It is a contrast I have characterised by the use of the terms 'city-state' and 'tribal state' and it shows up clearly in the size of the later Roman *civitates*, for example the small territories of sites like Marseilles, Arles, etc. But some of the areas encompassed by G.'s study do seem to fit better with the northern model, especially the territory of the Volcae Tectosages with their centre at Toulouse. In terms of the size of their territories, the Volcae Arecomici and the Vocontii might also fit this pattern, but these are questions not raised by G.

The leads us to the question of what this nucleation was all about – is it really urbanisation? In some cases the resulting settlements do seem urban in character: Lattes, Ensérune, Entremont; but other sites are small, more like the defended hill-top villages of the mediaeval period. G. touches on the topic of other settlements outside the nucleated sites, such as farms, but these seem localised both in time and space, and he lacks a theoretical and methodological basis for discussion the variation of settlement patterns or function (are the sites 'central places'?). This also appears in the discussion of settlement systems. One can understand his wish to omit discussion of the Greek colonies, to balance the over emphasis that previous scholars have placed on the Greek and Italian elements, but when it comes to understanding how, for instance, trade and exchange were organised, these sites form an integral part of the overall system. It might also have been useful to have had some plans from the colonies to bring out the contrast between Greek and native towns.

But, this book is a very interesting and useful addition to the literature which will certainly provoke further discussion and ideas.

University of Sheffield

John Collis

G. Herman and I. Shatzman (eds.), *Greeks Between East and West: Essays in Greek Literature and History in Memory of David Asheri*, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem 2007, 204 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 965-208-170-1

This is an excellent collection of essays in memory of a great and much-loved scholar. Alexander Uchitel explores family relationships among tyrants, from Luwian to Greek; Margalit Finkelberg, Mopsos, Philistines and Mycenaeans; Rachel Zelnick-Abramowitz, the 'lies resembling truth' on which much early Greek history was built. In Ctesias 'the other' includes

viragos, eunuchs, dogheads and parrots, for Deborah Levine Gera. Greek historians quoting poetry are assembled and discussed by Daniela Dueck, and the 'myth/history' of Lycurgus by Ephraim David. Gabriel Herman identifies 'rituals of evasion', which seem far more than convenience and may go to the heart of how Greeks thought of their own history. These are all historical/literary topics of relevance to any student of ancient Greece. Archaeology is provided by our Editor-in-Chief, re-examining Greeks and locals along the southern Black Sea coast; and there is a list of Asheri's writings. Few collections of essays can match this for range and interest.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

S. von Hofsten, *The Feline-Prey Theme in Archaic Greek Art: Classification-Distribution-Origin-Iconographical Context*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology 13, Stockholm University, Stockholm 2007, 104 pp., 32 pls. Paperback. ISBN 978-91-85445-60-8/ISSN 0562-1062

This is a very thorough analysis of lion/panther attacks backed by many drawings of the main schemes, which are carefully described and defined. Forerunners and sources of inspiration in the east are explored, possibly over-valuing the Phoenician, and an exhaustive catalogue provided. The artistic schools using the scheme are defined, the media and the settings in which the scene is employed are listed and explored, also its possible significance in some contexts. It would be easy to think that there is nothing more to be said on the matter, and in a way this is true. For the Phoenician rather than Punic two-lions attack, see my *Classical Phoenician Scarabs: A Catalogue and Study* (Oxford 2003), 117–20.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

V.M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes*, BAR International Series 960, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2000. iv+231 pp., 34 pls. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-180-2

In this book Valerie Hope presents a study of funerary monuments from three different sites in the western empire with well-preserved and well-published bodies of material. Her stated aim is (p. 2) 'to trace how certain social groups were represented at death and how the nature of those representations fluctuated over time' using all the aspects of funerary monuments available, including inscriptions, images and (when available) wider archaeological contexts such as information about the topography of particular cemeteries.

H. is realistically cautious about the limitations of her evidence, noting in particular (p. 8) general lack of skeletal evidence and information about grave-goods relating to the monuments. The bulk of the evidence studied is, in fact, epigraphic, and largely dates to the 1st–2nd centuries AD. This is catalogued at some length (109 pages) in an Appendix recording the inscriptions and providing brief descriptions of most monuments. The quality of the photographs provided of some monuments is limited by the printing process employed, but all are quite legible. The three sites studied were chosen partly on the grounds of the quality of the published evidence, but as H. notes, they also represent different parts of the western

empire and have different populations, Mainz, for example, being dominated by the presence of a legionary base. There are also local variations in the types of monument employed, the individuals they commemorate and the aspects of identity they convey.

H. introduces her subject with a valuable and broad-ranging discussion of Roman funerary practices, their historiography and wider anthropological and comparative historical approaches to the topic. This provides a useful survey of the topic. However, the core of the book, containing its most original and interesting analyses, are Chapters 3–5, which collectively deal with the concept of ‘status dissonance’ and how this is reflected in the monumental record. H. defines this (pp. 59–60) as the ambivalent social status of individuals such as wealthy freedmen, who may have gained power from their economic status and served as *seviri augustales*, but at the same time were limited by their legal status. She suggests that status dissonance may also be of relevance in studying soldiers (with close links to central authority but perhaps unpopular in civilian communities as outsiders of relatively humble origins) and gladiators (of low legal status but potentially very popular). She notes the impact that this may have on the facets of identity advertised in funerary monuments, and the manner and scale in which they were advertised, citing, among other parallels, M. Parker-Pearson’s famous study of the ornate funerary monuments of British gypsies, another group of traditionally marginal social status. She also draws attention (p. 53) to the relative scarcity of references to the deceased’s occupation on monuments commemorating individuals from outside these three groups.

Chapter 3, entitled ‘Honours and Titles’ emphasises the relative lack of prominence of traditional civic magistrates in the monumental record compared with the very numerous references to *seviri augustales* at Nîmes and individuals with similar titles at Aquileia (*seviri*, *seviri et augustales*), typically freedmen or individuals of the same social milieu. H. (p. 35) characterises this emphatic display of newly won status by freedmen not as a crass expression of insecurity but as a positive statement of identity. Chapter 4 details the importance of military identity in funerary monuments, particularly those of Mainz. Hope shows effectively that the distinctive forms and formulae (emphasising unit, rank and length of service) of commemoration typically employed for a soldier served as an expression of his (p. 38) ‘distinctive and all-embracing way of life.....[that] summed up his life and framed his identity at death.’ Chapter 4 deals with the commemoration of gladiators, with its parallels to soldiers’ epitaphs in the use of recurring formulae, such as the number of combats fought, that emphasise aspects of the deceased’s identity relating to occupation. H. also notes evidence for the existence of a separate gladiators’ cemetery or burial area at Nîmes, perhaps an expression of communal identity. References to family are rare, although some gladiators were commemorated by women described as *contubernalis*, *coniunx* or *uxor*. The final chapter focuses on how families and households are reflected in the monumental record, noting in particular (p. 72) that the priority given to nuclear family relationships in commemoration is numerically significant but not to the extent suggested by Saller and Shaw in their well-known study. Hope emphasises the dynamic character of families and the limitations of trying to use funerary monuments as a literal and static depiction of family structure.

Overall this is an interesting and valuable addition to the scholarship on Roman social history and funerary commemoration, and an effective case study of the application of data from the latter to the study of the former.

L. Hopkins, *Archaeology at the North-East Anatolian Frontier, VI: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Sos Höyük and Yigittasi Village*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 11, Peeters Press, Louvain/Paris/Dudley, MA 2003, xviii+199 pp., 36 figs. (summary in Turkish). Cased. ISBN 90-429-1155-7

The volume provides an analytic review of the archaeological evidence of the Sos Höyük excavations on the basis of cognitive data of the present-day village of Yiğitbaşı in the same region. Accordingly, the work covers a reassessment of the author's original village study and of the long-lasting archaeological project of Melbourne University from an ethnoarchaeological perspective. Evidently, the primary study presented here had been undertaken as Hopkins's doctoral dissertation, but extensively revised for publication.

The volume is a most welcome contribution, not only to the ethnographic record, but also to our understanding of the archaeology of north-eastern Turkey, a poorly investigated part of the country. The primary objective of the volume is to convey an alternative way of looking at a cultural assemblage unearthed by archaeological excavation through knowledge of a present-day traditional village. However, H.'s work is not limited just to the documentation of the Yiğitbaşı village and to the archaeological evidence of Sos Höyük; as she has envisaged the historical process with a broad framework, the volume can be considered as a conspectus of the field projects carried out in the region since 1988 by Melbourne University under Antonio Sagona.

The highlights of archaeological work conducted in the region and the established cultural sequence of north-eastern Turkey are summarised in the Preface written by Sagona and in H.'s Introduction, in which she proceeds by outlining the problems of ethnoarchaeological studies and her approach both to village studies and to applying that knowledge to archaeological assemblages. The main part of the volume consists of three sections: the first (Chapters 1–3) presents the data collected at the Yiğitbaşı village, the main substance of the work. Here the study of the village has been organised under different headings; the first part, 'The Environment', gives the necessary background on the natural setting of the area and a brief description of the Turkish administrative system. A more extensive description of the village follows, with its chief emphasis on the built environment and social structure. In the next part of the village study, 'The Economy', all sorts of village assets are presented, ranging from agricultural and pastoral activities and local resources to the significant components of material culture. Also, within this section, the impact of modern trends is discussed under the heading of 'Economic Variability'. The final part of the village study, 'The Settlement', provides a description of the village, noting architectural features that are grouped as public buildings, private residential and non-residential constructions.

The second section (Chapters 4–6) contains an interpretive description of the archaeological results of Sos Höyük. The results of the Sos Höyük excavations are provided in three chapters dealing with the built environment, small finds and the palaeo-environment. Throughout this section the author intentionally seeks to avoid the conventional archaeological form of presentation by drawing a bridge between the ethnographic evidence and the archaeological material.

The final section, 'Interpreting the Evidence' (Chapters 7 and 8), is organised in two parts, considering the prehistoric and the historical Sos Höyük as distinct entities. In her Conclusion,

H. deliberates the possibilities, as well as the limitations, of ethnoarchaeology as a tool for understanding the past.

As clearly noted in the volume, north-eastern Turkey, with its severe continental climate, is archaeologically one of the least investigated parts of the Near East. The region, especially the province of Erzurum which is the focus of this study, has been disregarded by most archaeologists as marginal to the main core areas of the Near East. Considering the cultural geography of the Near East, this view has some justification: the region constitutes a notably distinct habitat. However, from another perspective, it is the meeting point of the distinct cultural zones of the Caucasus, Iran, south-eastern Anatolia and the Central Anatolian plateau. This specific location makes the archaeological data of this region indispensable for understanding cultural interaction on a supra-regional level. In this respect, the work at Sos Höyük, like the other archaeological activities of the same project noted in this volume, has drawn a new picture of the region's cultural history. Previously, the main body of cultural historians, whether they were experts on Anatolian, Iranian or Caucasian archaeology, had thought this region to be of importance only during the Early Bronze Age, at the time of the development of Kura-Aras culture (Karaz culture), and to a lesser degree in the expansion of Urartian kingdom during the Iron Age. However, the cultural survey of the region presented by H. highlights not only the cultural continuum but also the unique manifestation of diverse cultural zones surrounding north-eastern Turkey in the formation of a distinct cultural environment. Since comprehensive surveys of the cultural history of the mountainous regions of eastern Anatolia, such as the monumental volume by Charles Burney and David Lang,¹ are very few, the synoptic presentation of the archaeological evidence given here is a pioneering attempt in this field.

The work of H. has been generated by her study of the Yiğitbaşı village. Village studies, as noted on p. 6, ('... some work has been carried out by ethnographers without archaeological interest. But today very little ethnoarchaeological work has been published that focuses on the Turkish village... The lack of work in Turkey...') are not very common and this new one is a welcome contribution. Considering that the traditional structure of rural settlements is undergoing a rapid process of change, the importance of village studies is self evident. As the description of the village clearly demonstrates, Yiğitbaşı is a typical highland village of north-eastern Anatolia, though at the time of the study the traditional social structure of the village community was on the point of breaking up. This seems to have drawn H.'s particular interest and is competently described in the volume. There are, of course, different ways of documenting a traditional village; even though there are sections on the architecture and material culture, the principal focus is on the social structure of the village. In this respect, it is evident that the author is not very familiar with the relevant Turkish publications (mainly in Turkish). Her basic approach, displayed here, is along the same line as that of Mübeccel Kıray, the most eminent scholar in the study of Anatolian villages but uncited by H.² Likewise, extensive bibliographical references to village studies in Turkey are to be found in Gül Ergil's 1968 work.³ Here it is worth noting that *Köy Envanter Etüdlerrine Göre Erzurum* (Ankara 1966), cited in the volume, is not a corpus of village studies but a statistical

¹ C. Burney and D.M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills. Ancient Ararat and Caucasus* (London 1971).

² M.B. Kıray, *Mübeccel B. Kıray Bütün Eserleri* (İstanbul 2000).

³ G. Ergil, *Köylerimizde Yapılan Araştırmalarla İlgili Rehber Bibliyografya* (Ankara 1968).

inventory of villages. Three further ethnoarchaeological village studies are noted (p. 6, n 28) as other pioneering works on Turkish villages: one from eastern Anatolia, one from the west, and the other a general survey covering all of Turkey. This list evidently needs to be elaborated, as it lacks publications in languages other than English; at the very least it is necessary to add several studies conducted in eastern Turkey: Cafer Höyük village in Malatya,⁴ Alişam village at Elazığ,⁵ and Pulur village in Tunceli.⁶

As clearly noted in the Introduction, in combining a village study with archaeological evidence, H. successfully avoids the trap of resorting to simplistic analogies. In this respect her correct and rational use of ethnoarchaeology based on ethnographic documentation and village sociology should be acknowledged. Her assessment of the need '...to prevent the assumption being made that a linear progression exists between ancient occupation... and the modern settlement...the modern village provides an analogy for the possible functioning of the ancient communities' (p. 78), rightly avoids the bias of making conclusive explanatory remarks. Her concluding remarks show her understanding of the relationship between archaeology and ethnographic evidence, namely that ethnoarchaeology is only a tool to broaden our perspective in looking at the past, and that it cannot provide the eventual solutions.

No ethnoarchaeologist has, as yet, come up with a cross-culturally valid paradigm for the transformation of social behaviour into material culture. So far, the bulk of ethnoarchaeological research has been in terms of providing negative proof, demonstrating that the material culture that we deal with as archaeologists is far more complex and distorted than has generally been acknowledged (p. 152).

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M. Iacovou (ed.), *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus: Past History, Future Potential: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus, 1–2 December 2000*, British School at Athens 2004, 208 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-904887-46-4

This volume presents the proceedings of the conference, 'Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus: Past History, Future Potentials', held at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus in December 2000. The aims of this conference were: 1) to document 'the historical facts' surrounding Hector Catling's Cyprus Survey and subsequent activities of the survey branch of the Department of Antiquities; 2) to provide a sample of survey techniques and methods used by academics in Cyprus since the 1970s and; 3) to create a reference on the history of survey in Cyprus. In addition, cultural heritage management practices on the island were also highlighted during the course of the conference. Frequent recognition of the increasing scale of destruction of the island's archaeological heritage in the face of modern development, combined with a perception that greater commitment to archaeological

⁴ O. Aurenche, M. Bazin and S. Sadler, *Villages Engloutis-Enquête Ethnoarchéologique à Cafer Höyük (Vallée de l'Euphrate)* (Lyons 1997).

⁵ E.W. Peters, *Alişam-Ein Beitrag zur Anonymen Kerpiç-Architektur in Ostanatolien* (Hanover 1976).

⁶ H.Z. Koşay, *Pulur-Etnoğrafya ve Folklor Araştırmaları* (Ankara 1977).

survey by the Department of Antiquities could help prevent such destruction, resulted in a 'heated discussion on heritage management' towards the end of the conference.

The majority of the volume consists of papers describing past archaeological surveys in Cyprus. These appropriately begin with a valuable account of an interview with Hector Catling describing the conception and execution of the first survey project on the island, the Cyprus Survey (Cadogan) and an account of the subsequent work of the survey branch of the Department of Antiquities (Hadjisavvas). Further chapters describe projects conducted since the 1970s, predominantly by foreign academics, including the Vasilikos Valley Project (Todd), projects around Episkopi (Swiny), the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project and Western Cyprus Project (Rupp), the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (Knapp and Given) and its archaeometallurgical survey (Kassianidou), the Lemba Archaeological Project (Bolger, McCartney and Peltenburg), survey around Marki (Webb and Frankel) and survey at Potamia-Ayios Sozomenos (Lécuyer and Michaelides). The inclusion of four papers describing survey projects conducted elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean provides some wider perspective. These describe the survey and salvage project at Ramat Beit Shemesh in Israel (Sharon, Dagan and Tzionit), the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey and Fazan Project (Mattingly), the Acconia and Cecina Valley Surveys in Italy (Ammerman) and the Survey Project of the Rhodope Plain in Greek Thrace (Efstratiou and Ammerman).

In addition to providing a summary of the aims and results of each project, a number of these papers also provide insightful information for other researchers via the reflexive discussion of their various methodologies. For example, by measuring survey intensity versus productivity, Rupp suggests that greater intensity does not always produce better or more usable data. Similarly, Webb and Frankel present a useful comparison between survey and excavation data at Marki to demonstrate that population-per-hectare estimates based on surface debris can significantly exaggerate ancient habitation. Their study also suggests that survey material may often reflect peaks in long-term population fluctuation, with initial phases of occupation not represented. A number of contributors (Webb and Frankel, Mattingly) emphasise the importance of combining small scale excavation with survey in order to provide added dimensions of data. The importance of incorporating extensive geomorphologic research into a survey's design in order to identify areas of high artefact visibility is another point repeatedly emphasised (Todd, Rupp, Ammerman, Efstratiou and Ammerman). Further methodological topics discussed within these papers include the relative merits of intuitive and systematic survey (Todd, Swiny) and the application of Global Information Systems to archaeological survey (Sharon, Dagan and Tzionit).

Together these papers provide a valuable review of the history of archaeological field survey in Cyprus and provide helpful advice on a range of survey methodologies. One limitation of the publication as a reference on the history of archaeological survey in Cyprus, however, is the somewhat surprising omission of a list of all archaeological survey projects and corresponding publications conducted on the island to date.

The remaining material contained within this publication includes the conference's keynote paper by John F. Cherry, and a copy of the Resolution drafted by conference participants as a result of the aforementioned discussion on heritage management. Both stress the common concern amongst archaeologists working throughout the Mediterranean that, in the face of increasing development and population, the masses of new information gathered by surveys are generally not incorporated into the development of strategies to protect and manage

cultural resources. This problem is illustrated in Cyprus in the abolition of the survey branch of Department of Antiquities in the 1970s. Despite increased development since this time, archaeological survey is only conducted for major development projects and is often unpublished. The Resolution, therefore, describes the re-establishment of the survey branch as a high priority for the Department of Antiquities.

In discussing the future of archaeological survey, Cherry also calls for the development of an 'archaeological source criticism' so that the data produced is comparable between projects. Given concerns expressed over the destruction of archaeological heritage, however, it is disappointing that there is not a more detailed discussion of strategies by which academic researchers working in Cyprus can contribute to alleviating this problem. If the archaeological record is quickly disappearing, the question needs to be asked, should we as archaeologists be conducting more achievable, narrowly defined, problem orientated survey, or should we instead be seeking to record as much detailed information as modern survey techniques allow?

Although predominantly a reference for the history of archaeological survey on Cyprus, the concerns this volume raises with regard to future survey activity on the island are of far greater significance. While the suggestions made in the Resolution had not been acted upon at the time these proceedings went to press (three years after the conference), for the sake of the rapidly disappearing archaeological heritage of Cyprus one must hope that they are in the near future.

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D. Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan*, 2nd revised edition, Council for British Research in the Levant, London 2004, 235 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-9539102-1-0

This guidebook to Roman military sites in Jordan revises and updates a handbook produced for the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies at Amman, 2–12 September 2000 (in which the reviewer participated). A final chapter (pp. 217–24) supplements Jordanian material with brief notes on major sites of Roman Arabia in modern Syria (for example the legionary base at the provincial capital of Bostra), Israel and Saudi Arabia. Evident, too, is a subtext of promoting tourism: the Jordanian Department of Antiquities helped underwrite the Amman congress. Most sites are identified by a JADIS (Jordanian Antiquities Data Bank and Information System) number and reference to a UTM grid, although the uninitiated will only find a definition of the acronym JADIS hidden in the 'Bibliography' (p. 226) and UTM is not clarified at all.

Attractively produced, the work features site plans for forts and towers, maps of individual sites, photographs and spectacular aerial views, including a section of full-page colour photographs of major sites (between pp. 134–35), although captions for the colour plates are buried in the 'List of Illustrations' (pp. 11–15). Sometimes (as at p. 62, fig. 7.6) a fort in an aerial photograph is obscure and insertion of arrows to pinpoint the location would have helped. Photographs and drawings of epigraphical texts decorate rather than aid critical readings. The absence of a good comprehensive map of Roman Arabia precludes detailed understanding of the road system and the relationship of individual regions to each other.

After front matter including 'Chronology' ('Late Roman' = AD 135–324: most curious) and a 'Glossary and a Note on Place Names' (diacritical marks excluded), the work divides

into two parts. 'Part A' first surveys Roman Jordan (early archaeological investigations, prospects for research, how to visit the sites, literary and physical evidence, geography and environment, forces of the *dux Arabiae* and the *dux Palaestinae* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*), then presents a summary of political history from the Nabataeans to the Umayyads and an overview of the Nabataean and Roman armies. 'Part B' offers a gazetteer. Individual chapters (7–20) treat the 14 regions into which the sites of Roman Jordan are grouped, beginning with the Azraq Oasis, moving north-east to the basalt desert, then west to the southern Hauran, the northern steppe and the Decapolis, before proceeding due south along the Jordan river, the Dead Sea and the *via nova Traiana* to the Hisma desert. The Wadi Araba is treated as a whole. Chapters collect literary and epigraphical testimonia for each site with brief commentaries on the remains and their dates. Omission of a general index diminishes the work's value as a ready reference for non-Arabian experts and will exasperate tourists unfamiliar with the precise regional location of particular sites. Similarly, reprinting the relevant pages of Otto Seeck's edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (pp. 53–54) without at least a partial update of modern identifications (even if controversial) of the ancient sites reduces that section's reference value.

A guidebook should not argue controversial issues and Kennedy (p. 18) foregoes any attempt to replace S. Thomas Parker's comprehensive (but dated) *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier* (Philadelphia/Winona Lake 1986) or the massive 1991 doctoral dissertation of K.'s student Shelagh Gregory,¹ although the projecting square towers of the Trajanic fort at Humayma (Hauara) undercut her dating criteria (pp. 27, 194–95). Despite intense archaeological activity in Jordan since 1967, completed excavations of sites remain rare. A naïve view, however, that all forts are Roman can no longer be sustained, as many represent Roman reuse of Nabataean forts and Umayyad reoccupation of Late Roman facilities or Islamic creations² – a logical conclusion as topography and the availability of water dictated identical desirability of sites in all periods. In contrast to western Roman military sites, K. astutely emphasises (pp. 28–29) the prominence of cisterns – even bath buildings – and possession of water resources as a mechanism of control. If the assumed military function of all isolated small buildings may not be valid, the function of even the extremely well preserved fort at Qasr Bshir (pp. 149–51) besides that at Da'ajaniya (pp. 169–72) – both constructed *ca.* 300 but missing in the *Notitia Dignitatum* – is unclear.

Roman Arabia has been a touchstone of the debate on Roman grand strategy. If K. judiciously abstains from overt commitment to either side, sentiments favouring Benjamin Isaac's internal security/army of oppression school subtly surface.³ Exaggerated claims (p. 28) that *most Near Eastern remains* belong to the 3rd century AD. or later and that the army initially

¹ Published unrevised as *Roman Military Architecture on the Eastern Frontier*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1995–97).

² For example: p. 28: Qasr el-Hallabat; p. 68: Qasr Ain es-Sol, Early Islamic despite a Severan milestone.

³ For example p. 51; but *cf.* p. 143 for a rejection of the view in one instance. For the latest salvo in the debate see K. Kagan, 'Redefining Roman Grand Strategy'. *Journal of Military History* 70 (2006), 333–62, a pro-strategy piece, which (unfortunately) misrepresents the state of the question, exposes the author's limited and superficial knowledge of the subject, and owes more than the author admits to this reviewer's 'Methodological Limits and the Mirage of Roman Strategy'. *Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), 7–41, 215–40.

camped in cities (variations of the Isaac thesis) are more relevant to Jordan than the Near East as a whole. Are there no Hellenistic remains in the Near East? Apart from the Decapolis cities, Petra and Bostra, what constituted a major city in Arabia before the 3rd century? Armies occupied key sites – often cities – to control water supplies and communications nodes, not necessarily to suppress and exploit unruly subjects. But scholars of the Roman Near East's southern theatre (southern Syria through to Arabia) tend to generalise this area's traits to other regions and define the 'Near East' as the Semitic world exclusively, thereby ignoring the northern theatre (northern Syria to the Caucasus).⁴ K. initially takes no stand on whether the annexation of Arabia in AD 106 was planned or *ad hoc*, even if the evidence for troops movements in AD 105 (*RMD* I.9) suggests anticipation of the event.⁵ But the annexation debate may be overblown, if Trajan merely continued a Flavian policy of annexing client kingdoms west of the Euphrates upon the reigning monarch's death.⁶ Similarly, Aelius Gallus' Arabian expedition in the mid-20s BC is here (pp. 36–37) regarded as an isolated curiosity despite its role in Augustus' Parthian policy.⁷ Indeed the Diocletianic and various 4th-century AD realignments of Arabia and Palaestina may have a greater strategic context than protection from transhumant nomads and bandits.⁸

The progress of scholarship, however, has already rendered K.'s discussion of the Roman army in Arabia (pp. 44–52) obsolete. The important article of Michel Christol and Maurice Lenoir, which will necessitate much rethinking of Diocletian's Eastern policy, demolished the first edition's discussion of Azraq. Christol and Lenoir redated to 273 under Aurelian the military activities in the much discussed *AE* 1996. 1623 (= K.'s 7.A.2) from Qasr el-Azraq, now identified as ancient Amatha. Although K.'s revised narrative incorporated Christol and Lenoir's views, his text of the inscription takes no account of Christol and Lenoir's improvements, features problematic punctuation, and he forgot to alter the Table of Contents and Subheading A of Chapter 7 (p. 57; *cf.* the confused references at p. 220) to reflect the new identification of Qasr el-Azraq with Amatha rather than Basie/Basiensis.⁹

⁴ For a more balanced view of the northern and southern theatres of the Near East, see my 'The Army and *Limes* in the East'. In P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Malden, MA/Oxford 2007), 235–66.

⁵ P. 39, but *cf.* p. 46 with n. 5, where K. endorses the controversial views of his student, Philip Freeman, 'The Annexation of Arabia and Imperial Grand Strategy'. In D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (Ann Arbor 1996), 91–118. In comparing the annexation of Arabia to that of Commagene in 72, the author would have done better to cite E. Dabrowa, 'The *Bellum Commagenicum* and the *ornamenta triumphalia* of M. Ulpius Traianus'. In E. Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East* (Cracow 1994), 19–27, rather than his own 'C. Velius Rufus'. *Britannia* 14 (1983), 183–96, now eclipsed by K. Strobel, 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Laufbahn des C. Velius Rufus'. *ZPE* 64 (1986), 265–86.

⁶ *Cf.* A. Gebhardt, *Imperiale Politik und provinzielle Entwicklung. Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Kaiser, Heer und Städten im Syrien der vorseverischen Zeit* (Berlin 2002), 101.

⁷ See C. Marek, 'Die Expedition des Aelius Gallus nach Arabien im Jahre 25 v. Chr.'. *Chiron* 23 (1993), 121–56; A. Luther, 'Medo nectis catenas? Die Expedition des Aelius Gallus in Rahmen der augusteischen Partherpolitik', *Orbis Terrarum* 5 (1999), 157–82.

⁸ J. Sipilä, 'Roman Arabia and the Provincial Reorganisations of the Fourth Century'. *Mediterraneo Antico* 7.1 (2004), 317–48.

⁹ M. Christol and M. Lenoir, 'Qasr el-Azraq et la reconquête de l'Orient par Aurélien', *Syria* 78 (2001), 163–78; K. now identifies Basie/Basiensis with Umm el-Quttein in the southern Hauran: pp. 60, 71, 83.

Further, K.'s fascination with the *legio VI Ferrata* continues. His placement of the *VI Ferrata* at Samosata under the Flavians (pp. 44, 46 with n.4) is admittedly preferential, although it is more probable (in my view) that it camped at Raphenaea with the *III Gallica* at Samosata. Participation of *VI Ferrata* in the annexation of Arabia, although likely, hangs by only the slenderest threads and the merry-go-round of legions (*II Traiana*, *III Cyrenaica*, *VI Ferrata*, *XV Apollinaris*) in Judaea, Arabia and Egypt during and immediately after Trajan's Parthian War (AD 114–117) awaits a definitive solution.¹⁰ Credence cannot be given, however, to the mangled text from a statue base at Humayma, which could be interpreted as referring to C. Bruttius Praesens, legate of the *VI Ferrata* in AD 114–115. The text may belong to the mid-3rd century. Besides, Praesens and the *VI Ferrata* were wearing snowshoes in Armenia at that time (Arrian *Parth.* fr. 85 Roos) and Praesens governed Cilicia AD 116/7–117/8.¹¹

More significantly, two military diplomata from Arabia, dated AD 142 and 145, now more or less firmly establish Arabia's auxiliary forces in the first half of the 2nd century AD.¹² K.'s *ala dromedariorum* (pp. 48–49) can now be identified as the *ala I Ulpia dromedariorum* and new attestations of the *ala veterana Gaetulorum* and the *cohors VI Hispanorum* occur. Further, the suspicion that the *cohors I Hispanorum*, transferred from Egypt to Judaea in AD 105 (*RMD* I.9), became part of the Arabian garrison, is also confirmed. But changes are also necessary. The *cohors I Thracum c.R.*, at Qasr al-Hallabat in 213 (Kennedy 10.1) and at Asabaia later (*Not.Dig. Or.* 37.32) must be distinguished from the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* at Umm el-Quttein (9.2) and Motha (Syrian Imtan; 21.4 = *CIL* III. 109). The numeral is definitely I, not II or III (pp. 49, 82, 219). The cohorts *I Aelia classica* and *II Aurelia classica* appear for the first time.

Treatment of epigraphical material leaves much to be desired. Although a guidebook is not a corpus of inscriptions, inconsistencies, omissions, even errors of Greek and Latin grammar as well as English translation abound. Epigraphical and literary testimonia are not distinguished and in Chapters 8–21 are numbered consecutively within each chapter, but uniquely in Chapter 7 (the Azraq area) the testimonia for Qasr el-Uweinid begin a new numerical series. References to standard collections, such as *AE*, *SEG* and other corpora, are not always given, nor are cross-references between chapters rigorous and accurate.¹³ Some Greek texts lack proper separation of words and breathing marks appear nonsensically in the

¹⁰ On *III Cyrenaica* and *VI Ferrata* see the minimalist position of P.-L. Gatier, 'La *legio III Cyrenaica* et l'Arabie'. In Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (eds.), *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (Paris 2000–03), I, 341–49; cf. H. Cotton, 'The *Legio VI Ferrata*', in the same volume, 351–57. For *XV Apollinaris* as the second Egyptian legion ca. 106–ca. 117, see E.L. Wheeler, '*Legio XV Apollinaris*: From Carnuntum to Satala—and beyond'. In Bohec and Wolff, I, 259–308 at 282–95.

¹¹ P. 197, no. 19.3 = J.P. Oleson, M.B. Reeves and B.J. Fisher, 'New Dedicatory Inscriptions from Humayma (Ancient Hawara), Jordan'. *ZPE* 140 (2002), 110–12 (no. 3); on Praesens' career see B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire* (Istanbul 1989), 208–10.

¹² Diploma of 142: P. Weiß and M.P. Speidel, 'Das erste Militärdiplom für Arabia'. *ZPE* 150 (2005), 253–64; the diploma of 145 will be published by Thomas Parker, who has kindly permitted me to see the text and a preliminary draft of his commentary.

¹³ For example, no *AE* number is given for the Azraq text discussed by Christol and Lenoir (see above n. 9); 8.3 = *IGR* III.1338; 11.6 = M.P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter Equites Singulares Augusti* (Bonn 1994), no. 22; p. 71: 7.2 (obviously from Chapter 7) is cited as being in Chapter 8 and a reference to Chapter 8 is really Chapter 9.

middle of Greek words (for example 18.2; 19.1, 5). It is not apparent that the translator understands a proper rendering of *epi* + the genitive or the superlative degree of an adjective (8.5, 17.5).¹⁴ Nor do bad translations and questionable grammar in the restorations or supplements of abbreviated texts inspire confidence in a firm command of Latin grammar.¹⁵

This version of the 2000 handbook may be called 'updated', but 'corrected' is a misuse of the English language. Clearly the work has been neither well proofread nor properly corrected, as typographical errors from the first edition supplement new ones.¹⁶ K. has performed a valuable service in assembling this material, but we hope that a third edition will be more carefully prepared for future tourists in Jordan.

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G. Khozhaniyazov, *The Military Architecture of Ancient Chorasnia (6th century B.C.–4th century A.D.)*, translated, edited and emended by S. Helms, with a contribution by A.V.G. Betts, Persika 7, Éditions de Boccard, Paris 2006, 259 pp., 107 figs. Paperback. ISBN 2-7018-0196-6

The ancient region of Chorasnia (Choresmia, etc.), embracing the two banks of the lower course of the River Oxus/Amu Darya approaching the Aral Sea, is exceptionally rich in well-preserved ancient fortifications. The list of sites plotted on the map of fig. 3 runs to no less than 76 entries. Their survival is no doubt due partly to the limited precipitation, and partly to the depopulation and desertification which large parts of the area have sustained through the vicissitudes of history. They range from city fortifications to substantial fortresses, watchposts and one walled defile, that of Devkesken, which controls the principal route from the Ustiurt plateau to the north-west down to the area of cultivation.

Descriptions of these remains have been hitherto available chiefly in Russian, notably in the pioneer work of S.P. Tolstov.¹ Apart from the summaries provided by G. Frumkin,² the present book is the first considerable account in English of these, and of the very numerous more recent investigations in the region. On the basis of Tolstov's analysis the following periodisation has been proposed for ancient Chorasnia (p. 28):

¹⁴ Translation of some texts is attributed to Mary Zingross (p. 5). *Apo hypaton* (literally 'from the consuls') means 'consular', not 'consul' (p. 100, no. 10.3), although a similar phrase for ex-praefect is correct at p. 186, no. 18.2. Something seems awry (pp. 81–82) in identifying the *A[re]thou* of no. 9.1 (= *PES* III.A.2, no. 211) with the Nabataean king Aretas IV (9 BC–AD 40). Would a Nabataean soldier use a Latin term (even if in Greek), *ouetranou*, to describe himself as a 'veteran' as early as AD 40? At p. 91, *PES* III.A.3, no. 238 (*CIS* II. 192) belongs to the 3rd century, not the 5th.

¹⁵ For example p. 50, no. 2 (*ILS* 9168); 7.A.3 (*AE* 1977.836): *nn(o)bb(ilissimus) Caess(aribus duobus)*; 7. C. 1 (*AE* 1978.827); 8.4; 9.5; p. 138: translation of *equites promoti indigenae* as 'Advanced Native Cavalry' hardly does justice to the technical sense of *equites promoti*.

¹⁶ For example pp. 27, 48, 68 ('reusedd'); cf. pp. 28, 40, 62 (nonsensical run-on sentence uncorrected from the first edition), 127 ('different to'), 147, 230. The barely legible city plan of Jerash (p. 116, fig. 11.5) is much clearer in the first edition. An Eastern frontier conference planned for 2002 at the University of Miami (p. 22) did not happen.

¹ *Drevnii Khorezm* (Moscow 1948); and his German publication, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin 1953).

² *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden 1970).

- Bronze Age – Suyurgan Ia (early stage), first half of 2nd millennium BC; Ib (late stage) 11th–9th centuries BC; Tazabag'yab II 15th–11th centuries BC. Early Iron Age – Amirabad III 9th–8th centuries BC.
- Archaic – Kiuzeli-gir I 7th/6th century BC; Dingil'dzhe II mid–5th century BC; Kalal'i-gir I III 5th century BC; Khazarasp IV 5th/4th century BC.
- Antique – Kangiui I (early stage) 4th–3rd centuries BC; II (late stage) 2nd century BC–early 1st century AD; Kushan I (early) 1st–2nd centuries AD; II (late) 3rd–4th centuries AD.
- Kushan-Afrighid – late 4th–5th centuries AD.
- Afrighid – 6th(?)–8th centuries AD.
- All these datings are to some extent conjectural.

The puzzling term Kangiui is a Russianisation of the Chinese K'ang-chu/ Kangju, found in the Chinese Han-shu and other texts for an unidentified kingdom situated in these sources north of Bactria during the post-Achaemenid period. However this terminology is probably inappropriate for Chorasmia (see p. 14), as such a state has never been reliably located. The earliest enclosures, together, naturally, with those adapted to the contours of uneven ground, have irregular outlines. Of those built on level ground, only a few have circular outlines. One of these, Koi-Kr'ilgan-Kala (fig. 23), dated to the 3rd century BC, is at once the most spectacular and the most enigmatic of the entire repertoire. Generously illustrated here, on p. 191 and p. 211, it is not described in detail, being the subject of S.P. Tolstov and B.I. Vainberg's 1987 report.³ There is debate whether the elaborate structure was originally a fortified temple, a mausoleum, an observatory, or a manorial residence, but the massive fortifications suggest important security.

Otherwise, the great majority of the features have square, or rectangular, ground-plans. All but the earliest fortifications have flanking towers protecting the perimeters. Unexpectedly perhaps, many of the earlier sites (5th–4th centuries BC) have towers of semicircular plan, though it has been sometimes believed that such towers were an innovation of Sasanian date. Later, massive towers of square plan are found, with the vulnerable corners of the circumvallation sometimes reinforced by juxtaposed pairs of towers in 'swallow-tail' arrangement (*cf.* Bol'shoi K'irk-k'iz-kala, fig. 18, fig. 84j; Kalal'i-g'ir 2, fig. 44). These square towers appear in particular to be typical of the Kushan period (1st–4th centuries AD). Interesting is the parallelogram outline of the town-circuit Ayaz-kala III, (fig. 46 and p. 108), as this outline has parallels, at Qaleh-i Zal (Kalai Zal') in Afghanistan, and at Spasinou Charax in Iraq, with sites apparently of the Alexander period, and may have been inspired by military usage of that date. The main defence of all these fortifications was apparently archery, the walls and towers being well provided with loopholes. There have been so far no finds of catapults or ballistas, only a single stone shot from Kazakl'i-yatkan (p. 102 and n. 333). Though the employment of such engines cannot be excluded, the relatively close spacing of the towers, usually less than 50 m, suggest that the bow was the chief defensive weapon. There is also evidence for the use of slings: round stones and ceramic shot, but not the far more lethal lead shot, which if employed would probably have been later removed from the site.

With a work of translation there are always questions of terminology, and one or two still remain. The terms *pakhsa* ('rammed clay'(?)), *chink* ('scarp'(?)) on p. 77 etc., are left untranslated,

³ *Koi-Kr'ilgan-Kala. Pamyatnik kul'turi drevnego Khorezma* (Moscow 1987).

leaving doubt about the exact shade of meaning. The term 'trace' in the translation, meaning apparently 'outline' or suchlike, is sometimes puzzling, but evidently calques some terminology in the original. On pp. 46–69 there are useful brief descriptions of recently excavated sites in the area. The copious bibliography includes an extensive listing of the Russian literature of research in Choresmia. Although the book itself is not a comprehensive survey of all this work, it provides the Western reader with a valuable introduction to the study, supplemented by a good selection of illustrations from the original reports.

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A.E. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity. An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300–1100 B.C.E.*, Society of Biblical Literature, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 9, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2005, xx+362 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13045-4/ISSN 1570-5986

Advances made since the 1995 publication of the now classic *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*,¹ with chapters by Bunimovitz, Finkelstein and Stager surveying the social aspects of Canaanites, Early Israelite and Philistine cultures, merit a renewed archaeological synthesis. Killebrew, with a long record of meticulous fieldwork in Israel, and innovative studies on pottery technology, has now produced an important up-to-date book on the transition from the International Age of Empires to the Early Iron Age. Group identity formed during this transitional era later played an important role in the formation of the Biblical Narrative, and thus defines the objective of the book: 'This book proposes that economic, political, societal, and ideological developments during the thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C.E. created an environment ripe for the creation of identifiable group boundaries of Egyptian, Canaanites, Early Israelites and Philistines – key players in the later formation of the world of the Hebrew Bible' (p. 16). To do so, K. sets out to investigate manifestations of ethnic boundaries in the archaeological record left by the Egyptians, Canaanites, Israelites and Philistines, by identifying 'culturally sensitive indicators' (p. 10). This is done in a multi-disciplinary approach, combining archaeological evidence, with a focus on pottery, and written sources. In laying out the theoretical groundwork for the study of each group, the introductory chapter further presents a short definition and use of the terms stylistic diversity, social boundaries and ethnicity.

Chapter 1 sets the international scene of the book, surveying political structures and trade networks in the eastern Mediterranean from Egypt to the Aegean world. Several theories for the demise of the late Bronze Age world system are then surveyed.

Chapter 2 examines the nature of the Egyptian presence in Canaan, through an analysis of Egyptian texts and material culture traits, from house and administrative architecture to burials and pottery. The presentation of a wide repertoire of locally made Egyptian pottery types, made by using Egyptian production methods but with local clays, is brought forward as evidence for the presence of Egyptian potters in Canaan. This is a forceful argument in favour of K.'s claim that an Egyptian administration, rather than Canaanite Elites, is responsible for the presence of many of the Egyptian material culture traits in Canaan.

¹ T.E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (London 1995).

Chapter 3 explores Canaanite identity mainly through its material culture aspects. Variability in cultic architecture and burial types is interpreted as evidence that Late Bronze Age Canaan '...was not made of a single ethnic group, but consisted of a diverse population...' (p. 138).

Chapter 4 combines Biblical and Egyptian sources with the archaeological picture to support the 'mixed origin theory' for the ethnogenesis of Israel. Displaced Canaanite farmers and pastoralists, lawless *ʿApiru* and *Shasu*, fugitive slaves and others joined in '...loosely organized, largely indigenous, tribal and kin-based groups...' (p. 184).

Chapter 5, perhaps the strongest and most innovative in the book, primarily presents archaeological evidence for the migration and settlement of the Philistines in the southern coast of Canaan. As in previous chapters, the discussion of pottery typology and technology forms most of the discussion, demonstrating clearly the innovative forms and manufacture techniques brought by the Philistine migrants. K. advocates a Cypriot origin for the migrants. These brought with them an Aegean tradition, but not a contemporary one; instead it is one '...removed by several generations' (p. 231). However, if indeed the Philistines have spent several generations in Cyprus, one would expect to find among the earliest Philistine repertoire not only vessels that have Aegean ancestry, but also pottery types that have clear Cypriot origin. These may be Cypriot-style pithoi, so common in Cyprus of the 13th and 12th centuries, shaved juglets, or even 'Mycenaean IIIc:1' imitation to Cypriot forms.²

The strongest point of the book is that it will be useful for both scholars and students of archaeology. For scholars of Biblical archaeology or archaeology of the Levant, this is an up-to-date synthesis of the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages in Israel. The 80 pages of bibliography with their many hundreds of references are by themselves an invaluable source for scholars. The great expertise reflected in K.'s discussions of pottery typology and technology strengthens the points made for ethnic diversity. Students will find it a well-written, well illustrated, and clear introduction to the various aspects of material culture, from pottery to diet and architecture, as well as to the most important Egyptian texts of the time.

Alongside the great merits of the book, one should note also a few points where the research might have been stronger and would have further strengthened K.'s arguments. Iconography, carrying important ideological messages, is seldom discussed in the book, thus leaving out a possible source of additional support for the arguments made. For example, a discussion of the Megiddo and the Tel el-Fara' ivories portraying rulers, the first in Canaanite dress and drinking wares, the latter in Egyptian guise,³ would enfold a complicated picture of group identity within the Canaanite rulers and elite, further affirming K.'s analysis of Canaanite society. Similar investigation into the ideological meaning of Philistine and Canaanite pottery motifs, such as the important cultic meaning of the Ibex and Palm tree Canaanite motif, could have been readily used to strengthen K.'s points concerning group identity.⁴

² B. Kling, 'Mycenaean IIIc:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus: Comments on the Current State of Research'. In E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia 2000), 281–95.

³ A. Yasur-Landau, 'Old Wine in New Vessel: Intercultural Contact, Innovation and Aegean, Canaanite and Philistine Foodways'. In Y. Cohen and A. Yasur-Landau (eds.), *Between East and West: Eretz Israel and the Ancient Near East-Intercultural Ties and Innovations in the Second Millennium BCE* (= *Tel Aviv* 32.2) (Tel Aviv 2005), 168–91.

⁴ O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Edinburgh 1998), 56–58.

The most important lacuna, however, is the lack of analysis of complete archaeological contexts. While manifestation of ethnicity can be almost too easily recognised in the typology and technology of isolated objects, for example an 'Aegean' cooking jug or a 'Canaanite' open cooking pot, ethnicity can be much more elusive in complete assemblages, i.e. the archaeological record left by the people whose identity is being sought. Note, for example, that there is not a single archaeological context in Philistia which is composed solely of Philistine pottery of Aegean origin. Instead, local Canaanite forms comprise 50% or more of the entire pottery assemblage in the earliest Philistine levels in Tel Miqne Ekron.⁵ For that matter, what is the 'ethnic' significance for the fact that the people at the house at Ashdod, area G, stratum XIIIb, were using Canaanite and Aegean cooking pots and serving bowls side by side?⁶ Were the inhabitants Canaanites or Philistines? Similar questions can be asked for Egyptian vessel types which never appear by themselves in Beth Shean, but form 64% of the stratum Q-2 assemblage and only 7.5% of stratum Q-3, the rest being Canaanite and few imported forms.⁷

Spatial distribution and functional analysis of assemblages may be the key to questions such as family structure, gender, status differentiation, craft specialisation, and even ceremonial activities ranging from house cult to sacrificial banquets. The lack of reference to objects in their find context, therefore, hinders discussion relating to the activities of the people which have created them, and insights into their ideology, critical to the understanding of the societies that later will enter the Biblical world.

Despite these last few critical remarks, overall K.'s book is a very useful and highly readable synthesis on a fundamental period in the history of the Holy Land.

University of Haifa

Assaf Yasur-Landau

G.N. Knoppers and A. Hirsch (eds.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World. Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 20, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, vii+524 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13844-7/ ISSN 0169-9601

The *Festschrift* is a much maligned genre. Critics complain about the miscellaneous character of the contents of most *Festschriften* and the scholarly unevenness of the contributions. Yet, it is also the primary vehicle for honouring distinguished scholars; and sometimes the distinction of the scholar is matched by the quality of his *Festschrift*. *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* is a good example of such a volume.

Redford is one of the most distinguished Egyptologists of our time. An outstanding field archaeologist and historian, he has produced seminal works on New Kingdom political and religious history, relations between Egypt and Palestine and Nubia, and the Egyptian background of biblical texts, while at the same time conducting important excavations at Thebes and

⁵ T. Dothan and A. Zukerman, 'A preliminary Study of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 Pottery Assemblages from Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod'. *BASOR* 333 (2004), 5.

⁶ M. Dothan and Y. Porath, *Ashdod V. Excavations of Area G. The Fourth–Sixth Seasons of Excavations 1968–1970* (Jerusalem 1993).

⁷ A.S.M. Martin, 'The Egyptianized Pottery Assemblage from Area Q. In A.Mazar (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996. Volume I From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period* (Jerusalem 2006), 149.

Mendes. In addition, during his four-decade-long career at the University of Toronto and Pennsylvania State University, he was an outstanding teacher, training many of the leading Egyptologists in North America. The richness and diversity of Redford's work is fully reflected in the contributions by his colleagues and students in *Egypt, Israel and the Ancient Mediterranean World*.

The 25 papers in *Egypt, Israel and the Ancient Mediterranean World* are divided into two groups – Egyptology, and Israelites, Canaanites and Egyptians in the Levant – that reflect the main themes of the honouree's work and span the whole range of Egyptian history from the Old Kingdom to the end of antiquity. There is space here only to note some of the contributions to this rich volume that might particularly interest readers of *Ancient West & East*.

Relations between Egypt and its neighbours are one of the volume's two principal themes. In 'Egypt's Old Kingdom "Empire" (?): A Case Study Focusing on South Sinai' Sarah Parcak persuasively argues that the growing need for foreign resources for royal projects led to the development of Egyptian imperialism in South Sinai during the Old Kingdom. James K. Hoffmeier lucidly demonstrates in 'Aspects of Egyptian Foreign Policy in the 18th Dynasty in Western Asia and Nubia' that differences in socio-political organisation in western Asia and Nubia were reflected in Egyptian foreign policy, leading to indirect rule backed by a limited military presence in the former region and integration with Egypt in the latter. In 'Judaeans and Phoenicians in Egypt in the Late Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.', John Holliday jr reviews the evidence for a Jewish presence in a predominantly Phoenician trade diaspora in 26th-Dynasty Egypt based on the presence of Judaeans style 'wine decanters' in various Nile Delta sites. Finally, John W. Betlyon traces the history of cooperation between Egypt and the Phoenician cities against Persia in the 5th and 4th centuries BC in 'Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period: Partners in Trade and Rebellion

Not surprisingly, religion is the other principal theme of the volume, and three articles particularly stand out. In 'Theological Responses to Amarna' Jan Assmann brilliantly illuminates the legacy of the Amarna revolution, arguing that two late New Kingdom religious phenomena – the discourse concerning the one creator god and his creation, the world, and the rise of personal piety – are best interpreted as responses to the ideas embodied in Akhenaton's aborted 'monotheistic' revolution. In 'The Joseph Story – Some Basic Observations', John van Seters offers a comprehensive review of recent scholarship on the story of Joseph, demonstrating the continuing influence of Redford's 1970 book, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (Leiden) with its convincing demonstration that the Egyptian background of the Joseph story best fits the Third Intermediate Period and not the 2nd millennium BC as had traditionally been believed. Finally, in 'Ezra's Reform and Bilateral Citizenship in Athens and the Mediterranean World', Baruch Halpern illuminatingly compares the mid-5th-century BC citizenship reforms of Ezra and Pericles, arguing that, while both established bilateral kinship definitions of citizenship in order to maximise societal wealth by reducing the number of people eligible to share in economic windfalls, they also had the long-term effect of raising the status of women as the producers of future citizens.

Egypt, Israel and the Ancient Mediterranean World is a rich and wide-ranging collection of papers that well honours the distinguished scholar to whom it is dedicated. It also has much to offer all scholars interested in political and cultural interactions in the ancient eastern Mediterranean basin.

M.O. Korfmann (ed.), *Troia. Archäologie eines Siedlungshügels und seiner Landschaft*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006, x+420 pp., 462 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 3-8053-3509-1/13: 978-3-8053-3509-6

The focus of this book is the multi-layered site at Hisarlık in north-western Turkey, whose identification with Homer's Troy is now almost universally accepted. But the book's title (in English: 'Troy. Archaeology of a Settlement Mound and its Region') does scant justice to the wide range of topics which it encompasses. This is immediately evident from a glance at its Table of Contents. The book is divided into six sections (with a total of 40 chapters, including an introductory chapter by Korfmann), which deal respectively with: a) the historical contexts for the various phases of Troy's development, specifically its Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Classical and Byzantine phases; b) the history of investigation of the site, focusing on the work of Schliemann, Dörpfeld and Blegen, but also covering earlier investigations carried out in the two centuries before Schliemann; c) the succession of levels at Troy – ten major levels in all, extending from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2920 BC) to the Roman and Byzantine eras; d) an analysis of the site's artefacts, reflecting Troy's maritime culture and its international trade links, particularly with Egypt and the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean worlds; e) natural science investigations conducted by members of K.'s team, including palaeobotanical and hydrological studies, investigations of the site's human and animal remains, archaeometric ceramic analysis, metallurgical studies, and a study of Troy's caves and their dating; f) the history of the Troad, with chapters describing the region in the 5th millennium, its history through the centuries from Greek colonisation to the Byzantine era, life in the Troad from the 16th to the 20th century AD, and a concluding chapter on the ethnoarchaeology of the region.

Much of the information contained in the book will already be known to readers who have familiarised themselves with the scholarly literature on Troy, particularly since K. began his excavations at Hisarlık in 1988. Progress reports on these excavations appeared from 1991 onwards in the series *Studia Troica*, published by Philipp von Zabern, and K. and a number of his colleagues regularly produced accounts of their work in many other outlets, both of a popular and of a more specialised nature. A valuable aspect of the present book is the account it provides, in summary form, of the results of the K. excavations, including refinements made to the site's stratigraphy during these excavations. Mountjoy's chapter on Mycenaean ceramic ware in Troy reflects the important work its author has done in seeking to establish a chronology for the site's levels and sub-levels during the 2nd millennium BC.

K.'s identification of a Late Bronze Age 'Lower City' to the south of the mound has generated much interest and controversy. While few scholars now doubt that he did indeed demonstrate the existence of a lower settlement at Troy in the Late Bronze Age, its extent and nature remain speculative. This is reflected in Jablonka's chapter on the lower city. His sober assessment of what we know and do not know about this lower settlement, and whether in fact it should be called a city, provides a welcome balance to the more tendentious views expressed elsewhere on the topic. A balanced treatment of the material in fact typifies the book in general, and enhances its value as a useful and reliable source of reference. Refreshingly, the question of the historicity of a Trojan War is not addressed. For once, Homer and his story are left undisturbed.

A second valuable aspect of the book is its emphasis on the multi-disciplinary nature of the Troy excavations. K. elsewhere noted that more than 350 scholars, scientists, and technicians

collaborated on the project, contributing expertise from a wide range of disciplines. Clearly, one of the book's aims is to demonstrate the complementarity of this expertise in attempts to achieve a comprehensive understanding of Troy's history, society and culture. As indicated in its Editorial, *Troia* seeks to address such matters as the meaning and importance of archaeometry, and the purpose of anthropological, palaeographic, geoarchaeological and hydrological investigations, as well as more fundamental questions like what Trojans of the 3rd millennium BC ate and drank. In addition to the specific information about Troy which treatment of these topics provide, the chapters dealing with them serve as a useful methodological guide on the application of a wide range of disciplines to the study of an ancient culture.

The book is also valuable for its emphasis on Troy's broad political and cultural context. This is reflected in Ulp's account of the Assyrians, Hittites and Kaskaeans in the 2nd millennium BC, Latacz and Starke's chapter on Wilusa, attested in Hittite texts and now identified by almost all scholars with Troy/Illion, Niemeier's account of western Asia Minor and the Aegean in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, Genz's account of the Early Iron Age in western and central Anatolia, and Rose's chapter on western Asia Minor in the Greek and Roman periods.

While almost all the information which *Troia* contains has appeared elsewhere, the importance of the book lies principally in the assemblage of this information, by many distinguished scholars, within a single volume. The material is meticulously organised, and presented with great lucidity. While it appears to be aimed largely at a general (German-)reading public, it will also serve as a useful reference work for anyone with more specialised interests in either Near Eastern or Classical studies. The extensive, up-to-date bibliography covers virtually all publications of direct and indirect relevance to Troy. A mild criticism is the abruptness with which the book ends. Its considerable diversity calls for some sort of concluding synthesis, drawing together, as far as possible, the many topics covered, with perhaps a brief review of the role which Troy played throughout its history, in its immediate region as well as in the wider Near Eastern and Aegean worlds. This may indeed have been its editor's original intention, prior to his last illness. As is typical of Philipp von Zabern publications, *Troia* is copiously illustrated, with high quality photographs and superb graphics. It is most regrettable that Manfred Korfmann, who made so great a contribution to the archaeology of Troy, did not live long enough to see the volume in its final published form.

University of Queensland

Trevor Bryce

M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London 2004, xviii+489 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-8018-7978-7

The main aim of this book is to demonstrate the continuity of the cities of the Iberian Peninsula, their institutions and their culture during the Late Roman empire.¹ Its methodology is to analyse epigraphic and, especially, archaeological evidence, which has yielded a lot of new data in the three last decades. Thus, Kulikowski revises and critiques many historiographical theories about this period, based on a particularly strict reading of the

¹ The use of Spain in the title is anachronistic and inaccurate: the book also deals with the territory of modern Portugal; and, of course, Spain did not exist in Roman times.

literary sources, sources which in several cases have been recently updated with improvements and commentaries. K. is very well versed in the Portuguese and Spanish research on the topic. Some works are missing, as K. himself admits in the Preface, but he generally demonstrates a wide knowledge of the bibliography.

Chapters 1 and 2 briefly review the arrival of the Romans in the Iberian Peninsula, the introduction of their administrative organisation, and the foundation of cities and their institutions, from the Republic to the 2nd century AD. K. thinks that the basic Roman administrative unit, the *civitas*, implied the existence of an urban centre, but this idea does not always fit the circumstances, particularly in the north-west of the Peninsula.² Chapter 3 shows the continuity of the cities in Peninsula in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, their magistracies, and the evolution of their social groups. The three next chapters are respectively devoted to Diocletian's reforms and their administrative and military consequences; to the changes between the 3rd and 5th centuries AD documented by archaeological excavation of the city sites; and to their territory through the description of some of the most important villas in the Peninsula. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9, the Chronicle of Hydatius, the main literary source of the period, is the basis for the study of political developments in these provinces during the 5th century AD and the situation of the principal cities.³ Chapter 10 focuses on the introduction of Christianity and its influence on the planning of several places (Tarragone, Valence, Zaragossa, Barcelona and Merida) and the episode regarding Priscillian and his followers. Then Chapters 11 and 12 deal with the consolidation of Visigothic political power in Peninsula in the 6th century AD, using archaeological evidence and urban settlement, as well as examining other developments, such as the establishment of the Byzantines in the south-east and, briefly, the situation in the countryside, again through descriptions of several villas. Two appendices, one concerning the *epistula Honorii* to the troops stationed at Pompaelo and the other the magistracy of Late Roman Spain (only those belonging to the imperial administration), are followed by notes, a bibliography and indexes.

There is much to discuss about this study, but I can treat only a few aspects in this review. K. is right to defend the absence of a crisis in the 3rd century AD and the continuity of the city and city institutions during the period covered by the book. Thus, K. is critical of some of the writing long found in the Spanish historiography. Likewise, he is unconvinced by the catastrophic vision recounted by Hydatius and Orosius of the bloody invasion and never-ending plundering that accompanied the arrival and settlement of the Sueves, Vandals and Alans in AD 409. K. remarks the rhetoric nature (and also Christian propaganda) of these literary sources (pp. 161–62). However, this and others thoughts which he presents as original ideas have already been advanced and developed by various historians in a number of studies, some clearly known to him.⁴ On the other hand, the chapter dedicated to the territory of the cities is really just a description of four villas. No attention is paid to social and economic problems, which are basic questions for understanding the evolution of these

² See G. Chic García, 'Urbs, polis, civitas'. In *Los orígenes de la ciudad en el noroeste hispánico* (Lugo 1998), 145–70.

³ See now J. Arce, *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania (400–507 A.D.)* (Madrid 2005).

⁴ For example J. Arce, 'La crisis del siglo III d.C. en Hispania y los invasiones bárbaras'. *Hispania Antiqua* 8 (1978), 257–69, and A. Cepas Palanca, *Crisis y continuidad en la Hispania del siglo III* (Madrid 1997), in his bibliography; or, not cited, G. Bravo, 'La otra cara de la crisis: el cambio social'. In *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania (siglos II y III d.C.)* (Madrid 1993), 153–60.

constructions, at once both residences of landowners and centres of economic exploitation. The study does not address the evolution of the territory in late antiquity, differences between the various regions of the Peninsula (reflected in the villas), or relationships between country and town. K. gives priority to archaeological evidence and political history, avoiding deep analysis of economic and social matters regarding late cities, his principal interest. Although literary and epigraphic evidence is not abundant, it would be possible to obtain an overview in order to understand the evolution of the cities and the perceptions of them held by their inhabitants.⁵ It is true that archaeological evidence has permitted important advances in our knowledge of several cities in the late antique Iberian Peninsula, and the transformation of their planning, but there is no mention in this book of what this change in planning meant for the life of the cities and their people.

K.'s book has the merit of introducing the Anglophone reader to the most recent archaeological research from Spain and Portugal, a subject he knows very well. It is a good starting point, but scholars of late antiquity need to improve their knowledge of the studies published by historians.

University of Seville

José Carlos Saquete

A. Landskron, *Parther und Sasaniden. Das Bild der Orientalen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien, Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie 8, Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2005, 226 pp., 2 figs., 41 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-901232-55-9/ISSN 1606-4712

Parat ultima terra triumphos; Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent, so schrieb der Dichter Properz (3. 4. 3-4) aus Anlass des Partherfeldzugs, zu dem Augustus im Jahr 22 v. Chr. aufbrach, unter dem Eindruck des erwarteten Sieges. Statt der erhofften Unterwerfung der Parther erreichte der erste Prinzeps nicht mehr als einen Verständigungsfrieden, zu dessen Besiegelung der arsakidische König Phraates als Geste des guten Willens die Feldzeichen zurückgab, welche die Parther 53 v. Chr. bei Karrhai erbeutet hatten. Der Friedensschluß und seine Ausdeutung in der augusteischen Literatur und Bilderwelt sind symptomatisch dafür, wie in Rom das spannungsreiche Verhältnis zwischen dem Imperium und seinem östlichen Nachbarn wahrgenommen wurde. Immerhin waren die Parther, und in ihrer Nachfolge die Sasaniden, die einzige im engeren Sinn staatlich organisierte Macht, mit der Rom es zwischen der Niederwerfung Mithradates' VI. und der Bildung des Kalifats zu tun hatte. Zwischen dem imperialen Universalismus Roms (wie im übrigen auch des Parther- bzw. Sasanidenreichs) und dem realexistierenden Dualismus zwischen zwei Großmächten, die sich auf dem Kriegstheater Mesopotamiens erbitterte Schlachten lieferten, herrschte eine latente Spannung, die in der Bilderwelt (wiederum auf beiden Seiten) manifest wurde.

Die Antwort, die Künstler in Ost wie West auf das Problem fanden, ist denkbar einfach und hat ihre Entsprechung in unzähligen anderen, historisch ähnlich gelagerten Konstellationen: Sie reduzierten den Gegner auf die abstrakte Personifizierung des kulturell Anderen schlechthin, den Typus des Barbaren, dessen chronische Unterlegenheit sie durch Einreihung in entsprechende Kontexte unmissverständlich machten: Barbaren werden in der Schlacht

⁵ For example the *Vitae Patrum Emeritensium* or Hydatius himself. See Arce (as in n. 3).

besiegt oder als Gefangene weggeführt, sie flüchten oder flehen. Entsprechende Bilder und Sequenzen gehören zum festen ikonologischen Inventar aller imperialen Großreiche, die gleichwertige Gegner ihrem Selbstverständnis nach nicht kannten, im Prinzip von den Imperien des alten Vorderasien bis zur einzig verbliebenen Supermacht unserer globalisierten Gegenwart, den Vereinigten Staaten.¹

Eine Untersuchung, wie die Produzenten von Bildern in der römischen Kaiserzeit mit den Erbfeinden Roms umgingen, bedarf im Prinzip also keiner Rechtfertigung. Römische Bildhauer haben, durch alle Epochen, ein dermaßen reiches Corpus an Bildwerken hinterlassen, auf denen Parther und Sasaniden eine prominente Rolle spielen, dass die Forschung hier wahrlich aus dem Vollen schöpfen kann. Umso mehr überrascht, dass Alice Landskron mit ihrer Wiener Dissertation die erste systematische Untersuchung zum 'Bild der Orientalen' in der kaiserzeitlichen Kunst vorgelegt hat. Die Fülle des archäologischen Materials – überwiegend Reliefs als Hauptgattung der römischen Repräsentationskunst, aber auch Statuen, Münzen, Gemmen, sasanidische Felsreliefs und spätantike Elfenbeinarbeiten – überblickt Landskron ebenso souverän wie die antike Literatur zu Parthern und Sasaniden.

So gelingt es ihr, und das ist wohl das wichtigste Ergebnis der Arbeit, herauszuarbeiten, dass der Barbarendiskurs, bei aller Verwandtschaft in den großen Linien, in den Bildwerken im Detail eine andere Gestalt gewann als in der römischen Literatur: Während die Literatur die Schilderung politischer Ereignisse und ethnographischer Details in den Mittelpunkt stellte und so Parther und Sasaniden automatisch von anderen Barbaren abhob, zielte die Bildkunst erkennbar darauf ab, einen kompakten Typus zu schaffen, der in komplexen Bildern leicht zu operationalisieren war und einen hohen Wiedererkennungswert bot. Letztlich waren die Mittel, mit denen Alterität und Exotismus produziert wurden, dieselben wie bei anderen Barbaren: klar als Nationaltracht definierte Kleidung, struppige, ungepflegte äußere Erscheinung, Verwendung bestimmter Marmorsorten. Gerade in der Analogie zwischen Parthern/Sasaniden einer-, den übrigen Barbaren andererseits liegt das Bemerkenswerte: Die grundsätzliche Symmetrie zwischen Römern und Orientalen findet keinerlei Niederschlag in den Bildwerken.

Dies gezeigt und die Techniken der Alteritätskonstruktion auf dem Seziertisch ausgebreitet zu haben, ist das unbestreitbare Verdienst von Landskrons Studie, deren Lektüre schon deshalb auch für Historiker der römischen Kaiserzeit Gewinn verheißt. Allerdings hätte man sich an mancher Stelle eine konsequentere Überarbeitung der Qualifikationsarbeit zum Buch gewünscht: Die 'historischen Vorbemerkungen' (Kapitel 2) sind nicht nur kursorisch, sondern vielfach ungenau und nicht auf dem Forschungsstand.² Schwerer wiegt, dass weite Teile der Arbeit einer Stoffsammlung gleichen, deren ausufernde Materialfülle dringend der Bändigung bedurft hätte, was besonders dort unangenehm auffällt, wo Landskron

¹ Zum Barbarendiskurs allgemein H. Münkler, *Imperien. Die Logik der Weltherrschaft – vom Alten Rom bis zu den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin 2005), 150–57. Zur Rolle von Hollywood im weltweiten 'War on Terror' P. Bürger, *Kino der Angst. Terror, Krieg und Staatskunst aus Hollywood* (Stuttgart 2005).

² Unverständlich, da doch an einschlägigen Überblicksdarstellungen kein Mangel herrscht. Unberücksichtigt bleiben u.a.: M.H. Dodgeon und S.N.C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, AD 226–363. A Documentary History* (London 1991); F. Millar, *The Roman Near East. 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA 1993); M. Sartre, *D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique* (Paris 2001); E. Winter und B. Dignas, *Rom und das Perserreich. Zwei Weltmächte zwischen Konfrontation und Koexistenz* (Berlin 2001); G. Greatrex und S.N.C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, Part II, AD 363–630. A Narrative Sourcebook* (London 2002).

sich, statt das Orientalembild der Literatur behutsam aus den Texten herauszufiltern, in seitenlangem Zitieren ergeht. So bleibt es dem Leser selbst überlassen, einen Ausweg aus dem Labyrinth der Fakten zu finden – einen Ariadnefaden hat Landskron ihm nicht zu bieten.

University of Liverpool

Michael Sommer

J.A. Larson, *Lost Nubia. A Centennial Exhibit of Photographs from the 1905–1907 Egyptian Expedition of the University of Chicago*, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 24, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2006, xiv+110 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-885923-45-7

This is a catalogue of an exhibition launched at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The book commences with a comprehensive Introduction (pp. VII–X) of the history of Nubia, starting with the 4th millennium BC and ending with the time just prior to the University of Chicago expedition headed by James Henry Breasted. The expedition team comprised the English Egyptologist Norman de Garis Davies, the photographers Friedrich Koch and Horst Schliepack, an American engineer Victor Smith Persons, as well as Breasted's wife Frances and their son Charles. He and his team then took almost 1200 photographs during the winters of 1905–07. Travelling by sailing boat they compiled a photographic corpus of some of the major sites from the rock-cut tombs at Aswan, via the Great Temple of Ramesses II, to the regions of the Gebel Barkal at the 4th Cataract. Images were taken from prehistoric rock-carvings to Christian churches. Breasted essentially also copied all known and accessible historical inscriptions in the pre-Ptolemaic temples of the region. An initial publication of the majority of the photographs in 1975 was then followed by the on-line publication in 2001 (<http://oi.chicago.edu/OI/MUS/PA/EGYPT/BEES/BEES.html>). At the end of the Introduction the ultimate threat to the monuments of Lower Nubia, the Aswan Dam and Lake Nasser, and the many salvage campaigns by UNESCO are mentioned. The Introduction is followed by an Epilogue unfolding the future careers of the members of the expedition.

For the exhibition in Chicago 200 photographs from the total of almost 1200 images were chosen. A final selection of 52 photographs was made for this catalogue (pp. 2–105). For each of them is given the location, date when it was taken and by whom. All photographs are also accompanied by factual descriptions and various entries, both academic and anecdotal, from Breasted's diary related to the images. The photographic journey along the Nile starts at Aswan. It then stops at the temples at Gerf Hussein, Dendur, el-Sebua and Gebel Adda. Several images can be seen of the original location of the Temple of Abu Simbel where the team worked for 40 days copying and photographing the monuments. Similar attention was given to the monuments at Gebel Barkal where an initial excavation was even begun which was later completed by George Andrew Reisner in 1919. Frequently throughout the catalogue members of the expedition, local people like the Bishari, and landscape scenes are shown illustrating life in Nubia 100 years ago.

With the selection of the pictures and the contemporary comments by Breasted, Larson succeeds in taking the reader without much difficulty on this journey along the Nile and thus virtually becoming a participant of this expedition.

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Thomas Hikade

J. Latacz, *Troy and Homer. Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*, translated from German by K. Windle and R. Ireland, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004, xx+342 pp. Cased. ISBN 0-19-926308-6

Joachim Latacz is an eminent Homerist, known for his analysis of Homeric battle descriptions¹ and especially for his *magnum opus*, a large-scale commentary on the *Iliad*, still in progress.² His latest book, an updated translation of his *Troia und Homer* (Munich/Stuttgart 2001), is exciting and frustrating in equal measure. It is exciting because it has the potential of persuading Homerists to engage with the non-classical cultures, languages and literatures of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Mediterranean; but it is also frustrating because its use of relevant scholarship is often one-sided – and its methodological framework seems insufficiently thought out.

Troy and Homer is primarily written for the general reader (p. 2). Like other authors contributing to the rapidly expanding field of popular scholarship, L. promises new evidence to solve old problems. The ‘problem’, in the present case, is Homer’s relationship with the city of Troy and/or the ruins on the hill of Hisarlık. The new evidence comes from Manfred Korfmann’s excavations at and around Hisarlık and from the work of Mycenologists, Hittitologists and other scholars working on Bronze Age history and archaeology. The solution is that Hisarlık should be identified as Wilusa/Ilios/Troia, a regional centre of power on the periphery of the Hittite empire; and that Homer’s *Iliad* can henceforth be used as a ‘secondary historical source’ for the fate of that city.

Part 1, entitled ‘Troy’, briefly recapitulates the history of research on the location of ancient Troy (pp. 1–12) before presenting the results of Korfmann’s campaigns at Hisarlık (pp. 20–51), and of recent work on the location of Hittite vassals in western Anatolia, including Wilusa (pp. 73–92). L. concludes that Wilusa is to be identified with Homeric (*W*)*Ilios* (p. 90). He then looks at Hittite *Taruwisa* = Troy (pp. 92–100), *Achijawa* = Achaeans (pp. 121–28) and Egyptian *Danaja* = Danaans (pp. 128–33), accepting all these equations as more or less certain.

In Part 2, entitled ‘Homer’, L. asks what information the *Iliad* might yield as ‘a secondary historical source’ (pp. 138–40). After a general outline of early Greek history (pp. 144–50) and of Homer’s place in it (pp. 151–53), L. recapitulates the discovery of the Mycenaean palaces and the decipherment of Linear B, emphasising the continuity between Bronze Age Greece and the 8th century BC (pp. 154–66). He next turns to the *Iliad*, and the question of what historical information it might preserve (pp. 167–82). L. points out that the ‘tale of Troy’ only forms a backdrop to the action of the poem (pp. 182–205), and argues that some version of this tale must have existed since the Bronze Age (pp. 213–49). He also suggests that an unbroken tradition of hexameter poetry can be traced back to the Bronze Age (pp. 250–77) and concludes that the story of Troy as found in Homer’s *Iliad* refers to real places and events in the Late Bronze Age (pp. 278–87).

L. rightly emphasises the importance of the ‘eastward glance’ that sets Korfmann’s scholarship on Troy and Hisarlık apart from that of his predecessors (pp. 20–21). He painlessly

¹ *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios* (Munich 1977).

² *Homers Ilias: Gesamtkommentar* (Munich/Leipzig 2000–).

introduces the reader to the important but hitherto little-known Hittite, Egyptian and Mycaenean Greek materials that have a bearing on his topic; and he manages to turn even a discussion of the Homeric catalogue of ships into a gripping tale of discovery (pp. 236–47). L.'s almost obsessive enthusiasm for his cause, while distracting in some cases, carries him across an astonishing range of material: few readers, including professional Homerists, will come away from this book without having their horizons broadened in one way or another.

Just what that broadening of horizons might contribute to Homeric scholarship is less clear, and here is where the problems start. From the Preface to the English translation we gather that L. has an axe to grind (pp. ix–x, on the subversive activities of 'the Kolbians'), and this is unfortunately reflected in the book itself: time and again, special pleading turns conjectures into near-certainties, not always with the necessary health-warnings attached to them. *Pace* L., there are still those who doubt Korfmann's reconstruction of the lower city of Troy (*cf.* p. 26, 'Any doubt ... could be ruled out'; p. 37, '... could no longer be any doubts about this'), and whatever the merits of their case, they should not simply be ignored. Likewise, the dual identification of Hisarlık with Homeric *Ilios* and Hittite *Wilusa*, though highly attractive, has not been 'proven' and is not currently accepted by everyone (*cf.* p. 83, 'This was sufficient to dispel any remaining doubt'; p. 90, 'Now it is proven'). Other claims of a similar nature are introduced with little or no discussion at all. Thus, we learn in passing that the Mycenaean script could not have been used to write down poetry because it was 'extremely complex' (p. 146) and 'unsuitable for recording long texts' (p. 263; but compare the far more complex cuneiform scripts of the Hittites and Babylonians); and that epic poetry survived from the Mycenaean period into the Archaic age because it served as 'a forum for discussion among the nobility' (p. 186). This is possible and perhaps even likely; but we have no real way of knowing.

There are other weaknesses too. L.'s discussion of formulae elides much of what has happened in Homeric scholarship since the days of Milman Parry (pp. 252–59); and by dividing the *Iliad* into 'historically relevant' and 'irrelevant areas' (pp. 172–73) he simply ignores how epic poetry itself viewed and constructed the past. This last point raises a larger question about the nature of L.'s research. L.'s self-declared aim is to reclaim Homer as an 'historical source' (p. 138), but he is vague about what precisely this might contribute to our understanding of Homeric poetry (*cf.* p. 287, 'Homer is to be taken seriously'). It would have considerably strengthened his case had he taken more time to reflect on the merits – as well as the potential drawbacks – of his chosen approach.

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Johannes Haubold

E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 100, Uitgeverij Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Sterling, VA 2000, 694 pp., black-and-white and colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-429-0859-9

Writing in the *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* (4 [2002]), Scott Noegel described this volume as 'magisterial'. It is certainly a work of tremendous scholarship, as even a casual glance at the sometimes almost half-page-long footnotes illustrates. It is, however, for the most part misdirected scholarship in that it is difficult to identify any audience that this book engages.

The text is so overburdened with etymological digressions and semantic ramblings that all trace of a narrative thread is totally lost, and it is virtually impossible to read more than two or three pages at a time without succumbing to frustration.

This is not to say that there is not a wealth of valuable information here. There certainly is, but the book should be treated as more of an encyclopaedia than a narrative textbook. The book begins with a very brief (one paragraph) historical overview of the socio-political situation in the Levant in the 12th century BC following the demise of the Hittite empire, the invasions of the Sea Peoples and the withdrawal of the Egyptian empire. This should have provided the opportunity to characterise the emergence of the Aramaeans and to set them 'centre-stage' for the following discussions. Unfortunately it was not an opportunity that Lipinski chose to seize, and instead what follows is an extremely turgid discourse on the origins, occurrences and eventually etymology of the name 'Aram'. The result is that the reader is left with no clear perception of the Aramaeans as a people, but instead is given a somewhat old-fashioned and misguided impression of roaming semi-nomadic tribes who magically 'came into existence in the 13th century BC' (p. 50).

This misconception pervades the rest of the book. There is clearly a difference between the time of development or emergence of a society and the time at which its existence is perceived or recognised. What is clear about the Aramaeans is that their society and culture represents an amalgam drawn from the legacy of Syrian civilisation over several millennia. In these terms it is impossible, or more properly meaningless, to define a 'start date' for their existence. The best way of characterising the Aramaean phenomenon of the 1st millennium BC is surely to see it as a resurgence of largely indigenous ideals held dormant throughout the 2nd millennium BC by the imposition of Hurrian–Mittanian, Middle Assyrian, Hittite and Egyptian social and political constructs. Aramaean culture reflects this blend by exhibiting veneers of sometimes Hittite, sometimes Egyptian overlay, but always at the very core can be detected the essence of the indigenous Amorite population. Now any society, whether it Amorite, Canaanite, Babylonian or whatever, will always have its nomadic or semi-sedentary components, but to characterise the entire society as 'tribal' as L. does, on the basis of these elements is both simplistic and misleading. To apply a tribal label to Hamath or Aleppo, or even Til Barsip in the 1st millennium BC is frankly absurd in the face of sophisticated architectural traditions and developed material assemblages that owe their expression to processes of evolution over countless generations.

This continuing misconception pervades the remainder of the book, most prominently of course in Chapters III–XIII, which occupy some 330 pages, and which discuss in detail the various Aramaean territories, beginning with Laqe and ending with Aram-Damascus. In other respects, this is the most valuable and important part of the whole book. Following brief introductory sections, each Aramaean group is discussed in turn, under sub-sections of 'territory' and 'history'. Here L. gives full rein to his almost obsessive interests in toponym studies and etymology, and the sections are almost impossible to read as straightforward accounts owing to the endless digressions into these areas, but as a resource to 'dip into' this part of the book is invaluable. If one wants to know the territorial limits of say Bit-Adini in the 9th century BC, the information is all here. L. brings to bear a breathtaking variety of sources, not only Assyrian and Biblical, but everything from Theodoret of Cyrrhus to William of Tyre. Cities and towns are sensibly identified where possible, not just on the basis of the historical geography contained within the written sources, but also with

reference to archaeological results. Identifications are often proposed, for example, on the basis of the site in question having produced from its surface sherd collections material of appropriate date. Clearly many of the identifications of unexcavated, un-surveyed, and at times, un-named mounds are speculative, but L. never extends his arguments beyond the possible.

Use of the Biblical sources is treated, for the most part, sensitively, although somewhat idiosyncratically. Whilst there is clear recognition of the non-contemporaneity of the Pentateuchal sources, the United Monarchy is treated as an historical reality despite the growing body of evidence to the contrary. It is odd that L. is clearly aware of the issues arising from the excavations of Tel Jezreel, but does not appreciate their implications for reclassifying the so-called Davidic and Solomonic assemblages to the time of Omri and Ahab, and the way in which this might invalidate his earlier correlations with Aram-Damascus in particular.

Following an equally useful section on the 'Aramaecans in Babylonia', the book ends with chapters on 'Nomadism, Royalty and Dignitaries', 'Society and Economy', 'Law' and 'Religion'. The least satisfactory of these is the final chapter on religion, where again the etymological diversions detract from the narrative to such an extent that the reader is left with no clear understanding of Aramaean religion, its gods and goddesses or the practice of its cult. Absent too is any discussion of the numerous religious buildings that have been excavated such as those at Tell Tayinat, 'Ain Dara and most recently Aleppo.

In general too, the omission from the book of chapters dealing with art and architecture and material culture is unfortunate. Their inclusion might have gone some way towards 'humanising' the Aramaeans and presenting them as a people rather than as an exercise in etymology.

The British Museum

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A. MacMahon and J. Price (eds.), *Roman Working Lives and Urban Living*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005, viii+224 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84217-186-0

This collection of essays takes the reader beyond the usual discussions of 'everyday life in Rome' – a topic which all too often focuses on the centre of the Roman empire and ignores non-central areas. Although Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia do feature in various essays in *Roman Working Lives and Urban Living*, even these old favourites are dealt with in new, critically discerning ways.

The twelve essays published here originated in a July 2001 conference entitled 'Roman Working Lives and Urban Living', held at the University of Durham. The chapters are divided into two main sections: 'Urban living and the settings for working lives', and 'People at work: owners and artisans, crafts and professions'. Janet De Laine's contribution, 'The commercial landscape of Ostia', challenges the traditional theoretical boundaries set up around Roman commerce. De Laine argues against the tendency to assign spatial function on the basis of the structure's Latin label. Her chapter is a thought-provoking examination of how buying, selling and storing at Ostia, on the larger or smaller scales, were conducted in a range of spaces and addressed a variety of human agents.

In the same section, Arde Mac Mahon and Simon Esmonde Cleary discuss evidence from Roman Britain in their papers on urban space. Mac Mahon is concerned with shops

and workshops, and particularly with *tabernae*, which he conceives of as 'dynamic organisms' that developed through time to suit the needs of a changing clientele. His painstaking analysis of the archaeological evidence results in an evocative re-creation of an ancient *taberna*, helping readers to envisage what it was like actually to shop or work in one. The very interesting photograph of the National Korean Folk Village is a useful aid to this end. Meanwhile, Cleary's contribution focuses on the articulation of urban space in Romano-British towns, a largely unknown area given the patchy archaeological and textual evidence for the 'lived experience' of religion and ritual in this part of the empire. He gets his points across with lively and considered discussions of Silchester, Colchester and Gosbecks, and Verulamium. The last essay in this first section (number two in the book overall) is Dominic Perring's 'Domestic architecture and social discourse in Roman towns', in which the author argues that such architectural features as colonnades, *atria*, corridors and peristyles played an integral role in patronage practices and functioned as status symbols as well as emblems of *paideia*.

The second section of the book centres round work and craft places in Roman towns. Papers by Damian Robinson and Marina Ciaraldi look at the evidence from Pompeii for the organisation of trade and industry (Robinson) and for specialised agricultural production (Ciaraldi). Shawn Graham's 'Of lumberjacks and brick stamps' offers an innovative way of looking at the building industry through brick stamps. His case study of the evidence from the Tiber valley examines the role of the Tiber in moving bricks from town to town, placing the brick industry within the larger economic infrastructure. The glass industry, meanwhile, is studied by Jennifer Price in her chapter. Price makes dexterous use of archaeological evidence from a number of sites, particularly Romano-British towns, and demonstrates the great variety of glass workshops that existed (with travelling glassworkers making their own contribution to Roman glass production).

Roman Britain is again the focus of discussion in the papers by Jenny Hall and Jeremy Evans. Hall looks at shops and craft-workers in Roman London, making ample use of the evidence from No. 1 Poultry in London, with its 70 timbered buildings built over a period of 350 years. The inclusion of several photographs from the *High Street Londinium* exhibition at the Museum of London in 2000 adds to the vividness of her written reconstruction of these workshops. Evans's concern is with the great variety of pottery used in Roman Britain: types, fabrics, and functions of ceramics differed in Romano-British life to central Mediterranean life. His deft use of data supports the controversial conclusion that a market economy was established in Roman Britain by the Flavian period – much earlier than Ian Hodder's suggestion that this did not happen until the later 3rd century.

The last paper, 'The role of doctors in the city', by Ralph Jackson, examines one profession as it was practised in cities throughout the empire. Jackson uses texts and material evidence to piece together the working lives of 'healers' (some of them women), concluding that the majority of them stuck to recognising and describing disease, rather than actively combating it.

The book is neatly edited and amply illustrated. The one very minor criticism I can think to add is that a comprehensive bibliography, rather than chapter-by-chapter ones, would be very useful and more accessible to readers.

- I. Malkin (ed.), *Mediterranean Paradigms and Classical Antiquity*, Routledge, London/New York 2005, vi+150 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-415-35635-0/13: 978-0-415-35635-0

Many historians, rather than archaeologists, are working hard to justify a new attitude to Mediterranean studies. That the inland sea was a unit was apparent to the Greeks and Phoenicians, whence *periploi*. That micro-regions could reflect the whole is simply a truism. To deride older 'core-periphery' models does no more than deride all models designed to help explain things without imposing answers. Margins are not merely 'an accident'. The Greeks facing easterners in Sicily and in Athens in 480 BC may each have felt at the centre of things, but, in Mediterranean terms, failure for the former would have meant simply another Sardinia; for the latter the murder at birth of 'classical civilisation'.

These essays flirt with the subject. Ian Morris makes some wise observations to keep the subject (if it is one) on course; Lin Foxhall offers a good social/agricultural survey; Nicholas Purcell tries to present the study still as a novelty; Greg Woolf considers the sea and religion. I detect nothing to suggest that new approaches are producing new or better answers to basic problems or puzzles, historical or social. And if the vacancy at the centre, all that water, the 'hole in the doughnut', is a problem, perhaps someone should for a change start thinking seriously again about fish, which could make a nonsense of hectare/population calculations.

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- R. Matthews and C. Roemer (eds.), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, Encounters with Ancient Egypt, University College London Press, Institute of Archaeology, London 2003, xvi+254 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84472-002-0

This volume is one of eight in the *Encounter with Ancient Egypt* series, and offers eleven extremely valuable essays covering a wide range of topics on the reception of Egypt in various cultures of the Mediterranean world. Reception is approached through a variety of matters including trade, war, art, literature and religion. The volume is given coherence by a very useful Introduction by the editors. This sets the context for the chapters within, although, as is the case with nearly all edited volumes, the contributions themselves can never assume the coherence of a monograph, even with a substantial introduction. It is a mistake, however, to view this as a fault (and is so with any edited book), for the papers must be judged individually for their contribution to *various* fields. The papers which make up this book, and indeed others in the series, all combine to make a profound contribution to the study of Ancient Egypt and offer a genuinely important way of thinking about Egyptian culture and its perception.

The chronological time-span of the contributions is wide, ranging from the early 3rd millennium BC to the Roman period. By the end of the 4th millennium BC, Egypt was a united state, and a power in the Near East. Sporadic contact with neighbouring powers was turning into more consistent behaviour. With the Bronze age, it is possible through archaeology to develop a more detailed image of this interaction. Braun (Chapter 2) and Sparks (Chapter 3) employ archaeology to explore the nature of Egyptian trade with other nations. Braun argues for a hierarchy of different levels in the extent of trade between regions of the

Levant and Egypt, and Sparks considers the mechanisms and modes of distribution. What both show is the dominance of Egypt, and the importance of trade as a factor behind Egypt's rise in power. As time went on, Egyptian influence in the wider region increased, as did the level of contact with Mesopotamia and regions further afield in the Mediterranean. Bevan (Chapter 4) looks at interaction between Egypt and the Aegean in the light of trade in stone vessels, and shows that in these, and other mediums, there was an exchange of styles and influence.

The Bronze Age saw the growth of Egyptian influence outside its own borders, when it became an imperial power. Two chapters by Warburton (Chapter 5) and Warburton and Matthews (Chapter 6) consider Egyptian international relations. Unlike other imperial powers, Egypt's international relations are characterised by a distinct lack of wars, indeed Kadesh is the only notable exception. But this great clash with the Hittites was not an isolated event, and must be seen in the context of complicated relations between a number of powers. Warburton discusses relations with Hatti and explores the clever way in which Egypt pursued alliances with Assyria and Mycenae, and how ultimately Egypt prevailed in this turbulent period. Warburton and Matthews take the story further, and look at the decline of Egypt into foreign rule and the spread of Assyrian and the Persian power. They consider the ideology behind international relations, with the caveat that our evidence is rather one-sided – we know little of Mesopotamian attitudes towards Egypt.

Chapters by Tanner (Chapter 7) and Harrison (Chapter 8) go on to cover Egyptian influences on Greek art and Herodotus' conception of Egypt respectively. Tanner explores how the influences of Egyptian art over Greek have been framed in modern scholarship, and seeks to explain the relationship in the light of world systems theory and 'materialization strategies'. Egyptian influences were fundamental to the development of Greek art and architecture, and there is a clear link between the development of art and growing interconnectivity in the eastern Mediterranean. This interconnectivity was driven by cultural attitudes towards foreigners – guest-friendship and gift-exchange – and an individual level. But it was also important in foreign relations between city-states, and this found reflection in monumental architecture. Harrison looks at the Greek 'encounter' with Egypt, but his main concern is not just how Herodotus viewed Egypt, but how it is represented in the *Histories*. For Herodotus does not just offer a description, he fits Egypt into his world-view and his scheme of reversal, and therefore his account of Egypt must be seen in the context of the whole work.

Hellenistic and Roman views of Egypt are the subject of the final four chapters. La'da (Chapter 9) considers theoretical questions about cultural interaction in the Hellenistic period. He is interested especially in immigration and the image and designation of foreign immigrants in the context of the political situation after the death of Alexander. The Ptolemies adopted a very open approach to foreign immigrants, and indeed encouraged immigration. But what was the reality of the relationship between immigrants and indigenes at both state and private level? Was the state openly of or covertly discriminatory? What was the role of ethnicity? At state level, La'da argues cogently that the Ptolemaic government was not knowingly discriminatory, and that at the level of the individual, there is little evidence for tension between ethnic groups. Rutherford (Chapter 10) examines pilgrimage in Egypt in the light of graffiti at the Memnonion at Abydos. The significance of Abydos as a site of pilgrimage (one of the very few pilgrimage sites of the Pharaonic period) continued in the Graeco-Roman period, and traditional religious traditions remained strong.

Pilgrims were not the intellectual tourists found at other sites such as the Colossos of Memnon. Walker (Chapter 11) takes on the Nile Palestrina mosaic, and this chapter, along with that of Maehler (Chapter 12), discusses the reception of Egypt by the Romans. Walker argues that the Palestrina mosaic, and the caricature of Egyptians and the land of Egypt, is designed to lampoon the excessive behaviour of Egyptians, frequently mentioned in Roman authors like Juvenal and Tacitus, and is an attempt to discredit Cleopatra and the Ptolemies. Maehler follows suit, arguing that Roman poets never tried to understand Egyptian culture, and had an agenda designed to celebrate Augustus and denigrate Cleopatra. The chapters clearly show that both literature and art were interlinked.

The chapters are followed by a consolidated bibliography, which is of considerable size. It thus provides an extremely useful resource on a wide range of subjects and historical periods concerning Egypt.

All in all, this is an extremely useful and interesting book. There are gaps – there always are in such volumes. There is room, for example, for discussions of foreign prisoners and their depiction in Pharaonic reliefs, Roman Egypt is strangely under-represented, the focus on pilgrimage is narrow, there is no discussion of the spread of Egyptian religion in the Mediterranean, of the Isis and Serapis cults. However, no edited book provides comprehensive coverage. What this volume does offer is a range of interesting chapters, which provide much food for thought.

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L. Mercuri, *Eubéens en Calabre à l'époque archaïque. Formes de contacts et d'implantation*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 321, École française de Rome 2004, 324 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 2-7283-0698-2/ISSN 0223-5099

In this major work, resulting from her doctoral dissertation, the author discusses the material proof for the presence of Greeks, mainly Euboeans, in southern Calabria and how they infiltrated the area. The book is divided in two parts: the first investigating the assimilation of foreign cultural influences by tribes in the hinterland of Rhegion and Locri Epizephyrri through the network of Mediterranean commerce in the 8th and 7th centuries BC; the second examining the Euboean impact on this region.

In Part A, a brief discussion on the distribution of sites that yielded indigenous material betraying Euboean influence is followed by an extensive typological and stylistic study of 109 pottery items from the cemeteries of Canale-Janchina (Chapter 1) and of bronze undecorated *phiai* from various southern Calabrian cemeteries (Chapter 2).

The often repetitive analysis of decorative schemes of pottery may become tiresome,¹ although one cannot but agree with the conclusions reached by Mercuri through solid argument. M. is of the opinion, shared by others (see p. 122 for a history of scholarship on the ceramic material), that the vases of Canale-Janchina are the product of a number of local potters working in the second half of the 8th century BC, who transplanted Euboean styles into their ceramic idiom and are more dependent on Campania and Etruria than on Sicily.

¹ Some patterns have been discussed recently by other scholars, for example N. Kunish, *Ornamente geometrischer Vasen. Ein Kompendium* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 1998).

As to where the influence originated, M. favours Locri Epizephyrii, on the coast a few kilometres to the east of the local settlement. The aim of this meticulous study is to help us understand 'les courants des échanges dans la péninsule....en considérant la céramique géométrique produite en Italie et inspirée de modèles grecs'.

A similarly thorough examination of a number of lipless, stemless, undecorated bronze cups dated to the 9th–7th centuries. BC and grouped here for the first time (36 of which come from southern Calabrian tombs in Torre Galli and in Canale-Janchina), with an investigation of their provenance, does not help to establish immediate Euboean contacts with the local population but raises the question of maritime routes in early historical times. M. concludes that, although one cannot exclude indigenous metallurgical activity, these cups were not locally produced but rather reached southern Calabria on board Cypriot or eastern Mediterranean ships voyaging to the Tyrrhenian Sea, while 'Etruscan' metal objects arrived on Etruscan vessels sailing in the opposite direction. The impact of these contacts on the cultural profile of the region was neither as important nor as permanent as that of the Euboeans; it helped nevertheless to shape the distinct cultural character of the indigenous population.

In the 'Préambule' to part B, M. investigates the role played by Chalcidians and Eretrians in the colonisation of Italy, claiming for Eretria a part larger than that assigned to her by either the literary sources or the archaeological finds.

The entire second part of the book (Chapter 3) is dedicated to the re-evaluation of the scarce archaeological evidence at Rhegion and in its territory. M. proceeds to the task with the same meticulous approach. She proposes a revision of the topography presented by George Valet and a new approach to the morphology of the sanctuaries. In the closing section of this chapter she untangles the relations between Rhegion and Locri Epizephyrii, trying to explain how and why Locrian colonists (from Opountian or Ozolian Locris?) were established in an area of Euboean commercial interest. The location of Locri on a coastal site from which currents swept the ships to the straits of the Euboean colonies, Rhegion and Zancle, accounts for the city's strong Euboean element.

In the concluding chapter, M. tries to pinpoint the role of Euboeans, merchants or permanent settlers, in the formation of the peculiar character of the indigenous culture of southern Calabria and finds parallels with other parts of Italy and Magna Grecia. She refers to some elusive passages in epic (*Odyssey*) and myth (Heracles) that infer Euboean traditions in Calabria, and summarises the conclusions she has reached in the previous chapters.

Cultural exchange within the frames of the first maritime expeditions of the 8th century is the main focus of this work: Euboean relations with the indigenous population and with the Locrians of Locri Epizephyrii. As the author herself points out, it may seem daring to try to establish a Euboean presence in a territory that offers scant archaeological or literary support for it: very little survives from ancient Rhegion, the only Euboean '*polis*' in Calabria, destroyed by earthquakes and by the modern city built over its ruins; while not much is published on Metauros, a Euboean sub-colony of Zancle. Nevertheless, M. achieves her goal by combining evidence from a vast array of sources, provided by the systematic study of Early Iron Age local imitations of Greek ceramic imports and of finds of metal objects, as well as by the reappraisal of relevant epigraphic and literary data. The merit of this work is the deduction of very interesting historical conclusions through the systematic presentation and re-evaluation of a large and diversified corpus of already published material.

The descriptions in the two catalogues (ceramic and metal vessels) provide the specialist with all necessary information but, since most of the items are already known, submerge other readers into more detail than is necessary. Good reconstruction and profile drawings enlighten the text. Photographic material is extensive, though not always of high quality. Although in a few instances the clarity of the argument is blurred by lengthy discussion, one has no difficulty in following the author's line of thought.

In conclusion this is a book worth reading, full of new insights on old and much debated material.

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Eva Simantoni-Bournia

I.A. Oltean, *Dacia. Landscape, Colonisation and Romanisation*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies, Routledge, London/New York 2007, xii+248 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-415-41252-8/13: 978-0-415-41252-0

Dacia covers the transition from the late pre-Roman phase of the region to the province, formed by Trajan after conquest and annexation in AD 106, and thereafter held by Rome until *ca.* 270. There are six chapters, the first being an Introduction detailing previous archaeological work in this part of Romania and setting out the method adopted in the current programme of work (pp. 1–25). There follows a description of 'the Dacian Heartland' (pp. 26–40), 'Historical Setting' (pp. 41–59), 'Settlement and Society in the Late Pre-Roman Age' (pp. 60–118), 'The Roman Social Landscape' (pp. 119–206), and 'Romanisation of the Landscape' (pp. 207–27). There is an extensive bibliography and single index (pp. 228–48). The book is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation submitted at the University of Glasgow resting on research carried out mainly between 1998 and 2004. The basis of the work is a series of aerial photographs taken on repeated flights over the Nures and Orastie valleys with the aim of detecting and plotting settlements of the two periods. Numerous illustrations of landscape, hill-forts, religious sites and other settlements, and distribution maps intersperse the chapters as text-figures.

Oltean charts a general movement from defensive occupation of high ground (hill-forts using in the late period the distinctive *murus dacicus*, settlements with 'towers', for which compare the *tyrseis* of Thrace, and other grouped or individual settlements) down to lower position in the valleys. The Roman military and economic pattern centred on two legionary fortresses (at first Berzobis and Apulum) and their *canabae* (later *coloniae*), and the governor's seat between them. There was an outer screen of auxiliary forts, serving as protection from the independent Dacian Carpi and the nomad Sarmatian Iazyges. Specialised settlements served the interests of mining, recreation (spas), and there was an increase and change of style in the country estates (villas and other agricultural centres of lesser status). 'A disappearance of the Orastie Civilisation' is O.'s summary of the archaeological picture (p. 228). Certainly the royal family, represented by Burebistas, Cotiso and more lately by Diurpaneus and Decebalus, was rooted out, and most of the nobles and warrior-class (*pileati* and *comati*) seemingly went with them. Miscellaneous population-elements were moved in, as literary sources attest, particularly from Illyricum and Dalmatia.

The study of the central areas of Dacia (the Banat, western Oltenia and western Transylvania) adds a dimension, provided by settlement-types and their intensity in the successive

periods, to the picture provided sparingly by the Greek and Latin writers. But these are increasingly supplemented by new assessments of inscriptions, funerary and religious sculpture and burial practice.¹

The book is well presented in both text and illustrations. Lapses are few, *amicii* for *amici* (p. 51), a curiously loose and unexplained use of the term *barbaricum* (pp. 53–54), and a misdating of Domitian's enforced treaty with the Dacian king to AD 99 instead of 89 (p. 54). In general, however, this is a careful presentation of a new approach to the study of a uniquely interesting region in times of enforced change.

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S.T. Parker, with contributions by J.W. Betlyon *et al.*, *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan. Final Report on the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980–1989*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies XL, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2006, 2 vols., 1104 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-88402-298-6/13: 978-0-88402-298-5

The *Limes Arabicus* Project was established to assess the archaeology and history of the Roman frontier in Jordan, one of the least studied of the empire's far-flung border regions. Between 1980 and 1989, a team of American archaeologists investigated the area east of the Dead Sea, recording the topography and monuments of the Kerak plateau, and excavating the legionary fortress of el-Lejjun and other military sites in the vicinity. This fieldwork is now published in a two-volume, final report which compiles results from the surveys and the latest seasons of excavation, catalogues sites and artefacts, and provides an historical synthesis, concentrating on the period of Roman military occupation.

The region came under Roman control in 63 BC when Pompey annexed Syria as a Roman province and converted the neighbouring states into Roman clients. In the early 2nd century AD, the kingdom of Nabataea was incorporated into the province of Arabia, and a military presence was established to guard the eastern frontier. The *via nova Traiana* was built to connect the provincial capital of Bosra in southern Syria with the Red Sea at Aila. This continued to be used as the main north-south route long after the Roman army withdrew from the region in the mid-6th century, by merchants and pilgrims travelling between the Umayyad capital of Damascus and Mecca.

To the east of the Dead Sea, the Kerak plateau rises suddenly from 400 m below sea level to an elevation of 1000 m. On the north side is the Wadi el-Mujib, a deep canyon described by Eusebius as 'a very difficult place' with a 'terrifying nature', and to the south, the plateau is bound by the Wadi el-Hasa. The desert to the east forms the fourth natural barrier that borders the gently rolling terrain of the plateau. Despite being a relatively isolated district on the margin of the desert, the favourable climate of the Kerak plateau has attracted human settlement for millennia.

In his Introduction to the report, the project Director, Thomas Parker, identifies two historical questions which the fieldwork sought to answer: why was there a dramatic military

¹ N. Gudea and T. Lobuscher, *Dacia – eine Römische Provinz Zwischen Karpaten und Schwarzem Meer* (Mainz 2006); L. Mihailescu-Birliba, *Ex Toto Romano: Immigration in Roman Dacia* (Leuven forthcoming).

buildup along this sector of the Arabian frontier in around AD 300? And how can its abandonment about two centuries later be explained? These interests are reflected in the excavations which centred on the fortress of el-Lejjun, but the project also had a wider scope, and surveys of the plateau and desert fringe took account of sites and features dating from the Palaeolithic to the Ottoman era, as well as assessing aspects of the natural environment.

The surface survey covered both the *limes* zone and the desert beyond the Roman frontier, considering material evidence of sedentary and nomadic populations in these areas. Virtually all the recorded settlements and substantial structures were located within the *limes* zone, whereas the majority of sites recorded in the desert survey were stone rings, campsites, cairns and other features associated with nomadic habitation. Results from the survey are presented firstly in a summary of site types and associated material evidence, and a more detailed discussion organised by historical period. This is followed by a catalogue of each recorded site which includes location details, descriptions of features and lists of finds, and the results are also presented in a series of maps and tables. A total of 537 sites are catalogued, most of which contained lithics or pottery, allowing for an overall chronological assessment.

Excavations at the fortress of el-Lejjun were conducted over all five seasons of fieldwork, and analysis of the buildings within the compound and its environs form the main part of the report. Detailed descriptions of each area excavated at el-Lejjun are presented over ten chapters which deal with the fortifications, several structures including the *principia* (headquarters), the barracks, a bath house, the *horreum* (granary), and a lime kiln, as well as the *vicus* – structures outside the walls of the fortress.

Four factors influenced the prioritisation of the fortress at el-Lejjun. As a legionary base, where the *legio IV Martia* was garrisoned, it is by far the largest Roman military installation in the region. The complex is also exceptional in that it is located outside an urban setting, and built on a fresh site rather than on pre-existing fortifications. Combined with the fact that the fortress has been largely undisturbed since its abandonment, architecture and other material evidence from the relatively brief span of occupation could be analysed in detail, allowing insight into the history and nature of the Roman army's settlement of the Arabian frontier.

The fortress is positioned near one of the few natural springs on the Kerak plateau, a resource which was key to control of the region. A large Bronze Age settlement to the west of the fortress, and Ottoman barracks south of the fortress, built from reused Roman masonry, indicate the long-term strategic importance of el-Lejjun. The fortress is rectangular in plan, with thick enclosure walls, and towers along each side and at the corners, all constructed during the earliest phase of building at the end of the 3rd century AD. The enclosure is divided by two main streets into four equal quadrants, characteristic of Late Roman forts. Situated in the centre was the *principia*, with most of the barracks built to the east and south sides. The barracks and *principia* were substantially remodelled following a major earthquake in AD 363, and they were built from chert rather than the limestone used in the initial stage of construction. Over time there were some alterations and additions to the fortress, including the construction of a church in the north-west quadrant in around AD 500.

The *Roman Frontier in Central Jordan* is a thorough report that contains a great deal of information on the architecture and material culture of the Kerak plateau. Together with previous reports and articles, the data retrieved from the legionary fortress of el-Lejjun gives a

fascinating insight into the Roman presence in Arabia during the late Imperial and early Byzantine period, and invites further study of this subject. In carrying out surveys and excavations at the Roman frontier in Jordan, P. and his team have considerably enhanced our understanding of what in the 1970s, G.W. Bowersock described as 'among the most neglected provinces of the Roman empire'.¹

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D. Peacock and L. Blue (eds.), assisted by J. Phillips and P. Copeland, *Myos Hormos – Quseir al-Qadim. Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea*. Vol. 1: *Survey and Excavation 1999–2003*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2006, viii+180 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-203-4

The site of Quseir al-Qadim lies on the west coast of the Red Sea, around 500 km south of Suez. It was a major port in Roman times, and again flourished as a trading centre in the 13th century, described in historical texts as a place where pilgrims embarked for Mecca. The modern town of al-Quseir lies a few kilometres south of the Roman and Islamic ports, which are submerged under a large silted lagoon. An extensive campaign of surveys and excavations carried out by the University of Southampton between 1999 and 2003 has yielded valuable evidence for the history and development of the site.

Inscribed ostraca and papyri found at Quseir confirm it as the Roman settlement of Myos Hormos, which along with Berenike to the south was a major port for ships sailing between Egypt and India. The earliest written reference to Myos Hormos is by Agathachides of Knidos in *ca.* 116 BC, and Strabo, who visited Egypt in 24 BC, noted that 120 ships sailed from there to India each year. The port was later described in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a sailors' handbook written in the 1st century AD. While Berenike continued to operate as a port into the Byzantine period, Myos Hormos appears to have declined in the 3rd century, and it was almost a thousand years before the site again assumed importance as an *emporion* for trade with the east.

Quseir lies at the point where the Red Sea is closest to the Nile, which explains the site's economic and strategic significance. The ancient road that connected Quseir with Coptos on the Nile was lined with several fortified watering stations (*hydreumata*) and dozens of square signal towers. These were assessed as part of a regional survey, which also considered the silted lagoon and its hinterland, rock art and inscriptions, the modern town of Quseir, and the area of Bi'r an-Nakhil, where the remains of approximately 200 small stone huts are clustered near the steep banks of the wadi. The huts are interpreted as an early monastic settlement dating from the 5th and 6th centuries. On higher ground to the south of the settlement is a ruined building, thought to have been a *hydreuma* that provided fresh water to the Roman town.

Whereas earlier research at Quseir concentrated on the visible remains of Roman buildings, the University of Southampton project focused on the silted lagoon to identify and examine the Roman and Islamic ports. Detailed topographic and geophysical surveys were carried out, which revealed the location and extent of the Roman and Islamic settlements. The geophysical survey identified the Roman harbour area and the natural curve of the

¹ G.W. Bowersock, 'A Report on Arabia Provincia'. *JRS* 61 (1971), 219–42.

harbour inlet, as well as several man-made features including walls, hearths, amphora deposits and lumps of basalt, thought to be ships' ballast imported from Arabia or Eritrea, and dumped in the bay.

Examination of the lagoon's sedimentary history clarified the sequence of silting, and the evolution of the Roman and Islamic waterfronts. Cores were collected and a number of profile sections or transects were dug at several points across the lagoon. Sediment and foraminifera samples were examined to ascertain the shifting topography of the lagoon, showing which areas were open water, and navigable in antiquity. Ships would have approached the Roman harbour through a deep channel, which became cut off by a bar of sediment that formed between the end of Roman occupation and the Islamic settlement. The Islamic harbour was a small bay or *mersa*, where boats were beached rather than docked, and which doesn't seem to have had any formal installations.

Excavations around the Roman waterfront revealed that the area was formerly a mangrove swamp, which was cleared and levelled to build the harbour. Wharves were constructed on layers of stacked amphorae, which were filled with earth, placed in rows and covered with rubble. Several features were uncovered around the harbour including a stone-lined basin for cold storage, a metal-smelting workshop associated with boat repairs, and other industrial facilities such as enclosed storage compartments. Apart from some early amphorae there was little evidence of the Ptolemaic port, though it is thought to have been located near the Roman harbour, in the lower levels of the silted lagoon.

Trenches were also dug in the area of the Islamic harbour, revealing features such as walls, hearths and pits, and indicating the long duration of settlement in the Mamluk period. Excavated deposits suggested both domestic and industrial activities took place near the waterfront. Two substantial limestone buildings were unearthed, interpreted as a *wikalet* or *caravanserai*, providing rest and storage facilities for travellers and merchants.

As well as the waterfront excavations, there was investigation of the higher ground, where the Roman and Islamic towns were situated. This expanded on earlier fieldwork, and included identifying a large Roman building constructed from limestone and rendered with plaster. The building went through several phases, and was derelict before being reused in the Mameluke period, but its original function is thought to have been religious, and the structure is tentatively interpreted as a temple or synagogue.

Other buildings excavated in the Roman town included several modest dwellings or out-houses, and a substantial residential complex in which was found an array of imported pottery including Indian and Aksumite wares, and ostraca and papyri bearing inscriptions in Latin, Greek and other languages. On the whole, Myos Hormos lacked the monumental architecture of Mediterranean ports, and its layout was more organic than the planned town of Berenike.

Excavations also took place to the east of the headland, to assess the extent of the Islamic settlement and explore a series of exposed mud-brick walls. These were thought to be part of a residential complex, and a variety of artefacts were recovered. Nearby was the Islamic burial ground, where fragments of human skeletal remains were visible on the surface. Again, multifarious objects were retrieved from the *sebakh*, including a fragmented ostrich egg inscribed with a religious poem in Arabic.

Quseir is a complex and fascinating site, rich with archaeological material from different periods of settlement, including organic items, some of them excellently preserved in the *sebakh*. The University of Southampton's timely report is well arranged and highly readable,

with numerous maps and plans, and succinct descriptions of the site's topography and excavated structures. Forthcoming publications, particularly those addressing the written evidence and the pottery, are sure to provide more detailed insight into the chronology and operation of this Roman and mediaeval port.

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A. Peschlow-Bindokat, Mit einem Exkurs von K. Konuk, *Feldforschungen im Latmos: Die karische Stadt Latmos*, Milet Band III.6, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Die Bau-ornamentik von Milet, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 2005, xii+62 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-11-018238-6

This volume of the *Milet* series on the Carian city of Latmos is the first of four to publish the results of fieldwork within the Latmia that has continued with interruptions since 1974 under the direction of A. Peschlow-Bindokat.

After a brief outline of our knowledge of the region and of the methodological approach adopted (pp. 1–2), some general remarks follow on the location and topography of the city as well as on the historical background. An overview of the arrangement of the urban area and the state of preservation is provided, after which the author turns to the various components of the settlement. First she discusses in detail the exterior features of the city which consists of different fortifications.

The masonry of the fortifications shows an irregular assembly of headers and stretchers in which the latter usually project deep into the structure of the wall, with few binding together the two wall-faces. There are drafted bands on the corners, and the curtain walls appear to have been topped by a closed *epalxis* with windows and wooden shutters based on the existence of numerous so-called 'Nutensteine'. The curtain walls, which vary in thickness according to their vulnerability to attack, are protected by a large number of rectangular towers, and at the weakest points smaller forts were erected. One of the most elaborate of these forts is found in the north and belongs to a type called the *tetrapyrgion*. Another *tetrapyrgion*, which P.-B. interprets as the residence of the local dynast, appears in a central position within the settlement. Further outside the city walls, a small number of outer defensive works exists which served as protection for the 'Vorfeld'.

In summary (pp. 18–19), the picture is presented of a well thought out, effective fortification completed economically. The conclusions about its date are more tenuous. According to Polyaeus (7. 23. 3), Mausolus took the city by deceit; the walls and the *tetrapyrgia* should have been erected as part of a single scheme before this event in the second quarter of the 4th century BC. Thus the fortifications of Latmos are one of the earliest of this type so far known in Asia Minor and can be considered as extremely innovative.

After her account of the fortifications, P.-B. turns to the built-up areas within the settlement which are described in similar detail. First she gives an overview of the various quarters of the city. Then the remains of the public and sacred buildings are discussed along with the domestic areas. Much time is dedicated to individual houses which can be divided into single-room buildings, those consisting of more than one room and, finally, residential complexes. The reconstruction drawings of the houses are very illustrative, although their poor state of preservation casts some doubt over whether all of them were built completely from

stone (see however p. 35). A summary in which the numerous construction elements are listed concludes analysis of the houses. Dating is generally based on the relative chronology of a sequence of masonry techniques, although P.-B. is aware of the problems associated with this (pp. 35–36). Pottery sherds play almost no role, and during the entire survey, apparently little importance was attached to them (for instance p. 24, n. 127). The chapter on built-up areas within the fortifications moves on through short explanations of some water-supply installations to a public district beyond the settlement probably erected under Mausolus, and to the *necropoleis* (in connection with the latter, it is especially interesting that some of the rock-cut cist graves were probably hewn within the settlement), before concluding with a brief summary of the discussion about the entire settlement. In general, the reader is provided with a good overview of the internal structure of the city, although the interpretation of some remains is not always convincing (for instance of rock-cut steps as an altar: cf. p. 26 with pl. 58. 4–6).

An Appendix contains a catalogue of 33 domestic structures, subdivided into the three house-types mentioned above. A final supplement by K. Konuk examines the coinage of Latmos that was first identified at the end of the 1990s. Only five silver coins belong to this small series and three types can be differentiated. Konuk assigns all of them to the time before Mausolus' conquest of Latmos.

Without doubt, P.-B. has extended our knowledge of ancient Latmos considerably with her research. Those who have been there know how much effort that must have entailed – particularly without a large team or great financial support – in gaining such a deep insight into the character of the settlement in this beautiful but quite complex landscape. The author offers very precise descriptions of the remains; these are complemented by excellent plates as well as some large plans. The shortness of the text and the limitation in many cases to just one possible interpretation (often one previously expressed by P.-B. elsewhere¹) result in a readable book, but one which leaves some open questions. For instance, the possible consequences of the early dating of the walls of Latmos for the general chronological classification of fortifications might have been discussed in combination with problems such as stylistic dating criteria. Whilst the connection of the fortifications with an unknown local dynast, as suggested by P.-B. (p. 42), would have made a deeper discussion of the historical background desirable. That this has not happened does not, however, detract from the fact that the author has provided an excellent basis and suggested numerous approaches for continuing discussions in various directions.

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The Phoenicians in Spain. An Archaeological Review of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.E., A Collection of Articles Translated from Spanish, Translated and Edited by M.R. Bierling, Associate Editor S. Gitin, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN 2002, xv+304 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-57506-056-6

The main purpose of this book is, as stated by M. Bierling in the introduction, 'to bring this important aspect of Phoenician commercial activity in the West to the attention of

¹ For the dating of the fortifications of Latmos, see, for instance, A. Peschlow-Bindokat, 'Die Tetrapyrgia von Latmos'. In W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds.), *Basileia. Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz 1996), 170–75.

students of ancient Near Eastern studies' (p. xi). Certainly, the study of the Phoenician presence in and colonisation of the Iberian Peninsula has been very intense in recent decades and it has produced a very considerable corpus of work, for the most part in Spanish, not always well known to those who do not read this language. In consequence, the editors of the volume have brought to a wider audience some samples of this bulky and important bibliography. All the studies included in the book have already been published in Spanish, and with its translation into English it is hoped that they will become known to a broader body of specialists in Phoenician colonisation.

The book is divided in two parts, the first one dealing with 'The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean', the second with 'The Phoenicians in the Area of the Atlantic'. In the first part we find articles devoted to the 8th-century Phoenician settlement in Morro de Mezquitilla (H. Schubart), to the important site of Toscanos (H.G. Niemeyer), and to Sexi (modern Almuñécar) (M. Pellicer Catalán). There is also an article dealing with the economy of Phoenician settlements in southern Spain (M.E. Aubet Semmler) and, by the same author, another studying Phoenician trade in the West. This part closes with two further pieces, one dealing with the Phoenician city at La Fonteta (A. González Prats, A. García Menárguez and E. Ruiz Segura), the other with the colonisation of the island of Ibiza (J. Ramón). As is usual in collections of writings by different authors, there is no unanimous opinion about Phoenician colonisation, its chronology, or its specific features, and the editors have not intervened in the text to indicate these inconsistencies. However, the reader receives good explanations of the different ideas circulating in current research about all of those questions, many of them still unresolved.

The second part begins with a long article about the origins of the city of Gadir (D. Ruiz Mata), an issue of great relevance to research on the origins of Phoenician colonial activity in the Iberian Peninsula. M.E. Aubet writes about the Tartessian culture, that is to say, the native culture that the Phoenicians met in the south-west of Iberia and the development of the so-called Orientalising period, an issue further developed by the same author in the following piece, 'The Phoenician Impact on Tartessos: Spheres of Interaction'. The panorama of the Tartessian culture is completed with an article of J. Fernández Jurado about the Tartessian economy, especially mining and metallurgical activities. Perhaps misplaced in the book (it were better placed before these two last articles), D. Ruiz Mata presents an overview on the beginnings of the Phoenician presence in the south-west of the Peninsula through consideration of the most relevant sites (Cabezo de San Pedro, San Bartolomé de Almonte, Castillo de Doña Blanca, El Carambolo).

Although various questions remain unaddressed in these studies, among them some that have been quite well studied in recent years (for instance Phoenician penetration of inland regions or Phoenician cult-places and sanctuaries), the book provides an up-to-date panorama of the problems of Phoenician colonisation as seen in Spanish scholarly writing.

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J. Poblome, P. Talloen, R. Brulet and M. Waelkens (eds.), *Early Italian Sigillata. The Chronological Framework and Trade Patterns. Proceedings of the First International ROCT-Congress, Leuven, May 7 and 8, 1999*, BABesch Suppl. 10, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2004, xiv+390 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 90-429-1481-5/ISSN 0165-9367

This volume contains papers delivered at the first international congress organised within the framework of *ROCT*, a collaborative research project among universities in Belgium, focusing on Roman Crafts and Trade in the East and West and underwritten by the Fund for Scientific Research, Flanders.

It contains 26 articles in English, French, German and Italian of variable length and quality. The editors offer a brief general Introduction outlining the reasons behind the organisation of such a congress (Poblome and Waelkens); general considerations on the status of the field of pottery studies focusing on the Eastern provinces (Poblome and Talloen) and on the wider questions about trade, economy, mechanisms of distribution of goods, and the individual choices of the ancient consumer. The introductory chapter concludes with general considerations assessing the status of sigillata studies on the western part of the empire (Brulet and Thoen).

The book is divided in two sections. The first contains articles focusing on areas of the eastern Roman empire. Specific case studies presented include Patras (Hubner), Argos (Abadie-Reynal), Olympia (Martin), Knossos (Eiring), Ephesus (Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker), Knidos (Kögler and Mandel), Cyprus (Malfitana), Berytus (Reynolds) Alexandria and Coptos (Elaigne), while Lund's and Poblome's articles offer a more general assessment on Italian fine ware and cooking ware production in the East before Augustus and on Italian terra sigillata (ITS) in the eastern Mediterranean, respectively. The latter study, applying Fentress and Perkins's method to determine chronological trends,¹ notes the peak in popularity of ITS under Augustus and Tiberius, with a drastic downturn by the end of the Flavian period.

Unsurprisingly, the important role that Corinth and its harbour had in the distribution of ITS in the Aegean area and mainland Greece is underlined by various contributions: Slane's (which discusses also the evidence for Italian potters, for example the Perenni, producing expressly for the Eastern market), Abadie-Reynal's on Argos (where Corinth's role as distributor is confirmed by the fact that for the AD 70s, when an earthquake affected Corinth, the majority of attested pottery is of local or regional origin), or Martin's on Olympia. The necessity to distinguish, in the specific cases, what were the general driving forces behind the diffusion of sigillata (complementary cargo with other exports such as wine, oil and perishable goods and/or a cultural element reflecting the Italian presence in a given area), is well exemplified by the case of Knossos (Eiring), where, until Claudius, small quantities of ITS are present. This is surprising in consideration of the foundation of the *colonia Iulia* of Knossos in 36 BC and of the donation of land in the island to Capua by Augustus (with the caveat, though, that not many Augustan contexts have been excavated in Knossos).

The second section is devoted to the western Roman empire. Regional studies included in this section deal with Westphalia and its Roman military camps (Rudnick), northern Gaul (Hanut), Lyons (Desbat), Magdalensberg (Schindler Kaudelka), northern Italy (Lavizzari Pedrazzini), Campania (Soricelli), Sicily (Malfitana), and Badalona (Madrid Fernandez).

Various papers focus on scientific analysis; Delecaut, Misonne and Laduron worked on establishing a new classification of ITS based on petrography, isolating, for instance, the

¹ E. Fentress and P. Perkins, 'Counting African red slip ware'. *L'Africa Romana* 5 (1998), 205–14; see also the later article by E. Fentress *et al.*, 'Accounting for ARS: Fineware and Sites in Sicily and Africa'. In S. Alcock and J. Cherry (eds.), *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (Oxford 2004), 147–62.

peculiarities of Arretine fabric (high content of mica) *vs* Lyonese (high concentration of quartz). Although the scientific details in the article are clearly intended for those who work in the archaeological sciences and are, therefore, familiar with them, other readers would have appreciated some more clarity about the methodology applied; for instance, the specific application in this study of the concept of Mahalanobis distance, although referred to a couple of times earlier, is explained only on the eighth page of the article (p. 212).

An interesting article by Olcese presents some preliminary results of a wider archaeological and archaeometric project on ceramic production in Rome and Latium. The investigation focused on verifying the origin of some of the terra sigillata production recorded in Rome and on establishing the existence of possible local/regional production. Although ITS has been the object of various scientific studies, we still lack a detailed database of reference groups that may allow the attribution of sigillata of unknown origin, if not to a specific centre at least to a restricted geographic area (given the difficulties in chemically differentiating the clays used for pottery in central Italy due to their similar geological composition). Among the results achieved by Olcese's research, we can list the archaeometrical identification of Arretine production supplying Rome also through the Neronian and Flavian periods, the isolation of the characteristics of the central Italian Vasanello and Scoppieto productions, and the possible existence of central Italian branch workshops for some Arretine potters (different chemical composition but same name in the stamp). It is also worth noting that the analysis of the over-fired samples found at Ostia, stamped '*Sex. Annius*', which were taken to indicate the presence of a local branch workshop, present instead a chemical composition that ascribes them to the Arezzo/North Etruria group, indicating that the pieces were imported to Ostia. This fact raises the interesting question of the reasons behind the movement of such imperfect goods: perhaps cheaper products for the urban masses?

Kenrick's article offers a useful synthetic overview on some broader themes treated in the new edition of the Oxé-Comfort catalogue of ITS stamps, and on how the research developed in the past 50 years calls for a revision of some of the earlier opinions. He touches upon current knowledge concerning workshop locations, chronology, distribution, workshop size and personnel, and the piece would be a useful introduction for students to the issues related to sigillata studies.

In general, from the various contributions it emerges that, with the exception of Corinth and Alexandria, only a low proportion of the ITS trade went to the East, when compared with percentages from places like Magdalensberg. Even in a city like Ephesus a small amount of ITS was in circulation, since the market was well supplied by the Eastern sigillata productions; incidentally, the relative strong presence of productions from Puteoli in Egypt and Arabia should not surprise us (see Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker, p. 79), remembering that the harbour of Puteoli had a primary role both in the shipments related to the *annona* for Rome and the spice trade until the construction of the new basin at Portus, Ostia by Trajan.

As the editors themselves observe, it is a pity that it took longer than planned for the proceedings to be published, since some of the articles make important contributions to our understanding of the chronological framework of sigillata trade and development of local workshops, as in the case of Eastern sigillata or Gaulish sigillata. In the time it took to produce this volume some of the papers were presented at other conferences, whose proceedings came out more swiftly.²

² For instance, G. Olcese's article appeared as 'Terra sigillata italica a Roma e in area romana: produzione, circolazione e analisi di laboratorio'. In *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta* 38 (2003), 11–26.

The articles are well illustrated by drawings and black-and-white photographs, and I spotted few typographical errors. Some wise editorial choices, i.e. to combine and publish one general bibliography at the end of the volume, have made the book more manageable and avoided useless repetitions.

Although some of the results presented are only preliminary and the time it took to produce the publication has affected the novelty of some contributions, nevertheless the book performs a useful service in offering a state-of-the-question overview of research projects on terra sigillata and case studies, supported by some contributions on the more general background.

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M. Prent, *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults. Continuity and Change from the Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 154, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2005, xviii+707 pp., 3 maps, 81 figs. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14236-3/ISSN 0927-7633

Cretan religion and cults of the early historical (or protohistorical) period occupy a curious position within the fields of archaeology and ancient history. Their study really falls between two stools. On the one hand, such cults are of limited interest to scholars of Bronze Age (or 'Minoan') Crete, who mine such material principally to support notions of continuity between the Bronze and Iron Ages, notions which allow later literary evidence for Crete to be used to construct a model of 'Minoan religion'. Their study also generally falls outside the scope of the field of ancient religion, focused as it is on the rich body of literary, epigraphic, iconographic and archaeological evidence either for the historical 'Olympian' religion of mainland Greece or for that of Republican and Imperial Rome.

Mieke Prent is only too well aware of these difficulties, but also singularly well placed to address them. Hers is the first serious synthesis of the evidence (principally material) for Cretan cult between the end of the Bronze Age (Late Minoan IIIC) and the first part of the Archaic period (that is between *ca.* 1200 and 600 BC). This is a large, disparate and intractable body of evidence. Many of the sites were excavated long ago, by scholars often more interested in the Bronze Age than later periods. Few sites ever reached the stage of full or final publication of the finds. At the same time, P. has had to face up to the problem of relating literary and epigraphic evidence of Classical and Hellenistic date to the material evidence for early Archaic times. Unsurprisingly, such evidence does not always quite make for a perfect fit. P. is to be congratulated for bringing order out of this chaos, and for putting forward a coherent view of Iron Age Cretan religion, based firmly both on the available evidence and on an understanding of contemporary approaches and debates.

After a short Preface, the book is arranged in five chapters. The introduction (Chapter 1) sets out her research questions. P.'s approach to religion is explicitly Durkheimian – she is not interested so much in the content of belief, as in reconstructing religious practice and relating it to social and political institutions. P. opts for Colin Renfrew's criteria to identify cult assemblages. Chapter 2 deals with the background, the history of research in the field. The Iron Age has, for long, been seen as 'Sub-' or 'Post-' Minoan, a fact often held to explain the island's curious differences in institutional developments from that observable in the mainland. Chapter 3 gets down to business, with a close analysis of the evidence for cult in the earlier (Late Minoan IIIC and Subminoan) periods, roughly 1200–970 BC). After

another introduction (amplifying and sometimes repeating some of the historiographical and methodological points discussed earlier), cult sites are discussed in broadly geographical order, moving from Sybrita in the west to Vronda in the east. Here P. introduces a distinction between 'urban and suburban' cults (where cult can be identified with a particular community) on the one hand and 'extra-urban' cults (in caves or on peaks remote from human settlement) on the other. The chapter ends with a general discussion, focused particular on bench-shrines and the 'goddess with upraised arms'.

These principles of organisation (introduction, separate discussion first of 'urban and suburban' and then of 'extra urban' sanctuaries, followed by an examination of broader themes) are retained for the fourth (and by far the longest) chapter, on cults of the Proto-geometric, Geometric and Orientalising Periods (970–600 BC). The chapter, almost a separate monograph in itself, contains much of value: excellent thematic sections on such matters as the *andreion*, the relationship of earlier bench-shrines to later hearth temples, the phenomenon of 'ruin cults', and the role of 'pan-Cretan' cults. But it is very hard to digest. Her decision to incorporate the catalogue of sites into the main body of the text means that, in order to understand the argument, one has first to read the catalogue. This arrangement only allows for the partial fulfilment of the objective of relating particular cults relate to particular communities (especially to emerging poleis), as the division of cult sites into either an urban/suburban or extra-urban category breaks up the natural geographical order. This structure makes for much repetition – important points are invariably made at least twice. A useful *précis* of the argument is however given in the final chapter, 'summary and conclusions'.

I have a number of other niggles. First, the format, dictated by the series, is not really suitable for a largely archaeological synthesis. While the numerous footnotes are helpfully placed at the bottom of the page, the illustrations are at the back, necessitating constant and cumbersome cross-referencing. Second, it says something very uncomplimentary, not so much about the author as about the current state of the subject, that some of the most stimulating discussions involve hypotheses originally put forward by 'anthropological' scholars at the turn of the 19th- and early-20th centuries. The subject is very much in need of an injection of fresh ideas from anthropology. Third, the comparison (and contrast) with mainland practice, a contrast which best illustrates how Cretan religious practice was distinctive, is only occasionally sustained. And there are two startling omissions. While P. rightly emphasises the distinction that must be made between cult equipment and votives (and the difficulty of deciding which is which), votives are otherwise largely distinguished by material. Anthony Snodgrass's stimulating discussion of 'raw' and 'converted' offerings is overlooked. And, when it comes to relating cult to community, no mention is made of Robert Parker's magisterial synthesis of Athenian religion.

The overall argument nonetheless remains a strong one: cult must be related both to history (in the broadest sense) and to community. Questions of 'continuity', and the exact content of ritual, are of smaller significance than placing cult within the context of a particular political community, whose development is in turn part of a broader historical process. These points are made with a cumulative force that is ultimately very persuasive. Any future discussion of Cretan religion, or indeed of Early Iron Age and Archaic Crete, will have to take this book as its point of departure.

J. Prevas, *Envy of the Gods. Alexander the Great's Ill-Fated Journey across Asia*, Paperback edition, Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MA 2005, xiv+242 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN-13: 978-0-306-81442-6/ISBN-10: 0-3-6-81442-0

There is no end of writing books about Alexander the Great. *Envy of the Gods* is only the latest addition to the long list of biographies of the Macedonian conqueror of the Persian empire. Unlike other biographies of Alexander, however, *Envy of the Gods* does not deal with the whole of the Macedonian king's remarkable reign but only the seven years from the sack of Persepolis in 330 BC to his death in the summer of 323 BC. In accordance with recent scholarship, the author's account bears little resemblance to 19th- and early 20th-century biographies with their portrayal of a far-sighted and visionary Alexander. Instead, the author emphasises the increasing savagery with which Alexander treated both his opponents and his own officers and men as he progressed further and further into Asia, together with his luxurious life-style, his growing obsession with his own divinity, and his gradual degeneration into a brutal tyrant.

This negative image of Alexander is essentially that of the so-called Vulgate Tradition represented today primarily by the 17th book of Diodorus' Library of History, Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander*, and Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius' universal history. Despite superficial agreement with recent scholarship on Alexander, which has tended to take more seriously the evidence of these works, *Envy of the Gods* has little or no scholarly value. As a glance at the author's notes and bibliography of primary sources reveals, the author has little understanding either of the nature of the Vulgate Tradition or the scholarship concerning it.

Even at the most superficial level, errors abound. Sources are cited incorrectly, so Diodorus Siculus is constantly referred to as 'Siculus'. Other sources are misdated, the *Alexander Romance* being dated to a 'generation or two after Alexander's death' instead of the Roman period. Still others are misidentified, such as the *Metz Epitome*, which is identified with the 'Vulgate Tradition', instead of consisting, as it does, of a brief late epitome of a lost history of Alexander and a Latin translation of a late 4th-century BC pamphlet on the death of Alexander; while Justin's work is erroneously claimed to be based on Diodorus and Curtius Rufus instead of Pompeius Trogus. Not surprisingly, equally serious flaws are found throughout the narrative, including an eleven-page account (pp. 8–19) of Alexander's visit and personal reactions to the palaces of Persepolis, for which there is no evidence in the sources, and, most remarkably, a full account of the two week visit of the queen of the Amazons to Alexander (pp. 83–85) with only the barest hint of the insuperable problems posed by this story.

Envy of the Gods is a missed opportunity. The author traversed much of the same ground Alexander did during his campaign, territory that today politics and warfare have made virtually inaccessible to Western scholars. Had he incorporated into the narrative his observations concerning the geography and archaeology of these regions, his book would have been a significant contribution to Alexander studies. As it is, *Envy of the Gods* is essentially a vividly written but uncritical compilation of sensational stories about Alexander. Readers would be better served by one of the other recent biographies of the Macedonian king such as Paul Cartledge's or Ian Worthington's.¹

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Stanley M. Burstein

¹ P. Cartledge, *Alexander the Great: The Hunt for a New Past* (London 2004); I. Worthington, *Alexander the Great: Man and God* (Harlow 2004).

D.B. Redford, *Excavations at Mendes. Volume 1: The Royal Necropolis*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 20, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, vii+264 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13674-6/ISSN 1566-2055

Mendes (Tell er-Rub'a) was an important administrative city, trading emporium and cult centre in the north-eastern Nile Delta from the Predynastic to the Roman period. The main mound covers an area of around 150 ha and is currently the subject of work by the University of Pennsylvania directed by D.B. Redford. This volume publishes work from excavations in the north enclosure area, specifically focussing on the enclosure walls, the royal necropolis of the 29th Dynasty and tomb of king Neferites.

The detailed discussions of the complex stratigraphy of the trenches by R. highlight the serious destruction of the site. The excavation removed layers of rubble and accumulated rubbish which are dealt with in locuses and strata, revealing the denuded and worn mud-brick enclosure walls and the limestone burial. The debris containing pottery and some small finds is used to control the dating of the site and the inscribed limestone fragments or architectural elements are used to reconstruct the tombs and shrines. Within this context, common to most Delta sites, R. has been able to provide clarification regarding the construction of the enclosures at Mendes. There seems to have been a Ramesside enclosure, which was superseded by a wall in the reign of Nectanebo I in the 30th Dynasty, and finally a wall in the early Ptolemaic period in the reign of Ptolemy II. Each wall has its own peculiarities, for example wall T 1 was also used for burials in the Late New Kingdom, wall T 2 was built with reed matting strengthening layers and a huge foundation trench, wall T 3 has a slight slope on its outer face, appearing more like a retaining wall for the landfill outside T 2. R. also describes the form of the tomb of Neferites and its subsequent deliberate destruction in the second Persian period. Archaeological data of any kind from the 29th Dynasty is extremely rare, so the material here is all the more valuable, even if smashed into small pieces. The catalogue of inscribed fragments by D.B. and S. Redford is meticulous and painstaking, with detailed references, showing the excavators' awareness of the uniqueness of this material.

Material from the Third Intermediate Period is also important as Mendes was one of the centres of the Chiefs of the Ma at this time. Ushabtis and fragments suggest that a tomb of Nesubanebdjed previously existed in the area of the 29th-Dynasty necropolis. The charming stelae and fragments of stelae showing the goddess Hat-mehyt and her fish babies also attest to the local cults at Mendes, establishing the importance of the votive cult of the goddess alongside that of the main ram god Banebdjed. Presumably, these stelae were once offered in the main temple but were cleared out at some time. The pottery corpus from the excavations over the enclosure walls is described by Hummel and Shubert and provides a valuable typology from the Third Intermediate through to the Hellenistic period, and includes many Aegean imports. In addition, a short discussion of basket-handle jars by de Rodrigo provides a useful piece of synthesis of comparable material. The specialist sections on Third Intermediate Period human remains by Lang, faunal remains by Brewer and charred plant remains by D'Andrea do justice to the excavated material and also highlight some of the ways in which close observation of such material can begin to build up a mosaic of information relating to economic life and palaeo-environmental studies.

The volume is handsomely presented, the sections and pottery drawings are clear and crisp and the photographs carefully selected. The object drawings are reproduced directly from the

drawings made in the field on graph paper and contrast unfavourably with the pottery drawings. In some cases, the scans have not been cleaned up, so that shadows on tracing paper remain in the published drawings. There is some inconsistency in the quality of the sketches, for example some stone fragments have been given heavy outer lines, while others have very thin lines which have hardly survived the scanning process. This seems to be the difference between epigraphic field copies and an illustrator's representation (compare stele fragments 421 and 430). Whether this mode of reproduction was a deliberate choice or constrained by time, it would be better to address this issue in future publications and, at least, to tidy up the sketches. The skeleton drawings, with their dark backgrounds could be much clearer.

As the first in the University of Pennsylvania publications of the Mendes work, this volume sets a high standard, except for the reservations above. It also provides abundant, comparable material for the growing corpus from other Delta centres such as Tanis, Sais and Alexandria.

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Penelope Wilson

D. Ridgway, *The World of the Early Etruscans*, Göteborgs Universitet, The Félix Neubergh Lecture, 2000, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 162, Paul Åströms Förlag, Jonsered 2002, 53 pp. Paperback. ISBN 91-7081-189-X

This booklet represents the printed version of the author's Félix Neubergh Lecture read at the University of Gothenburg in 2000. The same year saw two important exhibitions in Italy on the Etruscans, both with splendid catalogues, as well as the synthesis written by Sybille Haynes¹ so Ridgway rightly stresses that his contribution is meant to be a discussion of ideas as the above mentioned volumes quite sufficiently illustrate the subject (p. 9).

This magisterial lecture is divided into four sections (pp. 15–36), headed by a Preface (pp. 9–11), an Introduction (p. 13) and ended by an Envoi (pp. 37–38). It is stated in the Introduction that R. refrains from discussing landscape and Etruscan Religion.²

The period considered is the Iron Age and the Orientalising, roughly 900–600 BC. The first section deals with 'initial concerns and generalisations', that is: calendar years, origins, Orientalising, communities, pirates and women. The problematic dating of the period, which can be defined to go back further to about 1020 BC, is very wisely avoided, and a plea is made for the publication of excavations as definitive excavation reports constitute the only valid databases.³ The Etruscans are seen as the Iron Age inhabitants of Etruria and their living in centres is stressed by referring to the very local material cultures as well as their interactions that we have been able to detect. So generalising as the ancient Greeks and Romans did is wholeheartedly dismissed.

¹ Reviewed in *AWE* 2.2 (2003), 394–96.

² See now P. Attema et al. (eds.) *Papers in Italian Archaeology VI. Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period* (Oxford 2005); and N. de Grummond and E. Simon, *The Religion of the Etruscans* (Austin 2006).

³ This intriguing subject has recently been treated at a conference in Rome in 2003, published in G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino (eds.), *Oriente e Occidente: metodi e discipline a confronto. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'età del ferro in Italia* (Pisa/Roma 2005).

The second section, 'Pro-Hellenic bias', deals with the reception of the Etruscans in Great Britain, either seen as predecessors of the Romans or clearly inferior to the Classical Greeks; this section is illustrated with rather expressive quotations from 1926 to 1999, and it makes clear that the usefulness of Etruscan material culture (for instance their fondness of Attic vases) for understanding the Greeks has prevailed at the expense of understanding the Etruscans in their own right.

The third section, 'The Early Etruscans and Greece', reviews the interaction between Greeks and the West from Bronze Age Mycenaeans to 8th-century Euboeans. The 'Hellenisation' of Etruria is rightly refuted. In fact the impact of both Greeks and Levantine residents of the international *emporion* of Pithekoussai in central Italy is demonstrated. The decoration of architecture in the 7th century BC, which has been combined with the literary sources, shows that the Etruscans worked in a selective way: they knew very well what they wanted to adopt from abroad.

The fourth section, 'The Etruscan language', disposes the modern myth that we can only decipher this non-Indo-European language when the appropriate comparable language is found. It also states that Etruscan literary sources once existed; however, I am not sure that I can accept that these sources were destroyed only in the early Christian era. The extraordinary relationship between women and the earliest inscribed objects from the Etruscan area (on spinning and weaving implements) is correctly stressed.

The conclusion (p. 37), 'we will not do much to advance our knowledge and understanding of either the Etruscans or the Greeks if we merely apply Greek priorities and perceptions to a non-Greek civilisation that used Greek techniques for non-Greek purposes', represents a justly raised finger. Too many arguments have been wasted by comparing the two cultures, and the hegemony of all things Greek has to be abandoned.

In the Preface, R. declares that he should be delighted 'if anything I have written here has the effect of tempting readers... to pursue the Etruscans...'. This reviewer has used the booklet as an appetiser for archaeology students and can assure him that it works, indeed. The sections are well balanced; the subject chosen is very fit to discuss the uniqueness of the Etruscans and the broad-mindedness of the author (as shown in the bibliography). In this case, small is beautiful, or, I should say rather, less is more.

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A. Rathje

R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.), with the collaboration of K. Schnegg, *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction*, Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held at Innsbruck, Austria, October 3rd-8th 2002, *Oriens et Occidens* 6, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2004, 561 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-515-08379-0

This volume contains 29 contributions to the fifth meeting of the Melammu Project, an international academic network established to investigate the 'diffusion and transformation of the cultural heritage of the Ancient Near East'. The organisers very commendably sought to bridge conventional disciplinary divides by bringing together historians of the ancient Near East and the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean as well as economic historians of other periods in order to illuminate central features of the economic institutions and development of

ancient western Eurasia. The book consists of eight thematic sections, on economic theory (three chapters), 3rd-millennium BC Mesopotamia (one), Mesopotamia and the Levant in the first half of the 1st millennium BC (four), Archaic Greece (one), the application of economic theories to the study of classical antiquity (two), the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean in the first half of the 1st millennium BC (four), Greece, Achaemenids, Parthians, Sasanians and Rome (six), and 'special aspects' (a section with eight chapters that did not readily fit any of these categories, tend to be peripheral to the central themes of this volume, and cannot be considered here). This distribution reveals a focus on the first half of the 1st millennium BC and more generally on the uses and pitfalls of economic theorising. In fact, a number of the 21 papers in the seven core sections share a preoccupation with modern conceptualisations of ancient economies, thus lending a much needed sense of common purpose to a wide-ranging and otherwise somewhat disjointed collection.

Van de Mierop, in an historiographical essay that considers the merits of Marxist, substantivist and modernist approaches to ancient Near Eastern economic history, maintains that it is the quality of our data rather than their quantity that 'prevents us from understanding the economy as a whole'. In his view, while the evidence is commonly slanted in favour of redistribution and institutional ownership, we may assume that redistributive, reciprocal and market exchange generally co-existed even if we will never be able to ascertain the relative significance of each of these spheres. Theoretical models need to be adjusted to specific historical contexts to be of use to ancient historians. Silver defends the utility of the concept of efficiency in studies of ancient Near Eastern economies, urges scholars to familiarise themselves with basic economic theory before embarking on empirical studies, and contends that in as much as theory predicts probable directions of change, it can unquestionably be of value to interpreters even of the distant past. Steinkeller's chapter on the problem of defining private economic activity in Ur III Mesopotamia illustrates the importance of van de Mierop's emphasis on context. Warning against a false dichotomy between fully state-controlled and fully independent economic processes, he argues in favour of incremental development of market institutions: by the Ur III period, Mesopotamia had not yet attained anything that might properly be defined as a market economy, especially as the state can be shown to have occupied a more dominant role than in later periods. He holds that since a genuine market economy could only gradually be built up over time, historians ought to focus on tracking this process in detail instead of debating the supposedly general properties of particular economic systems. In a felicitously complementary chapter, Jursa documents strong market features and increasing monetisation in the much later Neobabylonian and Hellenistic periods. Möller summarises the main elements of Polanyi's economic anthropology, stressing its affinity to the New Institutional Economics with respect to its emphasis on cultural factors and promoting it as an alternative to formalist templates. While Theurl discusses rival models for the creation of money, Meissner deals with modern as well as ancient models of monetary circulation in antiquity. However, not all attempts to marshal theoretical concepts are equally compelling: Sommer's suggestion that the admittedly exiguous evidence is consistent with the notion that the Phoenicians formed the centre of an Early Iron Age Mediterranean world system references Wallerstein's original work on the modern world system yet appears ignorant of the substantial and continuously growing body of much more specific and sophisticated scholarship on ancient world systems. Moreover, a number of chapters are devoid of comparable theoretical interests: for example, Radner addresses the question of whether the

Neo-Assyrian empire had a trade policy, Tandy scours the fragments of archaic Greek poets for evidence of trade and commerce, Luther offers a rather narrowly technical discussion of the reach of Palmyrene trade in the 2nd century AD, and Grassl collects references to the mechanisms of price formation in Roman literature.

The commercial and monetary 'means of transmission and cultural interaction' advertised in the book's title are given short shrift. When Weiler considers similarities in Homeric and ancient Near Eastern slavery, he does so (explicitly) without considering the possible role of cultural transmission. In fact, economic contacts of any kind between East and West receive only very limited attention. Raaflaub examines the role of Greek aristocrats as mediators of cross-cultural transfers, arguing that the emergence of an eastern Mediterranean elite *koine* facilitated the flow of ideas, but does not specifically deal with economic history. Niemeyer briefly dwells on the Phoenician contribution to the dissemination of innovation, and Demand considers the impact of overlapping influences on Cyprus. Wieshöfer is the only one who incorporates economic matters by referring to Greek participation in long-distance trade emanating from within the Persian empire. In all this, however, the important question of how Mediterranean economies may have been influenced by Near Eastern institutions and traditions is never even raised. While this does not diminish the considerable value of this volume, it certainly shows that its title is seriously misleading.

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N. Roymans, *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power. The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*, Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 10, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2005, xi+277 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-5356-705-4

In *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power* the main aim of its author, the Dutch scholar Nico Roymans, is to analyse the model of ethnogenesis of the Batavians, a small Germanic tribe that lived in the 1st century BC–3rd century AD in what is now the Netherlands. It is R.'s contention that such analysis can be given only after taking stock of the specifics of the German frontier, and of the political context, which had a great influence on Batavian ethnogenesis. R. appeals to various archaeological and epigraphic sources and the writings of Roman authors such as Tacitus, Caesar and Suetonius. The chronological limits of his research are from the 1st century BC until Julius Civilis' rebellion in AD 69.

After an Introduction come three chapters in which the previous social development of the place where the Batavians came to settle is recounted. The ensuing five chapters concentrate on the first phases of Batavian ethnogenesis, including a detailed analysis of archaeological material that is connected with the main theme of the book. The next part might be termed anthropological: the tenth and eleventh chapters examine the representation of ethnicity, its image and self-image. In the final chapter R. makes summaries and conclusions.

R. puts down the appearance of the Batavians to the results of Caesar's politics: although he destroyed several German tribes along the Lower Rhine, he also inaugurated the phenomenon of ethnic recruitment. This practice was abandoned by his successors, but an exception was made for the Batavians. R. determines the timeframe for the formation of the Batavian *ethnos* as roughly 54–15 BC.

The greater part of this volume is dedicated to images and self-images of the Batavians. From the material of Roman authors R. draws the conclusion that the Batavians, although regarded by the Roman people as barbarians, were deemed 'higher' than other Germanic tribes but below the Gauls, an ethnicity that was more receptive to Roman culture, or so Romans thought. On the other hand, the Batavians viewed themselves as part of Roman civilisation and culture, as much archaeological and epigraphic material tells us.

The main strength of R.'s work is its attempt to cover all possible aspects of the main subject. When analysing the formation of the Batavian ethnicity he takes stock of political and social factors as well as anthropological ones (complex of images). He makes use of a rich variety of material, literary, archaeological and epigraphic. If there is a small defect in the book, it is the matter of its structure. The archaeological part, Chapters 6–8, makes too great a break with the chapters in which the problem of the first phases of the formation of Batavian ethnicity is analysed. Despite this, it is a very interesting and important work for historians, archaeologists and all who are interested in the history of the early Empire.

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A.G. Sagona, *The Heritage of Eastern Turkey: from Earliest Settlements to Islam*, Macmillan Art Publishing, Melbourne 2006, v+240 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-876832-05-3

One can sense immediately that the author, with long experience in the field, has a firm grasp of his subject matter. He is much too modest about his touching on all periods from Neolithic to Ottoman, some 11,000 years, to echo the Turkish driver of a hired car who proclaimed 'I know everything.' This is a splendid book, lavishly illustrated and with text which lifts it well above the level of a 'coffee-table' book.

The first question can be to ask for whom this publication is intended? Sagona mentions helping 'the curious to make their own way into the subject. It provides a general narrative history of both society and environment.' The market for serious enquiry is surely growing. Tourists are increasingly venturing on to the Central Anatolian plateau; and some are looking further east, to Erzurum, Van and Diyarbakir. Among these are a few who have the interest and the funds to join guided historical-archaeological tours. This book is surely aimed at the serious if non-specialist reader, avoiding the drawbacks of 'dense academic scholarship', and admirably free of jargon!

S. had to decide the general balance of the book. He takes the broadest definition of eastern Anatolia, including Antioch, the territory of the ancient kingdom of Commagene and the middle Euphrates valley, with excursions into Transcaucasia. Pages 45–109 cover successive cultures and periods until the fall of the Persian empire (330 BC); pages 110–228 cover the historical periods until the end of the Ottoman empire (1923). The emphasis on the later periods is perhaps understandable, in part owing to their more photogenic character. A more restricted geographical span might have allowed more pages to be devoted to the kingdom of Urartu, though one cannot seriously quibble: here the stress is very reasonably on Ayanis, with excavations currently and prolifically in progress. Striking photographs – one of the glories of this book – are inevitably scarce for prehistory before the 1st millennium BC.

S. has excavated a settlement mound near Erzurum, Sos Hüyük, in a province strictly forbidden to foreigners in the days of the Cold War. He has thus been able to investigate

surrounding areas. One of the minor points demonstrating his breadth of approach is his reference to John Buchan's *Greenmantle*, with its action around Erzurum, a juvenile read for the reviewer. How refreshing compared with the modern trend, among academics and their students alike, of knowing more and more about less and less, a trend encouraged by 'research strategies'. Which field archaeologists on survey will ignore sites not in their specialist period?

The wealth, variety and quality of the illustrations are indeed beyond praise. While the author is the major contributor, thus showing precisely what he required, from the University of Melbourne the Walker Collection of early maps adds an historical dimension, while the physical geography is highlighted by NASA photographs from space. Ottoman miniatures of the cities of Van, Diyarbakir and Erzincan are also noteworthy. The author clearly allowed time, as for the reliefs of Aghtamar island church, to catch the sunlight at the best time of day.

The modern Turkish alphabet, chronological tables and illustrations of Turkish decorative arts and bazaars comprise useful supplements to the main text. Four pages in smaller print allotted to 'further reading' are masterly, including a few pithy comments, and weighted towards publications appearing in the last 20 years, with notable exceptions.

General trends are rightly highlighted, not burdening the reader with too many names of archaeological sites. A map showing every site in the text would, however, have been welcome. For pre-history the major emphasis is on the Early Bronze Age, at Sos Hüyük lasting almost 2000 years, well into the 2nd millennium BC. To the west Arslantepe (Malatya) merits special attention.

Light is cast on the intriguing question of the character of eastern Turkey in the 2nd millennium BC, especially the context of the painted pottery of the earlier centuries. One may, however, question the description of Van as the centre of this ceramic tradition, with its scattered cemeteries on the high plateaux and the dearth of settlements, in contrast to the Urmia basin, where it occurs in stratified contexts at settlement sites such as Haftavan VI. The remarkable stelae from Hakkari represent, as stated, a tradition originating in the central Asian steppes and found in simplified form in the Meshkinshahr plain, near Ardabil, Iran.

Coverage of the Iron Age includes the Neo-Hittite states, while in Urartu prominence is understandably given to Van, Ayanis and Çavuştepe. A later, partially paved road east of Erzurum relates to a reference in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (401 BC).

Later periods give us: the Hellenistic monuments high on Nemrut Dağ; the mosaics of Zeugma on the Euphrates; the red tuff reliefs of Aghtamar church; the Byzantine church of Haghia Sophia, Trabzon; and maps delineating the eastern Roman frontier and centres of the early Church. Seljuk Turkish art and architecture exemplified at Erzurum and Sivas could have been amplified by Divriği. The latest major building discussed is the palace at Doğubayazıt.

Nit-picking may be a duty of a reviewer. The reign of Rusa II is commonly approximated to 685–645 BC (p. 230). Armenians were probably beginning to penetrate Urartu from the west during the 7th century BC. The altitude of Erzurum is approximately 1950 not 1800 m. Minor points!

In this publication can be seen, as it were, a painting in the style of Rembrandt, with its highlights and deep shadows, the latter being the inevitably abbreviated treatment of much of the background evidence. It could conceivably be argued that here is material for two volumes, far and middle eastern. But this would miss the *raison d'être* of the bold panorama presented here, a breadth of focus from which this reviewer can himself benefit.

G. Simion, *Culturi Antice in Zona Gurilor Dunarii. Vol. 1: Preistorie si protoistorie*, Biblioteca Istro-Pontica, Seria Arheologie 5, Consiliul Judetean Tulcea, Institutul de Cercet/Ari Eco-Muzeale, Editura Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca 2003, 406 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 973-86092-9-1 (Papers in Romanian, French and German)

This publication is already the fifth volume of the series *Biblioteca Istro-Pontica, Seria Arheologie*, which is published by the Historical and Natural Museum of Tulcea in Romanian Dobrudja. It is a collection of 24 essays by Gavrilă Simion published between 1962 and 2001, most (17) from between 1990 and 2001, so relatively recent. Three articles deal with the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, but the majority are concerned with the Iron Age and the Getic culture in the Lower Danube area between the 10th and 1st centuries BC. Most (15) are written in French or German, but nearly all of the others, in Romanian, have large and clear summaries in French, German or English. It is unfortunately impossible to address all 24 essays of this nicely produced volume in detail, but I would like to highlight some of the more interesting chapters.

In Chapter 1 (pp. 13–50), S. discusses the three waves of Indo-Europeans. The North Pontic Iamnaia culture belonged to the third wave, which arrived in the Lower Danube around 3200–2800 BC and started the Early Bronze Age in this area. The Iamnaia culture moved south, developing in Thrace into the Early Bronze Age Ezero and Cernavoda II cultures. S.'s dating is consistent with the arrival of the Early Bronze Age cultures on the south-western Black Sea coast at Sozopol and Kiten in Bulgaria. Using both ¹⁴C dating and dendrochronological evidence, these sites are dated only a century later.

In Chapters 3 (pp. 63–78) and 5 (pp. 99–114), S. gives convincing evidence for the slow and relatively undisturbed evolution of the Late Bronze Age Sabalinovka-Noua-Coslogeni culture, whose last remnants probably melded together with the Early Iron Age Babadag I culture in the Lower Danube.

Chapter 4 (pp. 79–98) discusses the Iron Age fortress site of Beidaud where material from the Neolithic down to the Byzantine periods is found. Extremely interesting are the Chian amphora fragments from the 6th–5th centuries BC found between the local Halstatt D (early Getic?) material.

In Chapter 6 (pp. 115–22), S. continues some of Vasile Parvan's ideas about the spread of the Urnfield culture from a point in Central Europe to northern Italy and the Lower Danube and its evolving into the Villanova and Thracian cultures. This view is probably not shared by many Bulgarian colleagues who propose a much earlier origin for Thracian culture – in at least the Early Bronze Age, or even earlier.

In Chapter 11 (pp. 175–86), originally published in 1994, S. claims that there is no sign along the Lower Danube of any contact between Greek colonists and the Babadag III culture, proposing even a hiatus, while in Chapter 9 (pp. 147–60), dating from 1976, and Chapter 15 (pp. 217–36) of 1993, he claims that the Babadag III culture was still in existence on the Lower Danube (for instance at the site of Celic-Déré) after the foundation of the first Greek colonies in this area at the end of the 7th/early 6th century BC – also supporting Sebastian Morintz's claim (1964) that at sector X at Histria, Babadag III material was mixed with early East Greek; a claim later denied by other Romanian scholars working in this area. It is a pity that this important matter remains unresolved, 40 years after Morintz's publication.

Chapters 19 (pp. 259–314) and 22 (pp. 337–58) discuss the Classical and Hellenistic material (52 stamps of Rhodian amphorae from between 220 and 193 BC) from the little-known Getic necropoleis at Enisala and Murighol on the Lower Danube.

As the Lower Danube was a crossroads of moving cultures (Urnfields cultures, Cimmerians, Scythians, Thracians, etc.) and the chronology of the Iron Age of the western Pontic coast is still rather vague, the essays in this publication are an extremely valuable contribution to the discussion of this important subject. Furthermore, this volume makes the material available to Western scholars working in this period and area.

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J.G. de Boer

J. Tokeley, *Rescuing The Past. The Cultural Heritage Crusade*, Imprint Academic, Exeter 2006, xii+374 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 1-84540-019-4/13: 978-1-84540-019-4

In *1066 and All That* the Cavaliers were romantic but wrong and the Roundheads repulsive but right (in this lampoon of the Whig interpretation of history). Tokeley(-Parry) is a Cavalier, an erstwhile convicted gentleman-smuggler of antiquities, as well as one of their leading restorers – but he is not all that wrong; whilst the new puritans among us seem to be so many posturing prattlers, likely, as in so many of their endeavours, to achieve almost the opposite of what they intended. And his conviction was, as far as one can make out, akin to that of the late A.G. Capone – on secondary and consequential matters, reflecting the dismal elasticity and inventiveness of prosecutors within all areas of the modern legal system in common law countries.¹

My own professional endeavours have been in the field of archives, where I suggest that the material is often better not left in original hands, that it is certainly better to have provenance and to keep together what was together, but that much material is privately owned, even if publicly displayed, and may be removed and sold, however regrettable I find it. In an institutional capacity, funds permitting, I would readily buy archival manuscripts from dealers, regretting lost provenance but believing in the value of the content and the public benefit from its accessible preservation; failing that, better in the hands of a private collector (giving it a second, third or fourth chance) than on a rubbish tip for want of a purchaser. Value precludes destruction.

The corporate 'voice' of professional archaeology has a dislike of markets (the disdain for grubby commerce?). It would not dissent from the remark of Douglas Jay, some 60 years ago, that the man in Whitehall tends to know best, i.e. don't worry your pretty little heads and leave it to the experts. And the experts are, of course, persons of limitless probity and knowledge, devoid of personal ambition or animus, with access to unlimited financial resources, etc. Where are we likely to find them? Certainly not in Egyptian officialdom, one of T.'s targets: he avers that the black-market in Egypt is increasingly run by the Antiquities Police! Faced with the sub-socialist attitudes of long ago, I reach for the works of von Hayek.

In general, I support private ownership and the operation of the market; but where material is sold under duress (for example, by Jewish collectors in the Nazi era), I am firmly in favour of restitution, as I am of objects looted by the Nazis, the Soviets or whomever (there tend to be identifiable owners, private or public, and heirs, to whom the material can be

¹ P. 317: 'It is not an offence for a British Citizen to bring antiquities into the UK from a Country of Origin, knowing them to have been illicitly excavated and illicitly exported from that country', quoting Lord Inglewood in the House of Lords, 17 February, 1997.

restored). In human affairs it seems to me that there are few matters that state intervention cannot and will not make worse; in property matters states may be seen as guarantors, just as often they are spoliators: the more legal (financial?) regulation, the more scope for legal abuse; and the greater the legal bureaucracy, the more self-serving and incompetent it will be (yes, I have worked as a 'public servant'). If I own the soil, I expect to own the subsoil (coal and oil as much as objects), especially if I am a struggling peasant farmer in the Nile valley. But there is no easy or obvious answer to the question of who should own antiquities.

T. suggests that such farmers should be able to sell at the market price (with first refusal to the government), allowing much material of secondary importance to pass into appreciative hands abroad; whereas the current position in which the state claims the antiquities and offers some 'compensation' (a cartoon in the style of Bateman is called for: 'The man who received compensation...') merely leaves them unreported. Destroy the market (grey, black or white) and the objects become financially valueless, less likely to be reported, more likely to be ploughed over; subvert the market, so that, as now, major museums are hamstrung by 'ethical' policies and cannot participate, and where do objects end up? – obviously not in museums (and how did they accumulate their collections?). The best may be the enemy of the good (and *vice versa*). In connection with antiquities, the 'best' is unattainable and is the enemy of the middling-good but not of the bad. In theory, there were 'better' options than King Farouk, but in practice the option was Nasser and friends – the familiar, half-educated, self-regarding, 'modernising' military men, come to power in response to military failure (in which they participated but for which they took no blame) and capable only of more of the same, prone to grand schemes with unconsidered side effects (Lake Nasser), simultaneously fanning pan-Arabism and Egyptian nationalism, with added Pharaonic delusions.

The 'Cultural Heritage Crusade', like 'cultural heritage' itself, is one of those phrases that has one reaching for a gun. What is it? We all know it when we see it. It is, according to T., whatever A.C. Renfrew, the chief crusader, says it is; whilst T. castigates other academics for their fellow-travelling timidity. It seems inescapably linked to retentionist cultural property laws, once the preserve of dodgy, newly minted political entities (with elites to match) keen to fabricate a history (myth) as a means to forge a nation spuriously linked to some grand ancient past (however preposterous such politics, they often provided money for large-scale archaeological excavation). 'Looting' sounds serious, something we must all be against, like 'money laundering' or 'sex tourism', where the current values and obsessions of the West are, with the best of intentions, neo-colonially applied to different societies, with different norms, and with laws of their own, thank you very much (I await the extra-territorial application of Iranian laws on adultery to the West). Its overuse is (deliberately?) confusing, conflating outright theft from museums, tomb-robbing, and the disposal of chance finds made by those hunting them or by complete accident. In a normal market, no demand means no supply. Hence the targeting of 'collectors'. No demand for vacuum cleaners; nobody will make them. No demand for antiquities might mean that nobody would forge them; nobody is 'making' them. But what about all those antiquities yet to be discovered – should we destroy them to remove all temptation, or ignore or destroy everything robbed of its context? See where the unholy marriage of morality and regulation can take us: will the problem of prostitution be solved by legalising brothels or by closing them, or by keeping the eyes firmly shut?; will people be weaned from the demon drink by moral suasion, tighter licensing, looser licensing, prohibition, or...? Plundering tombs is not quite the oldest profession; it is, however,

a resilient one. And we have seen the effectiveness of 'Prohibition' in the principal home of modern moral humbug.

T.'s book is in three parts: 'The Argument', 'The Support' and 'The Proof'. He studied philosophy at Cambridge (it shows). An Appendix contains delightful asides such as 'Corruption – does it matter?', 'The wickedness of dealers', 'Conservation – how (not) to get things done in Egypt', and so forth. The footnotes are variously scholarly, pithy and venomous. His principal focus is Egypt, with which he is most familiar, but his targets include academics, governments, liberals (in the modern, deformed sense), Cambridge dons, 'UNESCO man' (a deformed abstraction like Soviet man?) and *bien pensant* thought, the dialogue conducted through the apposition of the two rival viewpoints, that of UNESCO man and his own (libertarian). But beware of minor lapses in detail.

Part I includes a chapter on 'The Nineteenth-Century Legacy'; the photograph of Sir Wallis Budge has the caption 'Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum, erstwhile burglar and smuggler' (p. 26): no punches pulled. Nor are they when considering modern Egypt's attempts to foster a nigh vainglorious national prestige in hand with nationalising and Nationalising antiquity and antiquities. Chapters 5–9 form a chain: 'The Countries-of-Origin Argument', 'A Confusion of Claims...', 'How Can Modern Cultures "Inherit" the Past?', 'and How Can Modern Nations?'; answer, 'Only by Manipulation and Bad Faith'. And retention can be used to mean restitution (of something to a physical-political entity that did not exist when the object was taken and which has no obvious connection, except territorial, with the object or its creators). A later chapter looks at the question of Islam and the 7th-century Arab invasions having destroyed all cultural links with antiquity – and in what sense do modern Orthodox Greeks inherit the pagan culture of their predecessors?² T. asks who should inherit Etruscan property (p. 59), or Phoenician? – his example is an ostrich egg from Africa, carved by Phoenicians (in Egypt or the Levant or...), imported by Etruscans, excavated in Italy and brought to London. He mischievously suggests that the Greeks seek compensation for the Elgin Marbles from Turkey, as successor to the legitimate vendor (p. 67 – may I suggest payment in transport amphorae), having tired of Greek 'national vanity gone mad' (p. 69); and turns wearily to modern states, with their (generally) modern boundaries. Which continuity should we seek: territory, continual occupancy, culture, race/genes, language? How, for instance, would modern Bulgarians relate to the Early Mediaeval Bulgarian state, let alone to the Thracians who once occupied much of modern Bulgaria? They are clearly related to those Macedonians whose self description causes the Greeks such anguish, but how far are modern Macedonians and modern Greeks the heirs of Alexander, or modern Greece of ancient Athens? 'Modern nations are a strictly modern invention' (p. 102) and avid manipulators of antiquity (witness a 1930s poster with the images of Mussolini, a master of this process, and Caesar: p. 115).³

'And Then There's Egypt', as the opening chapter of Part III puts it, in which the black market and the official involvement in it, the effects of the prohibition legislation and so forth

² A modern example from my world: where should house the archives of a 20th-century Lithuanian–Jewish–Afrikaner politician active in two countries in Central Africa, both of which have repudiated his political legacy? He died in Bournemouth. And who might claim ownership?

³ For an advocate of encyclopaedic museums and a critique of legally embedded retentionism, see J. Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle Over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton 2008).

serve as an entrée to 'The Real Threat to Egyptian Antiquity': the Aswan High Dam, urban sprawl, the changing water-table, but primarily the destructiveness of mass tourism. In 'But Archaeology is a Safe Pair of Hands. Isn't it?' he ponders the primacy of publication over preservation. And in the final chapter, 'Postscript, and Political Malice', T. indulges in *schadenfreude* at UNESCO's expense: since the 1970 Convention allows governments so much latitude with 'their' antiquities, he supposes that the looting by Uday Hussein in Iraq and the destruction of the Buddhas by the Taliban in Afghanistan were within what was permitted (p. 322).

Polemical, discomfortable, and written with verve (and conviction?).

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James Hargrave

E.R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*, Monumenta Graeca et Romana vol. X, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, ix+340 pp., 215 figs. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13577-4/ISSN 0169-8850

Damnatio memoriae is a modern term to describe how the Roman authorities treated overthrown emperors and empresses: their names and titles were deleted from official documents, their property confiscated, the anniversary of their deaths celebrated, and their statues were deported, mutilated, destroyed, or worked into the likeness of the new ruler. It was, in brief, the institutionalised cancellation of their identities. In an age without newspapers or the internet, the manipulation of the available visual media, in unison with scathing literary verdicts, was a significant attempt at rewriting history by eliminating the vanquished.

To be precise, the visual *damnatio* did not aim at complete effacement. On the contrary, the point about manipulating the visual evidence, rather than replacing it wholesale, was to manifest a victory over a tyrant: erasures on recarved inscriptions appear as conspicuous deepened fields with the original lettering often still visible, and recarved heads often leave just enough features for the original likeness to be recognisable.

Transformation was of course not the exclusive fate of imperial portraits (the term includes emperors, empresses and members of the imperial household). Private (i.e. non-imperial) portraits were also altered, for a whole range of possible reasons, such as 'updating' according to new styles or fashions, especially hairstyles. The resulting eclecticism and contrast of styles within the same work of art was apparently not perceived as problematic by contemporaries. Closely related to this time lag and even more troubling for modern scholars is the idea of 'carve another day' – realised in a large number of finely executed sarcophagi used to their appropriate funerary purpose, but with portrait heads left unfinished.

Against the background of such difficult questions affecting private portraiture, Varner does well to single out imperial portraits for discussion, which only suffered mutilation/transformation for well-known political and ideological reasons. He has been focusing on the phenomenon of *damnatio memoriae* since his doctoral dissertation in 1993 and has continuously produced relevant publications on the subject. The present work profits greatly from his depth of knowledge and clearly shows that he has thoroughly digested the subject to be able to throw light on it from various angles. All contemporary evidence available to us, literary sources, inscriptions, sculpture, coins and gems, finds its rightful place in this balanced study.

The first chapter (pp. 1–20) gives a very brief introduction to the phenomenon of *damnatio memoriae* in Roman society (pp. 1–12) and sets it into an historical context, although

the examples given from Egypt and the Near East (pp. 12–14) are examined with too little accuracy to provide useful points of reference.

The remaining nine chapters are divided chronologically by reigns and dynasties and follow a consistent pattern, which greatly facilitates the usage of this work. A short biographical entry is devoted to literary sources of each ‘condemned’ individual, in particular to accounts of its statues. They exemplify the intensely anthropomorphic perception of portrait statues, which therefore had to suffer the same (mis)treatment as their sitters. Thus Pliny the Younger recalls in his panegyric to Trajan the ‘delight to smash those arrogant faces [of Domitian] to pieces ... and savagely attack them with axes, as if blood and pain would follow every single blow’ (quoted pp. 112–13). Sejanus (p. 92) and Vitellius (p. 108) were made to watch the physical destruction of their own statues as ‘artistic pre-enactment of the desecration’ of their corpses (p. 110), while the statues of Caligula (p. 39) and Domitian (pp. 129–30) had to suffer the *poena post mortem* of criminals of being thrown into the Tiber. Otho’s portrait even ended up in the sewers of Ostia (pp. 107–08).

The discussions of the sources is followed by brief and concise descriptions of the portrait types, attestations of mutilation and destruction of imperial portraits and finally altered portraits, the core of this study. Occasionally ridiculed, hairstyle typologies are and will always be the backbone of imperial portrait studies, and V.’s careful observations are a case in point: It is thanks to the hairstyle that one is able to identify with some confidence Caligula, Nero and Domitian in radically recarved heads. V. also touches upon the important question of how much of what we call ‘types’ is really due to reworked images of condemned predecessors. Nerva is the most striking example, with 15 out of 17 extant sculpted portraits reworked from Domitian’s likenesses (cat. 5.7–21). Nonetheless, many examples show that the sculptors still had enough room to choose and manoeuvre: among the eight Domitians recut into Trajans one finds almost the entire spectrum of Trajan’s eight types (pp. 122–23, cat. 5.22–29), and the likenesses of Claudius sculpted from former Caligulas represent both ends of the stylistic spectrum, either perpetuating the latter’s smooth ageless classicism (Vatican, cat. 1.30), or taking a distinct (re)turn towards realism (Conservatori, cat. 1.31; Woburn Abbey, cat. 1.34).

V.’s work also throws some light on the fascinating question of how a *damnatio memoriae* was carried out throughout the empire. On a local level, one can observe the whole range of possible choices, from removal to mutilation and destruction to reworking. Many a ‘condemned’ emperor was left on public display, which shows that the measures taken against them were hardly orchestrated by the authorities. Some imperial portraits (fewer than V. suggests) were no doubt removed from public display and warehoused for possible reuse. Ironically, some of the best-preserved imperial portraits (for example Caligula Copenhagen with remains of colour in the left eye) thus owe their survival to their official rejection.

The descriptive chapters are followed by a catalogue (pp. 225–88), which is exemplary for its succinctness and clear structuring and an abundant up-to-date bibliography (pp. 289–305). Thanks to its excellent illustrations (figs. 1–215), with views of most portraits from different angles, the catalogue may even serve as a handbook of imperial portraiture, albeit a necessarily selective one with a gap of a whole century of ‘good’ emperors between Nerva and Commodus.

The many stimulating questions and noteworthy results to come out of V.’s study would have deserved to be pulled together in a concluding chapter of the book instead of remaining scattered throughout single case studies. One could also have wished for a more

thorough editing, which would have eliminated the surprisingly large number of garbled sentences and countless typographic mistakes (p. 113 and cat. 5.2 introduce a new location, Castel Gandolfo, probably to be identified with Isengard in Middle Earth). But this does not detract from the great value of this work, which combines the best of 'old school' portrait studies (typologies) with a critical outlook and due consideration given to the significance of these images as historical documents.

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Andreas Kropp

M. Vickers, *Scythian and Thracian Antiquities in Oxford*, Ashmolean Handbooks, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 2002, 80 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-85444-181-7

Michael Vickers has been studying ancient metalwork for many years, and his important publications are well known to specialists worldwide. In the present book, he provides a thorough study and important discussion of two burial assemblages from the Ukraine and Bulgaria: the Scythian tumular graves at Nymphaeum and the Thracian cist grave near Dalboki. The burials were excavated some 130–140 years ago under different circumstances, and nowadays the grave-goods are displayed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, being among the most attractive exhibits for the visitors. While the Scythian material was already published by V.¹ and the Thracian burial find was previously studied in various Bulgarian and Russian articles, the present book is the first publication in English discussing both groups in detail, thus providing the scholars with valuable new information. The book is divided in two parts, respectively for the Scythian and the Thracian material. V. follows the same well-considered model for the presentation of the finds. It begins with the history of the discovery, where various publications and archival material are examined in order to determine the circumstances of these old excavations and to track the exciting stories of the finds prior to their transfer to the Ashmolean. Besides providing historical accounts, V. examines the discoveries in the context of other Greek, Scythian and Thracian material found throughout the 20th century. Of course, a number of recent archaeological finds in the Ukraine and Bulgaria provide much more comparanda, but unfortunately, due to the lack of adequate publications in Western languages, many of these important discoveries are often unknown to the international scholarly audiences outside both countries. Extremely welcome are the catalogues of the Scythian and the Thracian burial finds, richly illustrated by plates with excellent colour photographs, which follow the historical and analytical parts. V. gives a detailed description of each item of grave-goods and discusses it in a broader comparative context, often proposing new revised chronology, which is quite useful for some of the recent archaeological finds in the Ukraine and Bulgaria. Even today, the grave assemblages from Nymphaeum and Dalboki are among the most remarkable Scythian and Thracian elite burials known to us. The fact that both groups are presented and studied in such a professional way by an expert makes the present book a valuable source for all specialists.

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¹ M. Vickers, *Scythian Treasures in Oxford* (Oxford 1979).

H.T. Wallinga, *Xerxes' Greek Adventure. The Naval Perspective*, Mnemosyne Supplements 264, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2005, xiv+174 pp. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14140-5/ ISSN 0169-8958

Wallinga states in the Preface that he started this work 'to substantiate a long-held feeling that the ancient traditions about the naval side of the so-called Persian Wars preserved by Herodotos and supplemented by Aischylos and others are far richer in reliable information than has been realized' (p. ix). W. conducts his campaign in an Introduction (pp. 1–6), nine chapters ('The Persian Wars in a naval Perspective' [pp. 7–31]; 'The numbers of Xerxes' fleet' [pp. 32–46]; 'The text of Aischylos' *Persians* 366–368 and the Persian battle-order' [pp. 47–54]; 'The battlefield of Salamis and its tactical possibilities' [pp. 55–66]; 'Themistokles' message and the Persian war aims' [pp. 67–86]; 'The seizure of Psyttaleia and the Persian plan of attack' [pp. 87–93]; 'The quality of the ships' [pp. 94–107]; 'Tactical capabilities' [pp. 108–13]; and 'The battle of Salamis' [pp. 114–48]), and an Epilogue (pp. 149–59). A bibliography and two indexes complete the book.

One of the flaws of Greek reports on the strategies and tactics of the Persians before and during the naval campaign of 480 BC is that they lacked reliable intelligence about the objectives of the Persian expeditions. The result is a view of Persian policy that is both coherent, widely accepted in modern works, and yet misleading: the Greek sources themselves suggest that the reality was more complex than has been supposed in modern literature. Elements generally overlooked are the genesis, organisation and use of Persian naval resources. Wrongly, it has been suggested and widely echoed that Persian naval power consisted of the navies of subject cities and peoples: it would have made the empire too vulnerable to attack and/or revolt. Also the extent to which Persian incompetence, on various levels and in various stages, is taken for granted by modern writing is unsettling. From a more diligent examination of the prime sources, Aeschylus and Herodotus, coupled with personal knowledge and taking into account the physical evidence, a more differentiated and convincing account of what happened in the naval encounters arises.

W. accepts the testimonies of Herodotus and Aeschylus regarding the fleets at face value, unless convincing arguments to the contrary emerge (as is the case for the war on land). Nevertheless, he acknowledges Herodotus' failure to inform his readers of the naval developments, notably in Greece, preceding the *few* (my italics) years before the war and including the introduction of the trireme as the standard warship. Within the Persian empire a naval revolution had already taken place around 525 BC: much of this fleet's organisation is still unknown, but the improvements by Darius probably involved some participation, albeit restricted, by subjugated cities. For the cities themselves, however, the burden may have been overwhelming.

For the Persians it was of paramount importance to dissuade any (potential) competitor from creating a fleet of its own in the Aegean: this may explain the actions against Thasos in 493/2 BC and against Naxos and Eretria in 490. That the expedition against Athens of the same year failed at Marathon was, according to W., a minor inconvenience, the more so since Miltiades' subsequent expedition to the mines in the North Aegean failed utterly.

After Darius' death Xerxes had to reassess the threats to the empire: Athens was not one of them but Egypt was, and it was on Egypt that Xerxes focused (to a successful conclusion in 485 BC), to secure stability in the Mediterranean flank of his empire. All was changed

by the Athenian adoption of Themistocles' naval bill of 483 BC (nominally against Aegina), which threatened to disturb the balance of power in the Aegean. An immediate Persian reaction was, therefore, necessary. Preparations included the digging of a canal through the neck of the Athos Peninsula, a work started shortly after the passing of Themistocles' bill and probably to his surprise. The extent of Persian preparations may well have misled the Greeks in their assessment of the king's ambitions.

W. argues that Persia enlisted about 1200 ships for the expedition against Athens, probably crewed by some 75,000 men (a skeleton crew of some 50–60 rowers per ship, plus a few marines), reduced by various causes to some 1000 ships just before the Battle of Salamis. The Persian battle-order there is described in Aeschylus' *Persians* 366–368. W. supports Köchly's transposition of lines 367 and 368 of the manuscripts: both in meaning and militarily it makes much more sense than the original. The Persians faced the Greek fleet, some 375 ships (most of them relatively new, but heavier and slower than the Persian ships), mainly anchored at Órmos Ambelakíon in a sufficiently advantageous position to reduce significantly Persian numerical advantage.

Nevertheless, the Greeks appear to have been divided. It is in this context that we must place a (secret) message to the Persians from Themistocles. Successfully, he seduced the Persians into re-forming their battle-order, seriously weakening their strike-power: the Persian aim was to capture or annihilate the entire Greek fleet to avoid the danger of destabilisation in the Mediterranean. The Persian plan probably entailed a combined naval and military attack plus blockade. The Persian army contingent for Salamis was, however, beaten by the Athenians before it had even landed on the island.

Of the accounts of the battle, those by Aeschylus (an eye-witness or even participant) and Herodotus are the best and supplement one another, occasionally to be complemented by Diodorus Siculus and/or Plutarch. According to W., the prime goal of the Persians was to avoid even a single Greek ship escaping. Themistocles had guessed the Persian strategy and accordingly decoyed the Persians with his message. Whether the Greeks would have withstood the Persian attack is a matter of speculation; they did not have to face that challenge. In the relatively confined space the Persian second-line ships collided with those of the first line, creating a turmoil of which the Greeks took advantage to rout the now fully manned ships of the Persian main force in the Straits. In these accounts the role of Corinth is belittled, a politically motivated omission corrected by Plutarch. According to reports the Persians lost over 200 ships – fully manned that would entail the loss of some 35,000 men, a catastrophe. Greek losses amounted allegedly to about 40 ships. The outcome of the battle left both sides facing a new and uncertain future: to safeguard his position Xerxes had to withdraw his fleet (to Kyme), though he left behind an army in Greece, reinforced by Egyptian marines (probably to prevent a new rebellion in Egypt). What was left of the Phoenician contingent of the fleet was soon sent to the Levant to protect it from Greek marauders. This left Xerxes with some 300 ships, of which about 100 were really ready for operational use. In those circumstances it was wisest to save as many ships as possible for the king, which is why (for the time being) the Aegean had to be left to the Greeks. That the Greeks were superior at sea was confirmed at Mykale the next year (479 BC). In that same year the Aegean islands were restored to freedom, but it seems unlikely that most coastal regions of Asia Minor could foster the same illusion: they remained the allies of the Persians, much as many Greeks were allied to Athens in the Delian League in Herodotus' times.

The Delian League accentuated the shift in the balance of power at sea: the Persian navy did not reappear in the Aegean for the rest of the 5th century, in spite of Athenian warnings that Persia could, if she chose to, muster a strong new fleet any time. But, considering the number of (especially) Phoenician mariners killed at Salamis, W. seriously doubts this. He argues that Themistocles in particular showed himself an exceptional leader: Herodotus is somewhat restrained in his praise, but Thucydides is unreservedly positive. Both acknowledge Themistocles as the architect of the later power and greatness of Athens.

Some scepticism may be due regarding W.'s view of the Persian evaluation of Marathon and the way the skeleton crews could be supplemented to a full, trained crew able to fight in the vanguard. The same is true of his calculation of the distances between the ships prior to the battle¹ – certainly the distances given seem pretty tight, for quite recently assembled and/or combined crews – enabling him to accept the data on the total number of ships involved provided by Herodotus and Aeschylus. Nevertheless, one must admire the way W. substantiates the goal set in his introduction and handles the traditions, opening a fresh perspective on one of the critical battles of antiquity. The book itself is well produced (though a limited number of typos remains), with a concise but very adequate bibliography and highly useful indexes. Undoubtedly a book to be recommended highly.

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Jan P. Stronk

H. Wang, *Money on the Silk Road. The Evidence from Eastern Central Asia to c. AD 800, with a Catalogue of the Coins Collected by Sir Aurel Stein*, The British Museum Press, London 2004, xvi+307 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-7141-1806-0

This book, by Helen Wang of the Department of Coins and Medals at The British Museum, contains the publication and analysis of numismatic, written and archaeological evidence in a comprehensive examination of money and its use in a vast area of Sinkiang/Xinjiang (about 1,600,000 km² of territory from Central Asia to north-western China) between roughly the 1st century BC and AD 800.

The book is based on the collection of Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943), over 4000 coins housed in the Museum. A detailed catalogue presents all groups of coins coming from eastern Central Asia, with W.'s identification of coins, corrections and a reference to the Stein coin lists.

Stein's collection of manuscripts, now housed in The British Library, was also carefully analysed by W. This contains an accumulation of over 28,000 items, a high proportion of them Buddhist documents in Chinese, but also about a thousand pieces in Kharoshthi script, mostly on wooden or leather tablets, and others in Sogdian, Tocharian of groups A and B, and Khotanese-Chinese. Tibetan manuscripts comprise about 2200 wooden tablets and 702 paper fragments.

Concentration on the monetary system of this vast area over a span of over 900 years let W. draw a picture of its economic development of the different regions of eastern Central Asia over the time-span of her book, taking in account the geographical peculiarities.

¹ W. obviously follows here J.S. Morrison, J.F. Coates and B. Rankov, *The Athenian Trireme*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2000).

Finds from archaeological sites have enabled W. to conclude that the forms and hierarchy of exchange objects at Niya were quite different from China. Parthian and Kushan coins came occasionally to Khotan, reflecting cultural and trade connections in the early period. The suggestion that Kushan coins were present in Khotan because of Kushan occupation remains still questionable. In Khotan two different foreign currency systems were integrated, one using Kushan coins, the other using Chinese. The Sino-Kharoshthi local issues presented the appearance of a newly integrated coinage.

Chinese settlements used coins as well as other means of payment such as grain or textile. In China, from the end of the 3rd century AD to the beginning of the 6th, purchases and loans were made mostly in silk and carpets, changed later to silk and cloth. From the middle of the 6th century AD until the 8th the economy appears to use a silver standard whereby textiles were replaced by silver coins and grain. In spite of the small number of Sasanian and Arabo-Sasanian drachms and their imitations found in eastern Central Asia, the documentary evidence proves that these coins were a major form of money until the 7th/8th century when Chinese copper coins started to be issued locally. Quite important evidence for the picture of economic life was the use of other forms of payments, from contracts and credit to tax, etc.

The current investigation shows us the specifics of the trade system and the normal practices of the settlements and markets of eastern Turkestan (= eastern Central Asia) where the population had prior experience of intensive exchange of goods and the use of foreign money was established.

Eastern Central Asia was a region in different parts of which and at different times diverse systems of money were adopted: Kushan copper and Sasanian silver coins as a currency, and traditionally Chinese copper as a basic monetary medium. Chinese coins were accepted by local inhabitants, but the influence of Chinese coins to the West was limited.

The results obtained by W. after examining coins and documents underline the importance of a multi-disciplinary approach for a new understanding of money along the Silk Road, that vast system of trade routes which over the millennia traditionally connected the western and eastern parts of Central Asia.

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N. Smirnova

T.J. Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East*, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson 2003, xix+261 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-8165-2174-3

This volume synthesises more than half a century of landscape archaeology research in the Near East with a strong focus on empirical data and the complexities of generating and interpreting data. The strength of this book derived from Wilkinson's own extensive experience running and publishing archaeological surveys in Anatolia, Syria, Iraq and Yemen over more than 25 years.

The introduction considers a range of cultural-historical, processual and post-processual approaches to landscape archaeology, in the end adopting a processualist stance tempered by an emphasis on historical contingency and dynamic human-environmental relationships. The author emphasises the importance of understanding formation processes through an analytical strategy he terms landscape taphonomy and the dynamic, historically contingent

relationship of human-landscape relationships. The geographical scope is greater Mesopotamia, encompassing the Zagros mountains, the Caucasus mountains, Anatolia, the Levant, Sinai and the Arabian Peninsula. W.'s discussion of the fragmented qualities of pre-modern landscapes problematises the strategies of full-coverage survey and blind random sampling. Following the introductory chapter the book is divided into three sections: an overview of environmental context and methodology (Chapters 2–4), discussion of broad categories of landscape based on broad cultural-physical themes (Chapters 5–9), and a conclusion that reintegrates these disparate processes within a theoretical framework informed by complex adaptive systems theory.

Chapters 2–4 discuss the environmental context, methodology and various elements that structure the landscape. In Chapter 2 W. presents a brief overview of changing ecological conditions since the last glacial maximum (*ca.* 20000 BP) across a range of basic ecological zones. Chapter 3 explains the various remote sensing and field research strategies for carrying out landscape-oriented archaeological research. Those less experienced in remote sensing will find his comparison of various image systems useful. He develops the concept of landscape taphonomy, a strategy for reconstructing how landscape processes selectively preserve/destroy evidence of pre-existing systems through processes analogous to M. Schiffer's¹ formation processes. Certain topographic locales tend to be more preservative of evidence (deserts, sparsely populated highlands) while others (river valleys, coastal plains) tend to erase evidence through repeated human occupation and physical processes over time. A full exploration of this concept can be invaluable to developing more sophisticated survey sampling strategies in the future. Chapter 4 catalogues the various features (for example settlements, water supply systems, agricultural fields and installations, roads, boundaries, specialised resource extraction, religious and funerary infrastructure) researchers might expect in different environmental settings in the Near East and how they might be affected by landscape taphonomy.

Chapters 5–9 treat different suites of landscape elements: the irrigated plains of Middle and Lower Mesopotamia, the rain-fed agricultural plains of Upper Mesopotamia and the Fertile Crescent, deserts and mountains. Surprisingly, the author does not treat coastal areas as a distinctive landscape type although they have clearly been fundamental to the maintenance of economies and cultural patterns in the region.

The irrigated landscapes of greater Mesopotamia are discussed in Chapter 5 starting with the 6th-millennium sites in the alluvial fans of the Zagros mountains (Choga Mami and Del Lureh plain). His discussion of the development of the Mesopotamian plain over time including the studies of the wandering of major and minor channels using CORONA imagery helps to contextualise the relationship of site locations in areas far from the present-day river courses. The fragile ecological balance of the irrigated plains permitted centralised authorities to exercise great power and effect spectacular growth but this was sustainable only under ideal conditions. Periodic floods, droughts and other disasters ensured boom and bust cycles in the region when ambitious polities took maximum advantage of the irrigated plain's potential.

Upper Mesopotamia is examined in Chapters 6–7, which treat, respectively, the tell-based Bronze Age settlement system and the post-Bronze Age dispersals (also in the Levant). The origins of the tell-based settlement system are sorted out through the application of taphonomic analysis in the Jazira region (North Syria and Iraq). The discussion of the Early

¹ M. Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (Albuquerque 1987).

Bronze Age settlement system (dispersed large tells and very few small sites) is greatly enriched by the discussion of patterns in the linear hollows, trodden paths which produce darkened lines on aerial photographs.² The radial linear hollow patterns emerging from Early Bronze Age tells suggest a nucleated pattern of settlement supported by dispersed agriculture. During the 1st millennium BC a sudden drop in tell settlement was accompanied by dispersal of population in small, low-lying sites. Neo-Assyrian colonial settlement policy was in part responsible for this dispersal in northern Mesopotamia, leading to rapid degradation of the land's agricultural potential. On the other hand, the dispersal in the Levant was seen as a colonisation of hilly areas using terraced agriculture, which led to devastating erosion following subsequent population decreases.

The desert is analysed in Chapter 8 as a distinctive environment where humans typically leave relatively few traces but where those traces frequently are left in relatively good condition over wide areas. The process of desertification is traced through ecological proxies while the structure of landscapes is based on systems of underground water channels (*qanat/falaj*) that feed isolated oases and agricultural fields. The latter are frequently traceable as sunken fields associated with heaped up mounds on the surface through field observations or remote sensing owing to the preservative qualities of desert landscapes. W. ventures estimates of local population sizes based on the areas of sunken fields and their associated settlements and breaks the southern Arabian desert into distinct zones based on ecology and the organisation of predominant economic activities: 1) irrigated agricultural settlements of the southern mountains; 2) an intermediate zone of sheep/goat-herding; and 3) camel-herding in the arid desert. A series of case studies illustrates in detail the features associated with each of these exploitation strategies.

The Hajj created the need for large numbers of pilgrims to cross the desert on the road to Mecca. W. examines the Darb Zubaydah from southern Iraq to Mecca as a case study, discussing the infrastructure of water collection, cisterns and way stations that enabled travellers to make this difficult journey. This example provides an enlightening model for the study of road systems in difficult or desolate environments.

Mountainous regions are explored in Chapter 9 as a fourth pillar of the Near Eastern landscape system. Distinctive characteristics of mountainous regions (diverse ecologies, rain-fall traps, mineral and other resources, poor communications) are discussed together with the implications for human use, transformation and the preservation of the archaeological record. Particular anthropogenic features of highlands are discussed in some detail (terraced agriculture, transhumant pastoralism, mineral extraction). W. points out a significant expansion of supralocal systems of water, soil and resource maintenance in association with Himyarite state-formation in Oman (1st century BC–6th century AD). This example provides a useful model for examining increasing infrastructural investment in mountainous areas in the context of expanding state control. A discussion of elevation and aridity as factors that significantly limited potential for agriculture and seasonal pasturage contextualises the dynamics of agricultural-pastoral systems in highland east Anatolia and the Caucasus. The chapter concludes with case studies of mining operations in the mountains of Oman and south central Anatolia and a brief review of the use of mountaintops as religious sanctuaries.

² J. Ur, 'CORONA satellite photography and ancient road networks: A northern Mesopotamian case study'. *Antiquity* 76 (2003), 102–15.

W.'s conclusions serve more to promote future research than to tie up these disparate themes and places in a comprehensive vision. He comments on the political implications of the north Mesopotamian tendency towards episodic segmentary state-formation in the context of dispersed settlement.³ This is contrasted to the more intensive bureaucracies of the states in the irrigation-dependent south. His more sweeping vision looks ahead to the modelling of human ecology in landscapes through Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) models as a means of exploring the long-term rhythms and cycles apparent in Near Eastern landscape history.⁴

On the whole, the book is well produced with few typological errors. An offset problem mars the maps (figs. 1.2–1.3) that serve as guide to locations for the entire volume. Although the volume is amply illustrated a few more regional maps tailored to the discussion of each landscape category might have been helpful. This volume presents an astonishing array of evidence on landscapes in the Near East with in-depth discussion of data and the research strategies, methods and interpretive frameworks through which those data are produced and understood. This rich presentation provides the foundation that should enable current and future landscape-oriented research to embrace a more regional perspective in the Near East.

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R.D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, xx+1162 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-521-56256-2

'In the following pages', states Woodard in the Preface to this book, 'the reader will discover what is, in effect, a linguistic description of all known ancient languages.' This statement is not hyperbole: all languages that survive in written form, from the beginning of writing until the fall of the Roman empire at the end of the 5th century, are detailed in one of the ensuing 45 chapters. In addition, the more important reconstructed protolanguages (such as Proto-Semitic and Proto-Indo-European) also merit chapters of their own.

The first chapter is an introductory one, ending with a set of brief summaries on a number of ancient languages that are still undeciphered, or that are insufficiently attested in writing to warrant a chapter in the book. The next four chapters describe four languages without a family affiliation: Sumerian (in a very detailed 40-page chapter), Elamite (perhaps a Dravidian language, like Tamil), and Hurrian and Urartian (related to each other, but only tentatively thought to be Caucasian).

The Afroasiatic languages are treated next, beginning with an overview chapter on the Afroasiatic family that includes a thorough description of Proto-Semitic. Egyptian and Coptic are the joint subject of the next chapter, which ends in a 25-page sign list; and this is followed by a chapter on Akkadian and Eblaite that includes a fairly full treatment of cuneiform, with seven pages of illustrative examples. A chapter entitled 'Canaanite Dialects'

³ Following G. Stein, 'Segmentary states and organizational variation in early complex societies: a rural perspective'. In G. Schwartz and S. Falconer (eds.), *Archaeological Views from the Countryside. Village Communities in Early Complex Societies* (Washington, DC 1994), 10–18.

⁴ J. McGlade, 'Archaeology and the ecodynamics of human-modified landscapes'. *Antiquity* 69 (1995), 113–32.

– essentially a summary of what is currently known about Proto-Canaanite – is the first of several chapters dedicated to West Semitic languages; it is followed by chapters on Ugaritic, Ancient Hebrew (very detailed at 45 pages), Phoenician and Punic (which are treated together), and Aramaic. A chapter on Ancient South Arabian deals with Sabaic (the language behind the inscription on the book's cover) and related dialects, while the chapter on Ancient North Arabian deals with Old Arabic and related dialects. Finally, a chapter is dedicated to Ge'ez, attested only from the 4th century AD, and so one of the most recent languages to be described in the book.

The portion on Indo-European languages begins with chapters on each of the six best-attested languages of the Anatolian branch: Hittite, Luvian, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian and Carian. The Hellenic branch is represented in two very detailed chapters, one on Attic Greek, and the other on the Greek dialects; the latter contains a description of the complex distribution of Greek dialects in ancient southern Italy and the Aegean, and describes the chief characteristics of each dialect. Several chapters are devoted to the Indo-Iranian branch, beginning with the Indic languages: Sanskrit (or Old Indic) and Middle Indic (or the Prakrits), the vernacular descendants of Old Indic attested from late 1st millennium BC. The Iranian languages are represented by chapters on the Old Persian of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions; on the much more richly attested Avestan, a language so archaic and conservative that it most closely resembles Sanskrit; and on Pahlavi, attested from the 3rd century BC.

Three chapters are devoted to the Italic branch, one on Latin (an efficient and densely packed summary at 22 pages), one on the Sabellian languages (Oscan, Umbrian and ten related languages), and the third on Venetic, spoken in north-eastern Italy. The Celtic branch is represented by a single chapter on the Continental Celtic languages (Gaulish and Celtiberian); the only ancient Insular Celtic language preserved in writing, Ogham Irish, is too poorly attested for a chapter and so is dealt with in the Introduction. Two chapters then deal with ancient Germanic languages, one on Gothic (known mainly from the famous 4th-century Bible), and the other on Ancient Nordic, attested mostly in Scandinavian runic inscriptions before AD 500. The last two Indo-European languages to be treated are Phrygian (an unaffiliated Indo-European language, but most closely akin to Greek) and Classical Armenian, which is attested from the 5th century AD, at the extreme end of the period covered by the book.

The final handful of chapters deal with ancient languages in other language-families. The chapter on Etruscan constitutes an admirable summary of the considerable amount that is now known about this language, which remains unaffiliated with any other language except Lemnian in the Aegean. The next chapter is on Early Old Georgian, attested in religious writings from the 5th century, and so (like Classical Armenian) just satisfying the criteria for inclusion in the book.

Chinese boasts a continuous written record spanning the past 34 centuries; and so the chapter on Ancient Chinese is necessarily a broad overview of the development of the language from its written beginnings in the 14th century BC to the Early Mediaeval stage in the 5th century AD. The last Old World ancient language treated in the book is a member of the Dravidian family: Old Tamil, India's other great classical language, attested in southern India from the 3rd century BC.

Finally, there is a set of chapters on the few ancient Central American languages that have been preserved in writing, beginning with Mayan (attested in inscriptions from the late 3rd century in south-east Mexico and north-west Central America). This is followed by a

chapter on Epi-Olmec, attested in inscriptions in south Mexico from *ca.* 300 BC; this language has only recently been deciphered (in 1994) by the authors of the chapter, who devote nearly 40 pages to it and include a four-page glossary of known words. A three-page appendix to this chapter describes what is currently known about Zapotec, attested in inscriptions in southern Mexico perhaps as early as the 6th century BC, but still only partially deciphered.

The last chapter in the book, 'Reconstructed Languages', introduces the reader to the comparative method of historical linguistics – the set of principles by which linguists reconstruct protolanguages from their descendants.

Each of these chapters is written by a prominent scholar of that language or group of languages. All chapters follow a common format, beginning with an exposition of the historical and cultural context of the language and the people who spoke it, and a full explanation of the writing system used to record the language. The core of each chapter consists of a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language – and by this I mean that the description is *formally* linguistic (so that non-linguists may need to avail themselves of a glossary of basic linguistic terms, though this is well worth the effort).

In each chapter, the section on the phonology of the language begins with a description of its phonemes (as well as allophonic and phonemic variants), then outlines other relevant phonological aspects such as rules of phonotaxis, the structure of segments and syllables, and the nature and use of accent in the language. In many chapters, the phonology section ends with a description of synchronic and diachronic phonological processes that will be of great interest to scholars of historical linguistics. (In the case of the chapter on Attic Greek, for example, the description of diachronic processes is so complete that one can use it to reconstruct the Proto-Greek forms of most of the Greek words appearing as lemmata in Pokorny.¹)

Each chapter's section on the morphology of the language outlines the principles of word-formation and of such processes as prefixation and suffixation, and then includes more or less complete sets of nominal and verbal paradigms. Pronouns, adjectives, particles, enclitics and numerals are all specifically treated as well; and in most chapters, there is a description of diachronic morphology, again of great use to the historical linguist.

The section on the syntax of the language describes the principles behind syntactical structures such as agreement, word-order, clauses, and coordination and subordination. This is followed by a broad discussion of the lexicon of the language; and then each chapter ends with a 'reading list' – essentially a bibliography of those works currently considered to be key to the study of that language. These individual bibliographies at the end of each chapter are extremely valuable in themselves.

'Never before in the history of language study has such a collection appeared within the covers of a single work', continues W. in his Preface. Truly, he is right: there has never been a book like this. As testimony to its usefulness, it is now in its third printing, though it was first published only three years ago – yet this is hardly surprising, for it is a mine of useful information for the archaeologist, the classicist and the ancient historian; while for the philologist and the linguist specialising in ancient languages, it quickly makes itself indispensable.

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Brent Davis

¹ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern 1959).

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